



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

Being a treatise of Muslim Public International Law, consisting of the laws of war, peace and neutrality together with precedents from Orthodox Practice.

PREFACE

THERE was no *international law* in Europe before 1856. What passed as such was admittedly a mere *public law of Christian nations*. It was in 1856 that for the first time a non-Christian nation, Turkey, was considered fit to benefit from the European Public Law of Nations, and this was the true beginning of internationalising the public law of Christian nations. That, however, does not mean that international law, with its modern connotation, was born then and there ; it already existed elsewhere. For, Islam had recognised that all states, irrespective of religion or race, have similar rights and obligations. Unlike any other nation of antiquity, the public law of nations evolved by Muslims was *not* meant to regulate the conduct of a Muslim state with regard to Muslim states alone, excluding all the non-Muslim world.

Even as a separate and independent science, "international law" owes its origin to Arab Muslims of the Umayyad period, who divorced it from political science and law general though not displacing it from its ethical basis.

With the loss of their empires, average Muslims have forgotten their rich cultural heritage. Over a decade ago, when I began writing these pages, I had not the slightest idea that, to write on Muslim international law meant describing the very first phase of this science after it became a self-contained and independent branch of learning.

At the instance of the League of Nations and with the warm support of the Head of the Law Faculty of the Osmania University, Public International Law was introduced in the Osmania LL.B. curriculum, and I happened to be in the first batch of students after this decision. It struck me at once that what was taught us as international law was identical in many respects with the teachings of the books of *Fiqh* and Muslim History. When I talked this over with our learned Professor and Head of the

Faculty, Ḥusain 'Alī Mirzā, he encouraged me in the idea of writing an article, perhaps to be read in the Law Students' Union.

The bulk of the article, however, daily increased, and in the following year I was permitted to take the same theme for subject as a research scholar. After exhausting the material available in the libraries of Hyderabad, I was allowed to proceed abroad to study in the libraries of Hijāz, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Turkey. And finally I was permitted kindly by the Osmania University, for which I was preparing the thesis, to proceed to Bonn and submit the same thesis there for a doctorate. This I did in August 1933 after completing only two terms (9 months) in that University. There I selected only the last part of the work, dealing with neutrality, to print and get the degree. My further studies on an allied subject, Early Muslim Diplomacy, for a doctorate of the University of Paris, together with researches in the manuscript libraries of Europe and North Africa, increased my data.

I am not yet satisfied with what I have jotted down, and it is with great diffidence that I venture to publish these few pages.

I take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to the professors under whom I worked or from whom I have profited in the preparation of this monograph :

Prof. 'Abdul-Wāsi', Head of the Department of Fiqh, Osmania University.

Prof. Shēr 'Alī, Head of the Department of Kalām and Muslim Philosophy, Osmania University.

Prof. Muḥammad 'Abdul-Qadīr Ṣiddīqī, Head of the Faculty of Theology, Osmania University.

Prof. Ḥusain 'Alī Mirzā, Head of the Faculty of Law, Osmania University.

Prof. Mīr Siyādat 'Alī Khān of the Law Faculty, Osmania University.

These five savants, the first two of whom have since departed this life, were originally appointed to guide me in my researches. Again :

Prof. Sālim Fritz Krenkow of the Oriental Seminar, Bonn.

Prof. Paul Khale, Director of Oriental Seminar, Bonn.

Prof. Thoma, Director of the Institute of International Law and Politics, Bonn.

Prof. Snouck-Hurgronje of Leiden.

Prof. Gaudefroy-Demombynes of the Sorbonne, Paris.

Prof. Louis Massignon of the Collège de France, Paris.

Prof. William Marçais of the Collège de France, Paris.

And I ever remember what I learned from them with gratitude.

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

Definition and Nature

AS has aptly been said :

“ When stable communities—whether Tribes, or City-States, or States of a modern type—are permanently contiguous, customs hardening in time into law never fail to regulate their intercourse. *Ubi societas, ibi jus* ; wherever developed communities are brought in contact with each other, juridical relations must sooner or later be formed not mainly by agreement, tacit or express, but by the very necessity of the case, and partly from the same causes as those which working internally create States.” (John Macdonell in the Introductory Note to C. Phillipson’s *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*).

In other words, International Law means rules of the conduct of States in their mutual dealings. Obviously, it is not necessary that there should be only one set of rules, or one system of international law, at a time, for the conduct of all the states of the world. And several systems of international law could, and in fact did, exist simultaneously in different parts of the globe. Even the modern, so-called European, International Law is not a collection of unanimously approved rules.

Islam has elaborated its own system of public international law. Before describing it in detail, it might be useful to define precisely what I mean by the term *Muslim International Law*.

Muslim International Law may be defined as : That part of the law and custom of the land and treaty obligations which a Muslim *de facto* or *de jure* State observes in its dealings with other *de facto* or *de jure* States.

A few words of explanation may not be out of place.

We have emphasised the point that what a Muslim State accepts as such is the Muslim International Law. This must be borne in mind from the very outset. Muslim International Law depends wholly and solely upon the will of the Muslim State. It derives its authority just as any other Muslim law of the land. Even the obligations imposed by bilateral or multilateral (international) treaties have the same basis ; and unless they are ratified and executed by the contracting Muslim party, they are not binding : and their non-observance does not create any liability against the Muslim State. Of course it does not matter whether the acceptance is express or tacit.¹ It may be added that the promulgation and execution of International Law with the consent of all the States of the world is an

1. See further, *infra*, Sources of Muslim Law, Effect of Treaties, etc.

ideal which has never been achieved, even for a short term, in the long annals of Man.

We have, however, recognised in our definition that not only laws and customs of the land, but even treaties, impose obligations upon a Muslim State. Treaties will be dealt with later, but what is *law*?

Law (*Fiqh*) is variously defined by classical Muslim jurisconsults. "The Knowledge of what is *for* and *upon* one" (معرفة النفس ما لها وما عليها) is a definition attributed to Abū-Ḥanīfah,¹ which in other words may be rendered as 'the science of the rights and obligations of man.' A late authority, Muḥibbullāh al-Bihārīy, introduces this all-embracing subject in the following words² of his book (compiled 1109 H.):—

The science of ascertaining religious commands (regarding practical affairs of life) by means of their detailed *guides*. (By *guides* he means authority or source of information).

A glance at the contents of works on *Fiqh* would reveal that they embrace practically all the affairs of human life, material as well as spiritual. In view of the standard definitions given above and in the face of the contents of works on *Fiqh*, there remains not the slightest doubt that international law, i.e., the rules of state-conduct in times of war, peace and neutrality, form part of the ordinary law of the land, the *Fiqh*. These rules of conduct are generally dealt with in books on *Fiqh* under the heading *Siyar* (سير), i.e., *conduct*, as we shall show in the next chapter.

Here a brief exposé of the origin of law according to Muslim jurists might profitably be added. They³ say that man must always do what is *good* and abstain from what is *evil* and take scrupulous care of the intermediary grades of *plausible*, *permissible* and *disliked* (مكروه، مباح، مستحب). It is, however, not easy to distinguish between *good* and *evil*, especially when the matter concerns the subtleties of a complex civilized life beyond the pale of ordinary commonplace things. Practical needs would have required the possession of the power to legislate,—(or, lay down definitely grades of good and evil of each and every matter) in the hands of Man, either individual, as jurisconsult, or collectively organised, i.e., a State. Yet mere reason, regarded as the touchstone of good and evil, is not without grave difficulties. For it is possible, and also a matter of fact—so argue Muslim jurists—that different persons opine differently regarding the same things. The belief in Messengers of God is useful even from the

1. شرح التوضيح لمن التوضيح by Ṣadrush-Sharī'ah, p. 9.

2. مسلم الثبوت, p. 5.

3. E. g. توضيح التلويح by at-Taftāzānīy, pp. 173-96 and any book on Muslim Jurisprudence (أصول الفقه) ch. Ḥusn wa Qubḥ. Again, Ostrorog, *Angora Reform*, ch. Roots of Law; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York).

point of view of jurisprudence, in so far as the awe and respect due to their persons lead to the acceptance of certain fundamentals without further dispute, wherefrom other and further details may be elaborated. For this reason the Muslim savants are very thankful to the generosity of God that He gave men, along with *reason*, certain chosen *human Guides* to help them in the conduct of life. These selected and chosen ones pointed out what God commanded, God the real Sovereign and Lawgiver, regarding good and evil. Muḥammad has been acknowledged by the Muslims as the Messenger of God, and whatever he gave them in his lifetime, commands as well as injunctions, in the name of his Sender, God, was accepted by the Muslims as undisputably final and most reasonable. These Divine Commands, known as the Qur'an and the ḥadīth—as we shall see later in detail—served practically all the needs of the Muslim community of that time. But human needs multiplied later in such a manner that no express provision seemed to be available in either the word or the deed of the Messenger, who himself had passed away, disconnecting the link whereby Man could receive Commands from his Lord. The consequent result would have been fatal and the fabric of *Fiqh* would soon have collapsed under the strain, had not there been express provisions in the law itself for further elaboration. Credit must also not fail to be given the Muslim jurists, after the death of the Prophet, who not only discerned this elasticity of the Divine Law, but also utilised it to its fullest extent. In time there emerged a complete system of law which served all the purposes of the Imperial Muslims, even at the height of their widest expansion from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans.

Thus law originated from the direct Commands of God ; but the power retained by man to interpret and expand Divine Commands, by means of analogical deductions, and other processes, provided all that was required by the Muslims. In this way a dual need was served : that of sanctity to inspire awe in the mind of those who were intended to observe it, and that of elasticity or capability of development to meet the needs of times and circumstances.

We have defined international law, first, as a part of the law of the land. The province of the law of the land is therefore, obviously, wider than that of international law, and we have no concern here with the portion of the law of the land which regulates internal affairs of the State or its subjects.

We have also acknowledged *custom* as contributing to international law. No system of law can positively provide guidance regarding every detail of every matter. Completion of a list of prohibited things, along with details of a certain number of permitted matters,—that is all any system of law can achieve. Naturally the prevalent customs (عرف), general practice (عادة), and even innovations hardening in time into usage (عموم البلوى), regulate the relations in such cases. We shall discuss this further in the chapter on Sources of Muslim Law.

Besides the laws and customs of the land, treaties between two or more states, create obligations. This distinct kind of addition to the fabric of the law is tolerated, for shorter or longer periods, in the interests of the State. The classical Treaty of Ḥudaibiyah provides us with a precedent of terms even improper in themselves being capable of acceptance with a broader view of the ultimate good of the community.

Further, the distinction between a *de jure* and a *de facto* state is necessary, first because sometimes special institutions or happenings (for instance a powerful rebellion) although not acknowledged as States *de jure* are yet states *de facto*. It is possible in special cases that a certain state does not simultaneously possess both the attributes of being *de jure* as well as *de facto*. Secondly, the aim of this distinction is to point out that we are concerned with foreign states as such, and not with foreigners resident in Muslim territory regarding their private affairs, *e.g.*, inheritance, nationality and the like. These belong to Private International Law or the Conflict of Laws as it is also called. In this connection, too, it might be recollected that the Private International Law of Islam¹ is also a part of *Fiqh*, and derives its authority not from any foreign source but from the sovereign will of the Muslim State itself.

In our definition the words "dealings with other...States" have a special significance. We intend thereby to convey the idea that Muslim International Law is only that which is observed by a state which acknowledges Muslim law as the law of its land in its dealings with other states. These other states may be Muslim or non-Muslim. We are not concerned with the laws and usages of non-Muslim States, except in so far as the Muslim residents there are concerned, or in so far as those laws and usages have been accepted by the Muslim State to act upon in its international intercourse.

It may be added that, for purposes of illustration, precedents from orthodox practice have freely been referred to. Abnormal and temporary abuse or overlooking of certain rules by a certain state cannot render such rules null and void.

CHAPTER II

Early Terminology

ALTHOUGH the pre-Islamic Arabs had their own international usages, yet they could not have elaborated them into a system. When Islam came and founded a *State* of its own, the earliest name given by Muslim writers

1. On Muslim Private International Law, see the recent monograph, *La Conception et la Pratique du Droit International Privé dans l' Islam, étude juridique et historique*, par Choucri Cardahi (Recueil des Cours, 1937, II, pp. 510-650, Académie de Droit International, the Hague).

to the special branch of law dealing with war, peace and neutrality, seems to have been *Siyar* (سير), the plural form of *Sīrat* (سيرة), meaning conduct and behaviour. A few quotations will support my contention:—

a. Ibn Hishām (d. 218 H.) (سيرة رسول الله, p. 992):

Then the Prophet ordered Bilāl to hand over the banner to him. He did so. Then the Prophet eulogised God and asked for His mercy upon himself, then said: O son of 'Awf! Take it. Fight ye all in the path of God and combat those who do not believe in God. Yet never commit breach of trust nor treachery nor mutilate anybody nor kill any minor or woman. This is the pact of God and the *behaviour of His Messenger* for your guidance.

ثم أمر بلالاً أن يدفع إليه اللواء فدفعه إليه . فحمد الله و صلى على نفسه . ثم قال : خذ يا ابن عوف ، اغزوا جميعاً في سبيل الله فقاتلوا من كفر با الله . ولا تغلوا ولا تغدروا ولا تمثلوا ولا تقتلوا وليداً ولا امرأة . فهذا عهد الله وسيرة نبيه فيكم

b. Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245 H.) in his

كتاب المحبر, fol. 95a:

They used to give public feasts there and *behaved there according to the behaviour of the kings of Dūmatul-Jandal*.

وكانوا يصنعون فيها ويسرون فيها بسيرة الملوك بدومة الجندل .

c. Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 H.) in his طبقات vol. 1/2, pp. 32-33 :

The Muslim army shall concede to them a share in the booty, adroitness in government and moderation in *behaviour*. This is a decision which neither of the contracting parties may change.

ولهم على جند المسلمين الشركة في الفئى والعدل فى الحكم والقصد فى السيرة ، حكم لا تبديل له فى الفريقين كليهما .

These few citations show that the conduct of the ruler, not only in time of war but also in peace, was referred to by the term *sīrat* as early as the time of the Prophet and even in pre-Islamic times. This is according to authors of early in the third century of Hijrah. The term was adopted for "International Law" at least a century earlier. Thus Abū-Ḥanīfah (d. 150 H.) is known so far to be the first¹ to designate with the term *siyar* the set of special lectures he delivered on the Muslim Laws of War and Peace. These lectures were edited and ameliorated by several of his pupils of which the كتاب السير الكبير and كتاب السير الصغير of Ash-Shaibānīy (d. 189 H.) have, in one form or other, come down to us. A contemporary of Abū-Ḥanīfah, the Syrian Imām al-Awzā'iy (d. 157 H.)

1. Cf. Editor's note in الرد على سيرا لوز اعى by Abū-Yūsuf, recently published.

criticised the opinions of the 'Irāqī Imām, Abū-Ḥanīfah. Al-Awzā'iy's monograph has not come down to us, but a rejoinder to it by Abū-Yūsuf (d. 192 H.), the famous pupil of Abū-Ḥanīfah, with the title, الرد على سيرا لأوزاعى, has recently been edited. Ash-Shāfi'iy (born 150 H.), also refers to this *Siyar* of al-Awzā'iy in his works (cf. كتاب الأم vol. vii, pp. 303-336), as also to the *Siyar* of al-Wāqidīy (d. 207 H.). Henceforward the word seems to have become a technical term commonly used by jurists of all times. A typical passage of as-Sarakhsīy (d. 483 H.) will show what he understood by this term, and in fact what Islamic books of international law contained:—

“Know that the word *Siyar* is the plural form of *Sīrat*. We have designated this chapter by it since it describes the *behaviour of the Muslims* in dealing with the Associators (non-Muslims) from among the belligerents as well as those of them who have made a pact (with Muslims) [and live as Resident Aliens or non-Muslim Subjects]; in dealing with Apostates who are the worst of the infidels since, they abjure after acknowledgement (of Islam), and in dealing with Rebels whose position is less (reprehensible) than that of the Associators, although they be ignorant and in their contention on false ground.”¹

It must, however be pointed out that the term *Sīrat* was used by historians to designate the life of the Prophet. The analogy has been brought into relief by different authors. Raḍīy-ud-Dīn as-Sarakhsīy, for instance, states in his chapter on international law: “The word *Sīrat*, when used without adjectives, meant the conduct of the Prophet more especially in his wars. And for this the Prophet has said: ‘Every prophet had some profession (for livelihood), and my profession is *Jihād*; and in fact my means of subsistence are placed under the shadow of my spear.’”² In other words, the term *sīrat*³ which linguistically signified

اعلم أن السير جمع سيرة . و به سمي
هذا الكتاب لأنه بين فيه سيرة المسلمين
في المعاملة مع المشركين من أهل الحرب
و مع أهل العهد منهم من المستأمنين و
أهل الذمة و مع المرتدين الذين هم
أخبت الكفار بالانكار بعد الاقرار ، و مع
أهل البغي الذين حالهم دون حال
المشركين و إن كانوا جاهلين و في
التأويل مبطلين .

1. الميسر by as-Sarakhsīy, Vol. X, p. 2.

2. المحيط by Raḍīy-ud-Dīn as-Sarakhsīy, Vol. I, fol. 567a, b (MS. Waliuddin, Istanbul, No. 1356):
في عرف الشرع متى اطلق يراد به طريقة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في معازيه على الخصوص و لهذا قال عليه
الصلاة والسلام: لكل نبي حرفة و حرفة الجهاد و انما رزقي تحت ظل رحمتي .

3. For a philological discussion of the term see also the glossary of my الوثائق السياسية على عهد النبي (Cairo, 1940-1).

conduct in general, acquired later the restricted sense of the conduct of the Prophet in his wars, and later still the conduct of Muslim rulers in general in international affairs.

CHAPTER III

Subjects of Muslim International Law

BY subject (موضوع), Muslim jurists understand a thing the essential appurtenances (عوارض ذاتية) of which are under discussion.¹ By subjects of international law, we understand the categories of people regarding whose cases this part of the law is applied. They comprise :

Firstly, every Independent State which has some relation or other with other states.

Secondly, Part-Sovereign States which possess at least a limited right to foreign relations.

Thirdly, Belligerent Rebels who have acquired resisting power (منعة) and a territory over which they exercise the ordinary functions of a state.

Fourthly, Highwaymen and Pirates.

Fifthly, Resident Aliens in Islamic territory.

Sixthly, Muslim Citizens residing in foreign countries.

Seventhly, Apostates.

Eighthly, Privileged non-Muslims (أهل الذمة) or the *Dhimmīs*, that is, non-Muslim Subjects of a Muslim State as distinguished from ordinary Resident Aliens.

Obviously, with some of these relations both pacific as well as hostile are possible. While with others only one of these is possible. For instance, rebellion is possible only with hostile relations as far as the mother country is concerned. And as soon as a peace is concluded between the rebels and their mother country, they are either recognised as an independent state—and not mere rebels—or are reduced to the position of obedient citizens of the state, regarding whom international law is no more applicable. As far as states other than the mother country of the rebels are concerned, the rebel ones enjoy the same status as ordinary states, yet the very recognition of rebellion and concession of belligerent rights signifies a state of war between the rebels and their country. However, we shall deal with it in detail in a subsequent chapter.

1. شرح التوضيح، p. 21.

CHAPTER IV

The Object and Aim of International Law

ALTHOUGH Islam regards the life of this world as only a transitory stage, a period in which to till the soil for reaping in the Hereafter,—hence the assertion of al-Bihāriy¹ that the object of the knowledge of Muslim law is well-being in the eternal next world,—yet unlike many other religions, Islam does not recommend renunciation of the world, but rather enjoying to the full the blessings of temporal life. The Qur'ān says :—

There are some men who say, O Lord give us good in this world ; but such shall have no portion in the next world. And there are others who say, O Lord, give us *good in this world and also good in the next world*, and deliver us from the torment of the Fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained : God is swift in taking an account.²

And again :

But seek the abode of the Hereafter in that which God hath given thee and *neglect not thy portion of this world*, and be thou kind even as God hath been kind to thee, and seek not corruption in the earth. Lo ! God loveth not corrupters.³

It goes without saying that the whole fabric of Muslim law was constructed for guiding the Faithful in regulating their life in this world. Whatever its ultimate object, its temporal and mundane aim is the ability to lead one's life in the fairest possible way. *Mutatis mutandis*, Muslim International Law would aim at the justest possible conduct of the Muslim ruler in his international intercourse.

CHAPTER V

Its Sanction

TO a certain extent the sanction of Muslim International Law is the same as that of the ordinary Muslim law of the land. It is especially so as regards the relations of foreign residents with the state in which they reside. The government, through its judicial tribunals, administers justice to those to whom wrong is done. As is known, the real sanction of Muslim

1. مسلم الثبوت, p. 10.

2. Qur'ān, 2 : 200-02.

3. *Idem*, 28 : 77.

law is not the organised will of the sovereign (who may enjoin tyranny), but the belief in the after-life and judgement by God. Spiritual and conscientious inducing and deterring factors are more effective than temporal persuasions and prohibitions. For, thus one abides by the law, not only under coercion, but even when there is none to oppose one's will, except, perhaps, the fear of retaliation or scandal and disrepute.

CHAPTER VI

Its Roots and Sources

BY "sources" of a science we mean here the places where its rules are first to be found. Writers on Muslim jurisprudence have always used the expressive term "Roots" (أصول) from which rules shoot for this purpose. We do not mean the beginning of these rules clad in all authority required to give them binding power. Otherwise the only possible source of international law would be the acceptance of a rule by a government to use in international relations. We shall consider in this connection the following :—

1. The Qur'ān.
2. The *Sunnah* or the traditions of the Prophet.
3. The Orthodox Practice of the early Caliphs.
4. The Practice of other Muslim rulers not repudiated by the jurisconsults.
5. The Opinions of celebrated Muslim jurists :
 - (a) consensus of opinion (إجماع),
 - (b) individual opinions (قياس).
6. The Arbitral Awards.
7. The Treaties.
8. The Official Instructions to commanders, admirals, ambassadors, and other state officials.
9. The Internal Legislation for conduct regarding foreigners and foreign relations.
10. The Custom and Usage.

1. *The Qur'ān.*

The Qur'ān is admitted by the Muslims as the Word of God and therefore the basis of all their law. It is in fact a collection of Divine Revelations—more precisely, the selected compilation of the so-called "recited revelation" (وحي متلو)¹ reaching Muḥammad through the agency

1. According to the Qur'ān (cf. 53 : 3-4) whatever the Prophet uttered was based on divine revelation, yet not all that he uttered was ordered by him to be recited in religious services. Hence the distinction between recited and unrecited revelations.

of the angel Gabriel. The Qur'ān was not revealed as a whole, but came down in fragments, as necessity arose, during the prophetic career of Muḥammad, which lasted for about twenty-three years. Whenever a portion of the Qur'ān was revealed to him, he used to order one of his amanuenses to take it down. It was also he who prescribed and pointed out the place or places to which the verse or verses properly belonged:¹ the verses of the Qur'ān were not compiled in chronological order. Obviously they were not written in the time of the Prophet in book form, but on stray leaves of paper, shoulder blades, date leaves, and other handy material.² It is further admitted that when some revealed verses were cancelled, naturally on the authority of the Prophet alone, they were omitted and obliterated.³ As a rule, the companions of the Prophet used to commit to memory as much of the revealed verses as they wished or were able to remember, and also made written copies for themselves. Even as early as the first years of Muḥammad's prophethood, there were extant in Mecca private copies of portions of the then revealed Qur'ān.⁴ This continued up to the very death of the Prophet, when besides the above-mentioned documentary material, there were at least four persons who had committed the whole Qur'ān to memory.⁵ The number of those who committed the whole 114 chapters of the Qur'ān to memory (the *hāfīzes*) increased rapidly,⁶ as this brought worldly gain, public honour and official dignities.⁷ The *hāfīzes* (reciters from memory) and *qārīs* (reciters reading artistically) up to this day give certificates to their pupils recording that they had heard the Qur'ān in the very order of verses and chapters, and also the chant and intonation, which they transmitted to their pupils, from their teachers, and they from their teachers,—all named,—linking the chain back to the Prophet himself.

The first successor of the Prophet, the Caliph Abū-Bakr, in spite of his all too short term of office (about two years only), arranged that a fair-copy of the whole text of the Qur'ān should be made in the form of a book (*muṣḥaf*); the order of the verses was to remain as prescribed by the Prophet. The commission entrusted with the work required two

1. *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 69; again, at-Tirmidhī, an-Nasa'ī, etc., as quoted by *Kanz al-'Ummāl* Vol. I, No. 4778.

2. *Kanzul 'Ummāl* (I, 4759) quoting al-Bukhārī, at-Tirmidhī, an Nasa'ī, Ibn Sa'd and others.

3. Cf. Ibn Hishām, pp. 1014-15; *Kashful-Asrār* of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bukhārī (Comment. of Pazdawīy) Vol. III, p. 188: *وقال الحسن رحمه الله: ان نبي الله عليه وسلم اوتي قرأنا ثم نسيه فلم يكن شيئا أولم يبق منه شيء لما دفع الله تعالى عن قلبه ذلك (وكان هذا جائزا في القرآن في حيوة النبي عليه السلام).*

4. Ibn Hishām (سيرة رسول الله) p. 226—Ibn Sa'd, 3/1, p. 192.

5. Ibn Sa'd, 2/1, pp. 112-13; Bukhārī, Ch. Faḍā'il-lul-Qur'ān, § Qur'ā'.

6. Alone in one detachment of Caliph 'Umar, they numbered once three hundred (cf. *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4030).

7. E. g., cf. *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4030, on the authority of Ibn Zanjūh.

authentic written copies¹ of the fragment dealt with, besides having to tally with what was memorised by the *ḥāfiẓes*. The task was duly brought to a successful end ; only regarding one or perhaps two small passages no more than one written evidence was found.²

This unique copy of the official edition remained with the Caliph ; later his successor, the Caliph 'Umar, used it, after whose murder, it was in the custody of his daughter,³ Ḥafṣah, the widow of the Prophet. It was in the time of the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, that difficulties began to arise in the provinces. The Caliph, therefore, ordered seven copies to be made from the official edition prepared for the first Caliph, and these copies were sent to different provincial capitals of the Empire, the original being returned to Ḥafṣah. The Caliph 'Uthmān gave orders that even the spelling⁴ of the official copies must be followed, and that all those private copies that were found to differ from the official edition had to be collected and destroyed.⁵ What we now possess is the publication of the Caliph 'Uthmān just referred to.

Bibliography: Prof. Muftī 'Abdul-Laṭīf, تاریخ القرآن—Aslam Jairājpurī,

تاریخ القرآن —Nawāb 'Alīy, تاریخ صحف ساوی —Nöldeke-Schwally,

Geschichte des Qurans, 2 vols.

2. The Sunnah.

The second source of Muslim International Law, in order as well as importance, is the *Sunnah* or the *ḥadīth* which comprises what the Prophet said, did, or tolerated. In quantity, the rules of Muslim International Law found in the traditions of the Prophet far surpass those in the Qur'ān. In quality, the *ḥadīth* is considered inferior to the Qur'ān, yet this seems to be in view of the difficulty of proving the genuineness of a tradition. Otherwise the Qur'ān itself has expressly and unequivocally put the word of the Prophet on a par with the Qur'ān,⁶ on the basis that what the Messenger uttered on behalf of the Sender is taken at the Sender's word.

The compilation of the traditions of the Prophet was begun in his own lifetime by his companions, this besides many official documents such as treaties, instructions to tax-collectors, letters, charters, census reports⁷ and the like.⁸ The thousands of traditions taken down by the

1. Ibn Sa'd, quoted by *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4764. cf. *Bukhāriy*, ch. Faḍā'ilul-Qur'ān, § Jam'ul-Qur'ān.

2. *Bukhāriy*, *ibidem*, also 93 : 37, 75 : 33 (3); Ibn Sa'd quoted by *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4772, 4801, 4802.

3. *Bukhāriy*, 66 : 3, 93 : 37.

4. Qaṣṭallānīy, عمدة القاری شرح صحیح البخاری, I, 406.

5. *Bukhāriy*, 66 : 3,—*Kanzul-'Ummāl*, I, 4799.

6. Cf. Qur'ān, 53 : 3-4, 33 : 21, 59 : 7, etc.

7. *Bukhāriy*, 56 : 181, No. 1.

8. Cf. الوثائق السياسية, and also my *Corpus des Traités et Lettres diplomatiques de l'Islam*.

companions, and still more orally transmitted to their pupils (who, or their pupils, wrote them down), have an interesting history of their own. Modern scholars believed for long that the compilation of ḥadīth in written form began two hundred years after the Prophet's death. Many contemporary Muslim savants showed the baselessness of this allegation, such as al-Kattānī, Shiblī, Sulaimān Nadwī, and only recently Prof. Manāẓir Aḥsan of the Osmania University, in an exhaustive manner, after which it is not necessary for me to discuss the subject any further except to remind my readers that the material on the life of the Prophet is to be found not merely in books on ḥadīth.

Bibliography: نظام الحكومة النبوية المسمى التراتيب الادازية، النوردة عليه
والعالمات والصناعات والتاجروالحالة العلمية التي كانت على عهد تأسيس المدينة الاسلامية في المدينة

Vol. I, pp. 114-238 (في العمليات الكتابية وما يشبهها وما يضاف إليها)؛
Vol. II, pp. 168-446 (في تشخيص الحالة العلمية على العهد النبوي) —Shiblī,
خطبات مدراس، Vol. I, Introduction.—Sulaimān Nadwī, (i.e., *Madras Lectures*), 2nd ed., lecture 3 (also published in the
monthly *Ma'ārif*, A'zamgarh, India, February 1926 and translated
into English by the *Islamic Review*, Woking, England, some time
later.—Manāẓir Aḥsan, تدوين حديث in the *Research Journal of the*
Osmania University (مجموعة تحقيقات علمية), Vol. VII.—For the written
documents of early times see also M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Documents sur la*
Diplomatie Musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Ortho-
doxes, (Paris, 1935), Vol. 2, *Corpus des Traités et Lettres diplomatiques*
de l'Islam.—Idem, الوثائق السياسية على العهد النبوي والخلافة الراشدة (Cairo 1940),
comprising only the Arabic texts with many additions to the French
Corpus.—al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, تقييد العلم (MS. Berlin).

3. Orthodox Practice.

Just as the practice of the Prophet, so also that of his successors has attracted a variety of authors. It is to be found in books of ḥadīth, of history, of biography, of case law, of anthologies and other publications. No special and exclusive collections were ever made of the practice of either the Prophet or his Caliphs regarding international intercourse. Even if attempts have been made, they are not exhaustive.

It goes without saying that the precedents of the time of the Orthodox Caliphs may be accepted in addition to the traditions of the Prophet and not against them. It may, however, be observed that if a practice of the Orthodox Caliph is proved beyond dispute, and it goes against some

tradition of the Prophet, there will be strong reason to presume that the Orthodox Caliphs, who knew *ḥadīth* more thoroughly than any of the later jurists, acted on the authority of some other tradition of the Prophet, abrogating the one against which the practice in question is to be weighed. This is only theoretically possible, for I know no such concrete case.

In Muslim jurisprudence, the Companions of the Prophet, though never considered as infallible as the Prophet, enjoy considerable veneration. Their piety and their devotion to their Leader could never have induced them to violate deliberately the prescriptions of the Prophet; and if one, ignorant of the law, acted in some way contrary to it, others would at once have corrected him. This, however, does not exclude the difference of opinion between them regarding matters for which there was no provision in the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. In such cases preference is given according to the personal eminence of the conflicting authorities, the opinion of any of the first four Caliphs, for instance, prevailing over the opinion of other companions.

4. *Practice of Ordinary Muslim Rulers.*

The practice of the Orthodox Caliphs has legal authority. Not so the practice of other and later Muslim rulers. Still it might be useful to refer to it at times, especially when their practice has not been repudiated by the contemporary or later jurisconsults. Some of the Umayyads and Abbasids, Salāḥuddīn the Great (Saladin), Awrangzēb in India and many other Muslim rulers have left many a useful precedent the importance of which cannot be ignored.

The records of this, too, must be sought in a variety of sources. Its reliability must depend upon the reliability of the individual source. It must, however, not be overlooked that this category of authority for rules of international law is accepted on the condition that it does not contravene the Qur'ān or the *Sunnah* or Orthodox Practice.

5. *Opinion of Jurists.*

From the very beginning, Muslim writers on jurisprudence have divided *opinion* into two kinds of unequal importance, the *Ijmā'* (consensus) and *Qiyās* (individual analogical deduction).

(a) *Ijmā'*.

Various sayings of the Prophet are cited to bless this consensus of opinion, as for instance :

1. My people will never be unanimous in error. (لا يجتمع أمتي على)

(الضلالة)

2. The hand of God is over the collectivity, and whoever quits it, is sent to hell. (الترمذی) يدالله على الجماعة فمن شذ، شذ في النار

3. What Muslims agree to be good is also good in the sight of God. مارأه المسلمون حسناً فهو عند الله حسن

And many more to the same effect. Even verses of the Qur'ān are quoted to support the same.

According to Islamic jurisprudence, whenever unanimity is reached among the Muslim jurists of a time, this consensus has the same validity as "a verse of the Qur'ān or the most reliably proved tradition of the Prophet; and whoever denies its authority is to be considered an infidel."¹ The authors, however, agree in theory that a later consensus may abrogate a former.²

In spite of the importance of *Ijmā'*, it is curious that no institution of a permanent character was devised to ascertain it. Records abound that the Prophet always consulted³ his companions in legal as well as political matters. Again, the Caliph 'Umar seems to have found, in the pilgrimage to Mecca, an easy and convenient annual institution to consult the governors of his wide-stretched empire, to hold a general and all-empire appeal session of the supreme court, to meet deputations from far off parts of the realm, etc. For a generation or two after the Prophet, it seemed that the ascertainment of the best and most expedient opinion of the country was considered to be a government business. Soon, however, civil wars and schisms ensued, and the rulers contented themselves with the opinions of the official jurisconsults, the *personæ gratae* among them, and general consultation fell in desuetude. The consequent result was that private students and scholars of law cultivated the science, and the question of *Ijmā'* became a mere fiction, since there are no means of collating the data except private research into an imponderable and ever-increasing literature. Again, there are no sanctions to declare individual authors worthy of submitting their opinion for the decision of a case by a consensus, and obviously not every ordinary member of the Muslim community all over the world, now numbering by hundreds of millions, can have a say in any such matter.

Bibliography: كشف الأسرار على أصول الپزدوى لعبد العزيز البخارى : with text of and commentary on Pazdawī's work, Ch. اجماع, Vol. II, pp. 226-266.— توضيح التلويح by at-Taftāzānīy, in loco.— الرسالة by ash-Shāfi'īy, p. 65. Any and every book on Muslim jurisprudence (أصول الفقه), in loco.

1. كشف الأسرار على أصول الپزدوى للبخارى Vol. III, p. 261.

2. *Idem*, p. 262.

3. Cf. the Qur'ānic commands thereto, 3 : 159, 42 : 38, 47 : 21, etc.

(b) *Qiyās*.

Individual opinion of jurists and political scientists has had a very subtle division, according to its nature, in Muslim jurisprudence. Analogy, deduction, equity, *responsa prudentium*, judicial decisions, other opinions of individual authorities as expressed in their books or otherwise known—all have different technical names and different grades of precedence. I need not enter into a detailed discussion of them. I would rather classify the literature wholly or partly dealing with Muslim International Law. The more important classes are the following :—

- i. Works on *Siyar* or international law proper.
- ii. Works on *Fiqh* or compendia of law (*corpus juris*).
- iii. Works on *Fatāwī* and *aqḍiyah* or collections of judicial decisions, case law, *responsa prudentium* and the like.
- iv. Works on political science, sociology and allied subjects.
- v. Works on administrative law.
- vi. Works on *Naṣā'ih al-mulūk* or text-books for princes in the art of government and rulership.
- vii. Works on general or particular history, biography, political poetry and allied subjects.
- viii. Works on tactics and strategy.
- ix. Proceedings of Conferences.
- x. Modern works on Muslim International Law.

I need not discuss in detail each class of these works. A selection of the more important of them will be given in the bibliography, at the end of this monograph. However, I may mention that works on *Maghāzī* (battles of the time of the Prophet) have expressly been omitted from this classification, as they, as well as biographies in general of the Prophet, properly belong to the second source, i.e., *Sunnah*, discussed above.

During my studies, I have come to the conclusion that, although there is no dearth of works on political science and practical advice to princes in any civilisation of yore, which incidentally deal also with rules of international intercourse—books of Aristotle, Kautiliya's *Artha Sāstra*, political writings of Confucius, etc., illustrate the point—yet I found no trace of the divorce of international law from political science or law in general before the Arabs. As has been already mentioned, Abū-Ḥanīfah seems to have been first in the field and the *siyar* literature formed an independent branch of legal science. Books on law, even before Abū-Ḥanīfah, have been referred to, which we shall discuss presently ; but no monograph on international law (*siyar*) has to my knowledge been attributed to any jurist before Abū-Ḥanīfah.

It is perhaps not unnatural that every nation seems to pay attention first to legal literature. Codes or compendia of law seem to have come into existence in Islam in the very first century of Hījah. In any case the كتاب المجموع (or the *corpus [juris]*) attributed to Zaid-ibn-'Alīy (d. 122 H.)

has come down to us¹ and contains chapters on *siyar* or international law. So also the *Muwattā'* (الوطا) of Mālik (d. 179 H.) has special chapters on our subject. Thenceforward, practically no Islamic *corpus juris* was devoid of chapters on international law, entitled variously *siyar*, *maghāzī* and *jihād*.

The same is true of works entitled *Fatāwī* or collections of cases, judicial decisions and *responsa prudentium*. One of the earliest of them is attributed to the Caliph 'Alīy, compiled by some of his pupils, though it has not come down to us. Originally such works came into existence either as collections of judicial decisions of individual judges,—one such is attributed to Ibn-Ruṣḥd also—or compilations of the replies of private jurisconsults. In later times, even compendia of law were given this name. The Mughal Emperor Awrangzēb 'Ālamgīr of India appointed a committee to codify Muslim law, and the result of their labour is known as *Fatāwī 'Ālamgīrīyah*,² and is still looked upon as great authority.

I may also refer in this connection to learned bodies and academies. Collective deliberations have naturally a greater chance of arriving at the proximity of reason and truth than individual labours. Islamic history has recorded, even in classical times, associations of savants, and they have had a very great influence over Muslim thought. I shall not discuss the famous *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, which, to me, was more a philosophical concern than juristic. I cannot, however, proceed without referring to the Law Academy founded by Abū-Hanīfah, which, though not as yet thoroughly studied, had very great influence on the codification and systematisation of Muslim law. It is said³ that there were forty members of it, all legists yet each having special qualifications. Some were philologists, others logicians, still others historians of orthodox times, to elucidate the precedents and their background, and so on.

This leads me to international Muslim conferences. I do not know of any instance in classical times of conferences for international law or even purely for law. Yet many social evils are traced to certain laws and conventions, and hence even social and political conferences should not be neglected in this connection. For instance, the usurious habits and transactions of *banyās* in India and Jews elsewhere in ancient times could not be without effect on Muslims, to whom both giving and taking of interest is religiously forbidden, yet unless provision is made in the country for lending money without interest there is much to prevent Muslims in need of money for emergency purposes from falling into the evil of at least giving interest on loans. Thus, a conference of Muslim

1. Published under the title: *Kitāb al-Majmū'*, corpus juris di Zaid ibn Ali (VIII S. Chr.) la più antica raccolta di legislazione e di giurisprudenza musulmana finora ritrovata, testo arabo pubbl. per la prima volta sui mss. iemenici della Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, . . . da E. Griffini, Milano 1919.

2. Sometimes also known as *Fatāwī Hindīyah*.

3. سيرة النعمان, Vol. II, 179. جامع مسانيد الامام الأعظم لأبي المؤيد محمد بن محمد د الحارازي. Vol. I, 32-33.

savants and leaders of all over the world met in Medinah in 773 H., and discussed the problems, political as well as social and moral, affecting the Muslims of those days, and resolved how to deal with them. The minutes and proceedings of this important conference were published by one of the delegates, as-Saiyid Abul-Fath *alias* Shaikh 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Baghdādīy, under the title *Mukhtār al-Kawnain*. Unfortunately there is no trace of the complete work now ; only a part of it exists in a private library in India. The original text is not yet edited, but a Hindustani translation was printed some years ago under the title *مدینه کانفرنس* which has been analysed and reviewed in *Islamic Culture*, January, 1941.

A few words about modern authors.

As with many other subjects of Arabic literature, the interest of non-Muslim Europeans in Islamic laws of war and peace has preceded the determination of modern Muslim scholars to deal with the subject. These are a few of the more important books or articles by European authors :

1. Haneberg, *Das muslimische Kriegerrecht* (in : *Abhandlungen der philoso.-philolog. Bayrisch. Akademie der Wissenschaft*, 1869).
2. E. Nys, *Le droit des gens dans les rapports des Arabes et des Byzantins* (in : *Revue du droit international et legislation comparée*, 1896, Bruxelles, pp. 461-87).
3. C. Huart, *Le Droit de guerre* (in : *Revue du monde musulman*, Paris, 1907, pp. 331-46).
4. *Idem*, *Le Khalifat et la guerre sainte* (in : *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1915, pp. 288-302).
5. E. Fagnan, *Le Djihad selon l'école malekite* (Algiers, 1908).
6. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes* (1910, Leiden-Leipzig), *in loco*.
7. F. F. Schmidt, *Die Occupatio im islamischen Recht* (in : *Der Islam*, 1910, pp. 300-353).
8. Polemics during the Great War of 1914-18 ; the following may be noted :
 - (a) Snouck-Hurgronje, *Heilige Oorlog Made in Germany* (in : *De Gids*, January 1915).
 - (b) C. H. Becker, *Deutschland und der heilige Krieg* (in : *Internationale Monatschrift*, 1915, Sp. 631-662).
 - (c) Snouck-Hurgronje, *Deutschland und der heilige Krieg, Erwiderung* (in the same, Sp. 1025-1034).
 - (d) C. H. Becker, *Schlusswort* (in the same, Sp. 1033-1042).
 - (e) F. Schwally, *Der heilige Krieg des Islam in religionsgeschichtlicher und staatsrechtlicher Bedeutung* (in the same, 1916, Sp. 678-714).
9. Hatschek, *Der Musta'min, ein Beitrag zum internationalen Privat-und Völkerrecht des islamischen Gesetzes*, Berlin, 1919.
10. W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, 1925.

Further, there is a vast literature on Khilāfat in Russian, German,

Italian, French, English, etc. A useful resumé of it was published in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* (now published under the name : *Revue des Études Islamique*, Paris) of 1925.

We must also not neglect the various books on the history of modern international law in which the contribution of Islam has been discussed and described. For instance Walker, in his *History of the Law of Nations* (vol. 1, Cambridge, 1899), Bordwell, *Law of War between Belligerents*, (Chicago, 1908), Nys, *Études de droit international public et de droit politique*, and also in his *Les Origines du droit international* (Paris, 1894), Holtzendorff, *Handbuch des Völkerrechts* (1885, in the first of the four vols.) and others.

As for Muslim writers, the need was felt, so far as I know, as early as the nineties of the last century. Writing a history of international law in general, Ibrāhīm Haqqī of Istanbul deplores the non-existence of works on Muslim International Law. In a characteristic passage, after discussing the contribution of Islam in about a dozen pages, he says :—

”افادات معروضه دن مقصد عاجزانه ام انسانیه مدار مفخرت اوله جق هر خصوصه فوق العاده ترقی ایدن ملل اسلامیہ نک قرون وسطی ده غریبونه هر وجهله فائق اولدیغنی و بناً علیہ مدنیتی بوقدر ایلرولش ملتک بین الملل معاملاتہ رعایتی مقتضی اولان قواعدجه جهل تام اوزده بولنملری و بوبابده تدقیقات و تالیفاتده بولناملری محال بولند یغنی گوسترمکدر . فقط نه چاره که حکمای اسلامیہ نک آثارندن بر چوغی اهل صلیب و تاتارلر معرفتیلده محو و منعدم اولش و بر قسمیده کتبخانه گوشه لرنده مستور قالمش اولغله بوخصوصه بیان معلومات وسیع عاجزانه مک فوقنده اولوب بویولده آثاری بالتحریر قدمای اسلامک حقوق بین الدول خصوصنده دخی غریبونه رجحانی اثبات ایتیمک علمای کرام حضراتنه عاید بر وظیفه مقدس در .“

(تاریخ حقوق بین الدول ص ۳۷ - ۳۸ . مولفی ابراهیم حتی . مکتب ملکیه شاهانه ماذونلرندن . استانبول قره بت و قصابار مطبعه سی سنه ۱۳۰۳)

That is :

“ By these few notes, my humble purpose is to point out that the Muslim peoples have been the pride of humanity. They made extraordinary progress in every walk of life, and surpassed the Westerners in every respect during the Middle Ages. Therefore, they cannot have completely ignored this important branch of civilized life, namely, the rules of international intercourse, and cannot but have made researches into and written works on this subject. Yet what is to be done ? The achievements of the great Muslim authors have partly been destroyed by the People of the Cross and by the Tartars, and partly lie hidden in the corners of libraries. Consequently, it is above my capacity to give details in this respect. And, it is a sacred duty of the *ulema* to conduct researches and prove the superiority of classical Muslim authors even in respect of international law.”

A co-citizen of this author of ours, Aḥmad Rashīd, cherishes the same notions even in 1937, and asserts :

“ En effet, aucun livre n'a paru jusqu'à présent qui exposât, dans leur ensemble, les vues de l'Islam en ce qui concerne le droit des gens.”¹

Still Mr. Aḥmad Rashīd has not shirked the task of taking responsibility on his own shoulder as best he could, hence his lectures in the Academy of International Law of the Hague. I have, however, come to know of the following monographs on the subject before the Hague lectures just referred to :—

1. Negib Armanāzī, of Damascus, *L'Islam et le droit international*, thesis, Paris, 1929.

2. The same, Arabic edition with certain additions, الشرع الدولي في الاسلام لنجيب الأرمنازي, Damascus, 1930.

3. Saba, *L'Islam et la Nationalité*, thesis, Paris, 1933 (with acknowledgement to the bibliography of Cardahi ; but I could not identify the nationality of the author).

4. M. Chaigān of Teherān, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit public*, thesis, Paris, 1934.

5. *Die Neutralität im islamischen Völkerrecht*, by the writer of these lines, thesis, Bonn a/R, 1933 (published 1935).

6. Abul-A'lā Maudūdī of Delhi, الجهاد في الاسلام comprising articles originally contributed to the Hindustani bi-weekly *al-Jam'iyat* of Delhi, published in the series of Dārul-Muṣannifīn, A'ẓamgarh, 1348 H.

7. Aḥmad Rashīd, just referred to above, 1937.

8. The present monograph, begun in 1929, submitted in 1933, revised and published now.

Other monographs, of even earlier date, on modern expositions of *Jihād* will be mentioned in our general bibliography in an appendix.

6. Awards of Arbitrators and Referees.

By arbitration, mediation, reference and similar terms we understand the fact that two parties to a conflict agree to abide by the opinion of a third and impartial person. There are cases of this kind not only in internal but also in international conflicts. The difference between these various terms will be seen later. It will suffice if we mention here that such awards have always been held as useful precedents, and generally have been referred to when similar cases arose. The more so when in such awards there are set forth the principles on which the opinion of the arbiter was based.

1. *L'Islam et le droit des gens*, par Ahmed Rechid (in: Recueil des Cours, Académie de droit international, the Hague, 1937, II, p.378).

7. *Treaties.*

Another important source of international law comprises treaties. Sometimes they are bilateral and sometimes multilateral, and obviously they bind only the parties thereto. We shall deal with them in detail later, but it may be pointed out here that there are no precedents in Islamic history of all the states of the world¹ adhering to a treaty, and the reason is not far to seek. Communications and economic interdependence, as also restrictions on foreigners, were not so far developed in those days.

In connection with treaties, it must be recognized once for all, that there are certain rules in Muslim law which are imperatively compulsory and for ever (تعبدى و تأبدى). These cannot lose their binding force except when, and so long as, one is in extreme stress and unavoidable necessity (اضطرار). "Except one who is driven by necessity, neither craving nor transgressing, it is no sin for him"² is the oft-repeated Qur'ānic provision. And hence the maxim الضرورات تبيح المحظورات (stress renders the forbidden permissible).³ Again, there are rules in Muslim law which though not compulsory yet their execution is praiseworthy (مستحب). Thirdly, there are those whose performance or omission is left to the discretion of individual persons (مباح).

It is regarding only this last category of acts that custom and treaty impositions are upheld and rendered valid by Muslim law. And as explained above, treaties concluded under stress against the injunctions of canon law (شريعة) are binding only so long as the necessity remains. Rules regarding the repudiation of treaties will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

It is to be noted that treaties are sometimes wholly and deliberately law-making between the parties concerned; on other occasions they refer incidentally to legislation in an international sense.

8. *Official Instructions.*

The next source is contained in official instructions to generals, admirals, ambassadors, delegates and representatives, in short to those officials who have some connection or other with the conduct of the state in international affairs. These may be published, or confidentially given out and kept secret. They often contain important material for our subject.

1. In modern times also there are only a very few universal treaties, such as the Postal Convention of Berne; and the Muslim states have adhered to them.

2. Qur'ān, 2 : 173, 5 : 3, 6 : 120, 6 : 146, 16 : 115.

3. Sarakhsiy, السير الكبير, IV, 479.

From the very time of the Prophet down to our age we find this practice continued. A few of the more typical documents containing such instructions will be given in an appendix.

9. *Internal Legislation and Unilateral Declarations.*

Although the whole of international law is, in a sense, part of the internal legislation and law of the land, yet we must distinguish between general rules of international conduct and particular rules concerning particular states or particular classes of foreigners. Again, there is a difference between rules correlated and reciprocated and between rules that have no counterpart. To illustrate this last point, we may refer to the command of the Prophet that non-Muslims should be expelled from Arabia¹ where they can no longer settle, and the Qur'ānic injunction that non-Muslims cannot enter the Grand Mosque of Mecca.²

10. *Custom and Usage.*

Very little has so far been written, from a scientific point of view, on the place of custom, usage, conventions and the like in Muslim law, although the validity of such things as *'urf*, *'ādah*, *ta'āmul* and *ūmūm al-balawā* has been recognised in Muslim jurisprudence without much dispute. Of course much heart-burning is caused by indiscreet ways of putting things, and we must not disregard the difference between saying that "all your relatives will die before you" and "you will live longer than all your relatives," a real difference, which as the story goes, caused one astrologer dishonour and brought to the other untold riches on the part of their royal master. By the utter disregard of these human weaknesses, we shall be doing service to nobody. Modern European writers, for instance, say: Muslim law was greatly influenced by Roman law—and of course this is liable to cause resentment. A great Orientalist of Jewish descent has, for instance, denied any influence of Roman law on Muslim law, still he maintains that Jewish law has influenced it, basing his argument on the presence of Jews in Medinah in the time of the Prophet. All such conclusions and allegations were inspired by objectionable motives, hence they do not give the whole picture, affected as they are by narrow vision.

This is not the proper place to make a thorough study of the question.³ Yet I may be misunderstood if I do not make it clear why custom is to be

1. Bukhārīy 55 : 176, 58 : 6, 64 : 83—Muslim, Vol. V. p. 75.—Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 222—Ibn Sa'd, Vol. 2/1, p. 44; Wensinck, *فتاح كنوز السنة*, in loco.

2. Qur'ān, 9 : 28.

3. See, however, the note of a lecture of mine, in *Islamic Culture*, January, 1939, pp. 125-126, and my extension lecture in the University of Madras: *نقہ اسلامی کی تدوین و ارتقاء میں بیرونی موثرات* (i.e., Foreign Influences in the Development and Codification of Muslim Law), not yet published.

considered as one of the sources of Muslim law in general and of Muslim International Law in particular.

We have seen under source No. 2, that what the Prophet tolerated among his Companions rendered it valid and lawful. The very "toleration" (تقرير, as it is termed) implies the recognition of custom, no matter old or new, as a source of law. As for later times the all-pervading maxims العرف قاضى¹ (everything that is not prohibited is permissible), and العرف قاضى (custom or rule of convention is decisive)² leave not the slightest doubt that custom and usage, with certain qualifications, are lawful sources of rules of conduct for the Faithful.

We must, however, not confuse laws of the Muslims and Muslim laws. By the former I understand the laws which certain sections of the vast Muslim community observe, for instance the customs regarding inheritance, marriage, etc., prevailing among Muslims in the Malay Peninsula, Berberland of North Africa, the Punjab, Bombay and Malabar in India and the like,—customs very much at variance with the tenets of what the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* have expressly laid down.

Regarding Muslim law proper, we know that Islam began in Mecca, full of pagan Arab traders who constantly travelled abroad. Later its centre of gravitation moved to Medina when the Prophet migrated to that place, where Jews also lived in thousands. Not a decade had passed since the Hijrah when the boundaries of the Muslim State crossed with those of the Persian and Byzantine empires. A decade and a half still later, in the year 27 H.,³ we see the armies of Islam penetrating even into Spain, to remain there until Tāriq came many generations later to complete the conquest, when the Islamic State, like a colossal crescent, spread from the Pyrenees to the mountains of China, crossing Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Turkistān, Armenia, and all the coastal countries of North Africa. Thus it came into contact with the Meccans and other Arabs, as well as with Jews, Christians, Greeks, Spaniards,

1. Cf. Qur'ān, 4 : 24, 6 : 120 : "Lawful unto you are all beyond those mentioned ;" "And He hath explained unto you that which is forbidden unto you."

2. There are some more from ash-Shaibanī's writings :

الثابت بالعرف كالنص (الشرح السالك الكبير) (I, 194) : Evidence of custom is like that of the text of a statute.

المعروف بالعرف كالشرط بالنص (idem, IV, 23, 25) : To learn through custom is like prescribing in the text.

المطلق من الكلام بتقيد بدلالة العرف (idem, IV, 16) : A general may be rendered a particular by evidence of custom.

العادة تجعل حكما اذا لم يوجد النص بخلافه (idem, I, 198) : Usage is decisive when not prescribed otherwise in the text.

العادة معتبرة في تقيد مطلق الكلام (idem, II, 296) : Usage is valid to particularise a general rule.

3. Tabariy, *Annales*, I, 2816-17 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 72 ; Abul-Fidā', I, 262 ; Dhahabīy, *at-Tā'rikh al-Kabīr*, anno 27 ; cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, V, 555 (ed. Oxford University Press).

Persians (Magians), Buddhists of Turkistān and Chinese of Sinkiang,—to mention but a few of the more civilised peoples of those times of whom Islam made many converts. Histories mention that not much difference is to be found between the pre-Islamic pagan pilgrimage and the Islamic Hajj, which is one of the five basic elements of Islam; that the Caliph 'Umar is reported to have adopted *in toto* the Persian revenue laws when that empire was absorbed into the Muslim State; that the greatest number of jurists Islam has produced came from Bukhārā, Turkistān and adjoining countries where Buddhist and Chinese influence predominated; that the pupils of the Companions of the Prophet and their pupils, the teachers of Abū-Ḥanīfah, Mālik, ash-Shāfi'iy, Ibn-Ḥanbal and others were generally *mawālī* of non-Arab origin who could not obviously have forgotten all that they knew of the existing and prevalent conditions of pre-Islamic origin in their countries and even families; that Abū-Ḥanīfah himself had a Persian father and an Indian mother; that there are express commands in the Qur'ān¹ to follow the laws of Moses, Jesus, Abraham and other Messengers of God, and it is reliably recorded that the Prophet ordered² Muslims to follow the practice of the Jews and Christians in matters in which there was no provision in Muslim law;³ that not only were many pre-Islamic Arab customs tolerated by the Prophet, but he went so far as to prescribe *يعمل في الاسلام بفَضائل الجاهلية*³ (in Islam the virtues of the days of Ignorance [in Arabia] will be acted upon). No doubt, legal rules of Byzantines, Persians and others did not come into Muslim law with any sanctity attached to them, but simply as a matter of convenience and expedience *and* because they were not against the injunctions of positive Muslim law. Their infiltration may be traced to a very great extent to the customs and usages of the country occupied by the Muslims.

Thus we see that notwithstanding the fact that many customs and usages, conventions and habits were amended or even abolished by Islam, there is no denying the fact that the very large remainder contributed, to a considerable extent, to Muslim law as one of its sources.⁴

Retrospect.

We can see now that the relevant portions of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* form permanent positive law of the Muslims in their international dealings; state-legislation and treaty obligations establish temporary positive law; and all the rest provide non-positive or case law and suggested law respectively.

1. Qur'ān, 6 : 84-91 : ("so follow their guidance"); 3 : 95, 16 : 123 : ("Follow the religion of Abraham").

2. E.g., جامع الترمذی in connexion with combing.

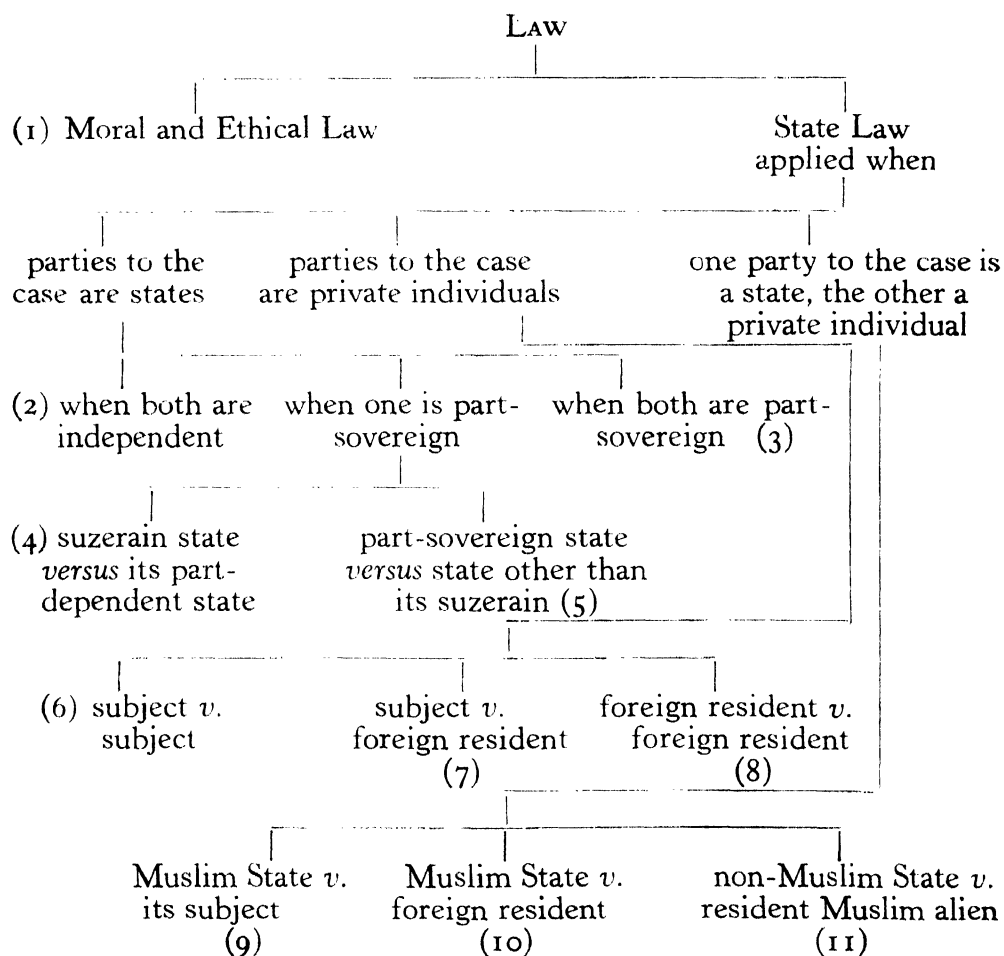
3. Ibn-Ḥanbal, III, 425.

4. For a detailed enumeration see المحرر of Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 163, 211-32.

CHAPTER VII

The Place of International Law in Law General

BY law we mean the rules which the government of a state passes or approves for the conduct of its whole *gubernatorium* and its subjects. Thus, the rules of conduct for that part of the *gubernatorium* which is concerned with foreign relations will be international law. This may more clearly be appreciated in the following division of law which we humbly suggest :—



We have no direct concern in international law with No. 1. Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 comprise law governing inter-governmental relations. These along with Nos. 10 and 11 form public international law. Nos. 7 and 8 belong to private international law. And Nos. 6 and 9 comprise law of the land in its narrower sense which is also called civil law and municipal

law as distinguished from the international law of a state. It may, more appropriately, be called for our purposes internal law.

CHAPTER VIII

The Contribution of Islam to the Internationalising of Human Society

THE perplexing complexity of human society is but a reflection of human nature. A mixture of contradictory elements, or, I should rather say, of both good and evil simultaneously,—though of varying grades,—the most rational being, man, at times surpasses the angels and at others even the Devil would look shy before him. Consequently, among other things, human society has been the object of two tendencies at the same time. The one centripetal, from independent and self-contained families into tribes, from tribes into citizens of city-states, from city-states into vaster states, empires, commonwealths and even attempts at world order,—such is said to be the one aspect of the chequered history of human society. The other centrifugal, from being relative members and descendants of one and the same family of Adam and Eve,¹ differences of colour, language, country, race and the like have so accentuated the diversity that no insignificant toll of bloodshed has stigmatised the fratricidal society of the human species.

It is no use attempting the impossible, either to change human nature or convert the average being into a rare and exceptional extremist.

It is to be regretted that in spite of such valuable contribution to different sciences and institutions, the ancients were not able to get rid of the narrow vision of their geographical or political nationhoods. Even ancient religions seem to have been national rather than universal and for the whole of humanity. Nevertheless these ancient, national religions also preached in the beginning love and peace. The chromatic, birth- and racial superiority-complex which is still such a vital force in some parts of Africa, America and Europe, is, to me, the work, rather of pagan and irreligious generations than the result of commands of the religions they profess.

Islam has rather been fortunate in discarding, from the very first day, differences of race and colour, country and language, in favour of the universal brotherhood of the Faithful.

See for instance :

The believers are naught else than brothers. Therefore make peace between two brothers of yours (if they happen to oppose each other), and observe your duty to God that ye may obtain mercy. (Qur'ān 49 : 10).

¹. For ethnological unity of man see O. Ehrenfels : "Ethnology and Islamic Sciences" (in : *Islamic Culture*, 1940, pp. 434 ff.).

And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of God, and do not separate. And remember God's favour unto you : how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye became as brothers by His grace ; and (how) ye were upon the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it. Thus God maketh clear His revelations unto you, that ye may be guided. (*idem*, 3 : 103).

And obey God and His messenger, and dispute not one with another lest ye falter and your wind depart (from your sails) ; but be steadfast ! Lo ! God is with the steadfast. (*idem*, 8 : 46).

Lo ! this, your community, is one sole community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me. (*idem*, 21 : 92 ; cf. 23 : 52).

Islam is a religion of unity and action which safeguards individual rights and liberties and provides at the same time for collective welfare. I refer to the institutions of *zakāt* and *Baitul-Māl*. And as its call was not meant, from its very inception, for any particular country, it was an advance over what had hitherto been done to internationalise human society.

Besides this universality of its call, Islam instituted *hajj* and *khilāfat*, which I shall consider one after the other.

Brotherhood of Man.

A few typical quotations from the Qur'ān alone would illustrate my point :—

(a) Creation of mankind from the same couple :

O mankind ! Be careful of your duty to your Lord, Who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from them twain hath spread abroad a multitude of men and women. (Qur'ān, 4 : 1).

O mankind ! Lo ! We have created you from a single male and female, and We have made you nations and tribes that ye may distinguish one another. Lo ! the noblest of you, in the sight of God, is the one who feareth [Him] most. Lo ! God is Knower, Aware. (*Idem*, 49 : 13).

Other verses to the same effect, cf. 6 : 99, 7 : 189, 39 : 6.

(b) Mankind is one community :

Mankind were one community . . . (*idem*, 2 : 213).

Mankind were but one community ; then they differed ; and hath it not been for a word that had already gone forth from thy Lord it had been judged between them in respect of that wherein they differ. (*idem*, 10 : 20).

(c) Islam's universal call :

[Muhammad] thou askest them no fee for it [i.e., Islam]. It is naught else than a reminder unto all nations. (*Idem*, 12 : 104 ; cf. 81 : 27).

And We have not sent thee [O Muḥammad] save as a bringer of good tidings and a warner *unto all mankind*; but most of mankind know not. (*idem*, 34 : 28).

And We sent thee not [Muḥammad] save as a mercy *for all nations*. (*idem*, 21 : 107).

(d) Difference of colour and language explained :

And the difference of your languages and colours, lo ! herein indeed are portents [of the mastery of the Creator] for men of knowledge. (*idem*, 30 : 22).

And We have made you nations and tribes that ye may distinguish one another. . . (*idem*, 49 : 13).

(e) Toleration par excellence :

Lo ! those who believe [in that which is revealed unto thee, Muḥammad], and those who are Jews, and Christians and Sabeans, —whoever believeth in God and the Last Day and doeth right, —surely their reward is with their Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve. (*idem*, 2 : 62).

Lo ! those who believe (*i.e.*, Muslims), and those who are Jews, and Sabeans, and Christians—whichever believeth in God and the Last Day and doeth right—there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve. (*idem*, 5 : 69).

And a host of other verses, with innumerable sayings of the Prophet and instances of continuous practice all through these fourteen hundred years of Islam, testify to the same effect.

I pointedly invite attention to quotations under *b* and *d* that in Islam the differences of men in colour and language are but phenomena testifying to the great mastery of the Creator; and that not only all human beings descended from the same couple but that even their religions have had the same source. Quotations under *e*, which have twice been repeated in the Qur'ān are very significant, and show clearly that if the people of the religions cited therein follow fully all the commands of their original religion, shred of later additions, there is no fear regarding their salvation.

What use of international law if it does not aspire to cultivate harmony between nations ?

Hajj or Pilgrimage to Ka'bah.

Islam is ultra-national in its ethnological and other current senses. So the brotherhood of the Faithful, which Islam has inculcated, is truly international. And for the purpose of fostering this brotherhood and causing greater contact between the members of the Muslim community spread all over the world, the institution of *hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca, its cradle, has played a prominent rôle almost from the beginning of Islam. *Hajj* is one of the five " duties for each and every one " (*فرض عين*),

to be observed by the Muslims. Every Muslim, male or female, must perform at least once in life the pilgrimage to the House of God in Mecca, if he or she "can find a way thither."¹ Arabia lies in the midst of the three continents known as the old world. Thus, Mecca is even geographically the centre of the old world, or to adopt the technical term used by the Muslims, it is situated on the "navel of the earth" (نَافِ زَمِين). The pilgrim is required to put off his ordinary clothes and every one wears a simple and humble *iḥram*, leads a life of great self-control, abstains from enjoyment or fulfilling passionate desires, during the *ḥajj* period of his stay in or around Mecca. It is really an awe-inspiring scene to see king and clown dressed alike, standing shoulder to shoulder during the services, and one actually feels the demonstration of the Qur'ānic description of Doomsday: "With whom shall lie the power supreme on this day? With God, the One, the Almighty!"² A really cosmopolitan gathering, and a complete equality of the children of Adam is nowhere else to be found. Such is the annual *ḥajj* of Islam.

Khilāfat.

Another internationalising institution of Islam is the Khilāfat (Caliphate). When the Prophet breathed his last, the Muslims of that time came to the conclusion, with the exception of perhaps two or three individuals, that there could be only one ruler for the totality of the Muslims. Although the Muslim empire soon spread far and wide outside its birth-place, Arabia, yet practically for more than a hundred years the unity of the Muslim empire remained intact. Muslims all over the world, subjects of the Muslim State as well of non-Muslim states, all recognised the Caliph in Madīnah, or later Damascus, as the Commander of the Faithful. After the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus, the Muslim world was divided first into two and later even more independent states. Yet the idea of the succession to the Prophet could not be eliminated from the Muslims. The very claim for this by more than one Muslim ruler at a time supports the contention more than it contradicts it.

There has been no difference of opinion among the Muslims as to the desirability of the institution of a central Caliph except for the insignificant and now almost extinct sect of the Khārijites. The difference among the Sunnīs and the Shi'ahs is only regarding the person chosen for the purpose immediately after the Prophet. Somehow or other, the rightfulness of 'Alīy, a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and his descendants, to the post has become a part of dogma with the Shi'ahs, while the Sunnīs as a matter of fact say that Abū-Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were elected by almost the unanimous vote of the community, and succeeded to the

1. Qur'ān, 3 : 97.

2. *Idem*, 40 : 16.

temporal power of the Prophet one after the other before 'Alīy himself was finally chosen for the purpose at the tragic murder of 'Uthmān, and that even 'Alīy did not lag behind in paying homage to and co-operating sincerely with his predecessors in the office.

There is, however, still an opportunity of easy disposal of this matter, since neither of these respected figures is now alive. It cannot be denied that the Prophet functioned as a spiritual guide as well as a temporal leader of the Faithful. As far as the spiritual heritage is concerned, there is almost unanimity even among the Sunnīs, except the less numerous Naqshbandīyah order of Šūfīs, that it was 'Alīy who was the immediate successor of the Prophet. Again, as far as the temporal power is concerned, all agree that it is a transitory thing, and even the Sunnīs do not believe that Abū-Bakr had any right to the post other than the fact that he was elected by the overwhelming majority. Thus the difference resolves itself into the question of fact whether the Prophet had or had not nominated 'Alīy as his immediate successor. Obviously the question is not of any practical importance to-day, after thirteen centuries have revolved since the demise of the persons concerned. The Sunnīs do not mind 'Alīy's being styled the *وصى رسول الله* (Executor of the will of the Messenger of God), since legally an executor and a beneficiary of a testament are not co-equal.

Nomination by the reigning Caliph, of his successor, failing which a general election, must obviously have been, and was in fact, a matter of course, among the *Shī'ahs* as well as the Sunnīs at all times.

CHAPTER IX

The History of International Law before Islam

MONTESQUIEU has rather bluntly remarked :

“ Toutes les nations ont un droit des gens ; et les Iroquois mêmes, qui mangent leurs prisonniers, en ont un. Ils envoient et reçoivent les ambassades, ils connaissent les droits de la guerre et de la paix : le mal est que ce droit des gens n'est pas fondé sur les vrais principes.”¹

But which people has not once been primitive and even savage ? I need not dilate here on the causes that led to the early or late appearance of different peoples in the society of civilised nations. Further, I do not need to point out that man is the most receptive of created beings ; yet it must not be lost sight of that, given similar circumstances, men, more often than not, think alike ; and it will be absurd to conclude that the

1. *Esprit des Loix*, livre I, ch. 3, p. 7 (Paris 1860) : all the nations possess an international law, even the Iroquois who eat their prisoners. They send and receive envoys, they know the rights of war and peace. Only trouble is that this international law is not based on right principles.

later in time must unavoidably have borrowed his ideas in all cases from those who lived earlier.

It is not necessary here to refer to the history of international laws of other nations in any detail except in so far as they may have contributed to the development of Muslim International Law. The known history of Man begins with the Sumerians, naturally very hazy. There were facilities of intercourse between the peoples of the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The people of Syria, however, had the greater advantage of utilising the accumulated experience of past ages along with their own gifts and resources. People of the Mediterranean sea-board possess, therefore, peculiar interest. Their intercourse led not only to interchange of commodities but even of ideas. Great civilisations have flourished successively in Egypt, Syria, Carthage, Greece, and Rome—all situated on the Mediterranean. The peace treaty between the Egyptian Ramses II (Sesostris, who ruled between 1292-1225 B.C.) and the King of the Hittites of Northern Syria, designed in the treaty as *Ḫiṭāsēr* (chief of *Ḫiṭai*, now the Turkish *Hatay*) is probably the oldest diplomatic document that has come down to us in the original, a silver tablet in this case, inscribed in the Hittite language. It stipulated not only the end of the great Syrian war and perpetual peace between the two kings under the protection of the deities of both the countries, but also an alliance against the enemies of both the contracting parties. The trade and industries of both the nations were to be immune. Convicts of one country taking refuge in the other had to be extradited, but it was expressly provided that certain kinds of punishment could not be inflicted on the people so extradited.¹ The Phœnicians gave Greece such an elementary requirement of civilisation as the alphabet. The Hebrews or Jews, another Syro-Palestinean people, evolved a peculiar culture of their own under Moses and the Divine Pentateuch. The Jews were sworn enemies of some foreign nations, as the Amalekites for example, with whom they declined to have any peaceful relations whatever. When they went to war with these people, they killed not only the warriors on the battlefield, but also the aged, the women, and the children in the homes (see Samuel XV for instance). With those nations, however, of which they were not sworn enemies, they used to have international relations. Ambassadors were considered sacrosanct and treaties were faithfully observed.² The influence of the Jewish Bible has continued to exert itself on the world through European nations who embraced Christianity, Jesus Christ himself being born among the Jews.

We now pass to Europe. The Greeks were greatly influenced by Phœnician culture, but the system of international law they evolved was essentially law between city-states of the Greek peninsula. All non-Greeks were termed barbarians, and Aristotle asserted that "nature intended

1. Holtzendorff, *Handbuch des Völkerrechts*, I, 168.

2. Oppenheim, *International Law*, I, 55-56 (4th ed.).

barbarians to be slaves"¹ of the Greeks. Plato,² although he advised his countrymen to be more lenient in their mutual treatment, never entertained the idea that non-Greeks deserved any share in the milder treatment he proposed. The public law of Greek *nations* (subjects of different city-states are meant thereby), was considerably developed, and even a sort of League of Nations was established by many of these cities. The covenant of one such league, the Amphictyonic League of Delphi may be quoted with interest :

"We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town nor cut it from running water in war or peace ; if any other shall do this, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of god or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power."³

For a detailed study of Greek International Law, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* (2 vols.) by C. Phillipson and its admirable bibliography would be useful.

Rome conquered Greece politically yet soon it was reconquered by the Greek, intellectually. The Romans evolved their own laws. They set a college of priests, called *fetials*, who managed relations with foreign countries when war was declared, peace was made, treaties of friendship or alliance were concluded, when Romans had an international claim before a foreign state or *vice versa*. The life and property of the citizens of a state which had no treaty of friendship with Rome, were not safe in the Roman territory ; such persons could be made slaves and their property seized. Only ambassadors were exceptions. Citizens of a friendly state had a right to legal protection ; and justice was administered to them by the *prætor peregrinus*.⁴

The Roman Empire ruled over Syria and Egypt also. Thus it had common frontiers with Irân, and hence the vicissitudinous wars for centuries together between the two rivals. The Roman Empire was later divided into two, and it was the Eastern Roman Empire of the Byzantines with which we are concerned. Obviously this Eastern Empire was more intensely influenced by Greek than its counterpart in Rome. Nevertheless, it was the code of Justinian, adopted from laws of Rome, that regulated life in countries where the Arabs had direct commercial and other interests. Roman laws of peace, more especially private international law, could be regarded as fairly developed, yet the laws of war were in the main based on the discretion of individual commanders, and we can glean the rules of belligerent conduct in the wars waged against the Persians and others.

The Arabian Peninsula had common frontiers with both the Byzantine and the Persian Empires. Both these Empires had carved out for them-

1. *Politics*, bk. I, ch. 7.

2. Cited by Lawrence, *Principles of International Law*, p. 15 (6th ed.).

3. *International Law* by Wilson and Tucker, p. 16 (8th ed.).

4. Cf. Oppenheim, *International Law*, I, 59-61 (4th ed.).

selves colonies, protectorates and even buffer-states of purely Arab peoples. As we have already seen, what we call Muslim law has not been developed by Arabs only ; people from Syria, Irān, Egypt, Turkistān, etc., co-operated from the very first centuries of its development. The researcher in the *history* of Muslim International Law will deal with Roman, Persian, Buddhist and other systems of international law. For me it will suffice to describe conditions in Arabia only, from the point of view of international law, since it was the rules prevalent in this country that were in the main utilised by the Muslims with adaptation, amendment, addition and adoption.

Pre-Islamic Arabia.

At the dawn of Islam, early in the seventh century of the Christian era, Arabia presents itself as a vast congeries of innumerable independent political groupings, based primarily on tribalism. The tribes were either nomad or settled. Even members of one and the same tribe were, more often than not, divided into these two kinds. The settled Arabs had generally their own city-states. "Each city had its surrounding territory, large enough—but not unnecessarily extensive—to allow of the convenient assembly of its free citizens, for the purpose of exercising the rights and discharging the obligations incidental to citizenship. . . Though the Arabs spoke a common language, took part in common fairs, consulted the same oracles, worshipped the gods in common [and to a great extent observed the same customs], yet their separation into independent city-states rendered possible the evolution of law governing the relationships between them in their capacity of sovereign powers. The position of such autonomous communities cannot be said to be fundamentally different from that, say, of the European states from the point of view of the operativeness and applicability of an international law. It is true that the intrinsic kinship of the Arabs stamps them as practically one nation, even though subdivided into different municipalities. But international law requires for its development the existence of independent *political* communities, not necessarily different in race, language, religion, or anything else. . . The characteristic note of each city was competence and self-sufficiency. . . The intense genealogism of the Arabs prompted an attitude of civic seclusion. The spirit of separateness, of isolation made political unity impossible. To the Arab, his state, i.e., his tribe and tribal settlement (قرية and دارة), was no vapid abstraction, but a living reality. He was bound to it by an almost indissoluble tie ; he was ready to give up his life for it, since he was indebted to it for his privileges, for his dignity, for his very existence. . . The Arabs as Arabs cherished aspiration for unity, but as citizens their constant aim was decentralization ; and their claims of citizenship invariably triumphed over those of racial kinship. Although their genius

was so versatile, they found free scope for its exercise within the circumscribed limits of their respective city-states and settlements. They constructed no great works of engineering skill. Their concern was with the conquest of the intellectual dominions (*poetry*, I mean) rather than with the establishment of territorial empires. Their nature is characterized by the love of art,¹ as a contrast for example, to the love of knowledge attributed to the Greek, and to love of wealth attributed to the Phœnicians and Egyptians. They may have proved incapable of political unity, but they were possessed of that intellectual unity which marks the true civilization of a people."²

In remoter antiquity, especially in Yaman, veritable empires had sprung up, thanks to the amenities of life that were provided there by nature, yet at the dawn of Islam even there chaos ruled supreme and the older kingdoms and empires had disintegrated into petty townships. The territories under foreign domination such as 'Umān, Bahrain, etc., were rather better off, although even there division into nomads and the settled obtained.

Not only the city-states of Arabia, but even the large number of wandering tribes could be dosed with the same physis of political personality. In political autonomy they were inferior to none. Territory they did possess, although they lived in different seasons of the year in different parts of it. They also had their own political organisation. They administered justice, they waged war and concluded treaties just as any other state.

Bellum omnium contra omnes has so often been pictured as the normal condition of Arabia. It may be true to a certain extent. That, however, is no denying the fact that the Arabs managed, somehow or other, how to live a peaceful life also. For instance, they evolved the institution of the months of the *truce of God* (أشهر حرم)³ which so much mitigated the hardships reserved for unallied tribes. Again, they developed the escort system to the pitch of fine art, which was another factor in saving life and property in the midst of hungry Beduins. An interesting and important quotation from a classical author gives a glimpse of this great institution :—

“Every trader who set out from Yeman or Hedjāz (for Dūmatul-jandal in the extreme north of Arabia), acquired the services of the Quraishite escort as long as he travelled in the country inhabited by the Muḍarite tribes, since no Muḍarite nor ally of the Muḍarites harassed the Quraishite traders. So, the Kalbites never harassed

1. See further : *The City-State of Mecca*, (*Islamic Culture*, July 1938), p. 275.

2. Adopted *mutatis mutandis* from what others have written regarding others, yet so true of Arabia also. Regarding the conditions of Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet, see my article, *The City-State of Mecca*, (*Islamic Culture*, July 1938).

3. Cf. *Islamic Culture*, (July 1938), pp. 267-268 ; Proceedings of the 2nd session of the Idārah Ma'ārif Islāmiyah, Lahore, pp. 98-99.

them as they were allied to the Banu-al-Jusham; and the Tayites also never harassed them because of their alliance with Banū-Asad. . . When they intended to go to 'Irāq, they acquired the services of escorts of Banū-'Amr-ibn-Murthid (of the clan of Qais-ibn-Tha'labah), which protected them in the whole of the country inhabited by the tribes of Rabi'ah. . . When going to al-Mushaqqar in Bahrain, Quraishite escorts were sought. . . Then the fair of Şuhār, in 'Umān, which assembled on the first day of the month of Rajab and continued for five days. And al-Julandā-ibn-al-Mustakbir taxed them there a tithe. Then the fair of Dabā which was one of the two major ports of Arabia. It was visited by traders from Sindh, India, China, people of the East and the West. . . When going to the fair of Maḥara, in the southern extremity of Arabia, escorts of Banū-Muḥārib were employed. . . In the fair of Aden, however, no escorts were needed since it was a state-territory and of good order (أرض مملكة وأمر محكم) . . . In the fair of Rābiyah in Ḥadramawt, the Quraishites were escorted by the Banū-Ākil-al-Murār and the rest of the people were escorted by the Āl-i-Masrūq of Kindah. It brought glory and eminence to both these tribes. Yet the Ākil-al-Murār superseded their rivals on account of the patronage of the Quraishites¹. . . 'Ukāz was the greatest of the Arab fairs, and was visited by the tribes of Quraish, Hawāzin, Ghatafān, Aslam, Aḥābīsh, 'Adl, ad-Dīsh, al-Jabbār (MS. الجبا) and al-Muṣṭaliq."²

There are innumerable instances of individual escorts in the pre-Islamic history of Arabia.³

Another item of the law of nations was the system of "ilāf or pacts" (الايلاف العهود),⁴ developed by the Meccans. They concluded pacts, or rather obtained charters from the rulers of Syria, Abyssinia, Irān, Yaman, etc., in order to bring caravans of trade to their respective territories, in perfect immunity. The Meccan magnates promised the many tribes inhabiting on their trade-route to these different countries to carry their goods as agents without commission for commercial purposes, or otherwise concluded treaties of friendship and immune transit through their respective territories.⁵

1. Cf. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Ākil-al-Murār* (Lund, 1927).

2. Muḥammad-ibn-Ḥabīb (d 245 H.), كتاب المحبر (MS. British Museum), ch. Fairs of Arabia, pp. 181-84.

3. E. g. at-Tanūkhīy, المستجاد من فعات الاجراد (MS. Leningrad), Story No. 32, with acknowledgement to my class-mate in Bonn, Dr. Leo Pauly: "وبعث (مهلهل) معي خفيراً من ماء إلى ماء حتى وردوا إلى الحيرة"

Again al-Marzūqīy, كتاب الازمنة والامكنة II, 161: "وكانت هذه الاسواق... لا يصل احد اليها الا بخفير ولا يرجع الا بخفير"

4. Muḥammad-ibn-Ḥabīb, op. cit., p. 109.

5. Ya'qūbīy, I, 280 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 43, 45; Tabarīy, *Annales*, I, 1089; *idem*, *Tafsīr*, Vol. XXX, *Sūrah Ilāf*; *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. *Ilāf*; Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, p. 128; etc.

Although there was no unity in Arabia, in the sense that there was no one central authority for the whole of the desert Peninsula—so much so that in the words of Wellhausen there was “*ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit*”¹ (a community without superior authority)—yet it cannot be denied that strong tendencies were already working, before Islam, for a centralised unity. We have seen how the escort system had already embraced the whole country, from Mecca to Baḥrain, from Dūmatuljandal to Maharah. I can go even so far as to conclude that already an economic—as distinguished from political—federation had been accomplished in the Arabian Peninsula. For, when we study the question of fairs in Arabia, we learn a very curious story. Muḥammad-ibn-Ḥabīb² and al-Marzūqīy³ record it on the authority of Ibn-al-Kalbīy that the sequence of the fairs was as follows :

No. of month	Dates	Place
1	10-30	<u>K</u> haibar
3	1-30	Dūmatuljandal
6	1-30	al-Mushaqqar (Baḥrain, now Ḥasa)
7	1- 5	Ṣuḥār ('Umān)
7	30-?	Dabā ('Umān)
8	15-?	<u>S</u> hiḥr (Maharah)
9	1-10	Aden (Yaman)
9	15-30	San'ā' (Yaman)
11	15-30	Rābiyah (Hadramawt) as well as 'Ukāẓ (near Tā'if), simultaneously.
12	1- 8	<u>D</u> hul-Majāz (between 'Ukāẓ and Mecca).
12	9-11	Minā (place of ḥajj, outside Mecca).

Looking on the map, one finds at a glance that this means a tour of the whole of Arabia, from North to East, from East to South, from South to West and from West to North. Our authors have particularly mentioned that these were not local fairs but were attended by people from far-off parts of the country and even from abroad. For instance, they have mentioned that the Meccans attended the fairs of Dūmatuljandal and Rābiyah ; or, that 'Ukāẓ was attended by Aslam, Ḡhaṭafān and others. They also mention that many of the traders went from one fair to another, naturally not to all. Again, these were the all-Arab fairs (أسواق العرب الكبيرة)⁴;

1. This is the title of a monograph of Wellhausen.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 181-84.

3. كتاب الازمنة والامكنة, II, 161-70.

4. *Idem*, p. 161.

otherwise there were many other important though rather provincial fairs like Majannah,¹ Badr,² Ḥubāshah, etc.

Another evidence of centripetal tendencies in Arabia was the common arbitrators. These arbiters, soothsayers and other diviners were resorted to by all people irrespective of tribe and clan. 'Āmir-ibn-aḏ-Zarib and others have left many anecdotes of their impartiality, the reason for which they were trusted and respected.³

Among other international laws of peace in Arabia, we come across asylum and quarter (جواد),⁴ refuge,⁵ naturalised and domiciled aliens (مولى، حلفاء), extradition,⁶ hospitality of foreigners,⁷ and even laws of shipwreck.⁸

Last but not least, I may mention in this connection the famous Order of Chivalry, *ḥilf al-fudūl*, inaugurated in the time of the Jurhumites and revived again during the adolescence of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam. Its adherents swore to side with anyone oppressed, be he a co-citizen or a foreigner, within their city limits, and not to give up his cause unless justice was done.⁹ (For other organisations, called ذادة, against the mischief of those who would not observe the months of the *truce of God*, functioning in different fair-centres, cf. History of al-Ya'qūbī, Vol. I, pp. 314-15.)

Obviously, the laws of war were much more developed. Declaration of war,¹⁰ treatment of enemy person and property, prisoners of war,¹¹

1. al-Marzūqīy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 161, footnote; cf. Sa'īd al-Afghānīy, اسواق العرب (Damascus).

2. Ṭabarīy, *History*, I, 1307, 1460.

3. Cf. "Administration of Justice in Early Islam," *Islamic Culture*, April 1937; اسلامى عدل گسترى اپنے: *Majallah 'Uṭhmāniyah*, XI/1-2; *Histoire de l'Organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* by E. Tyan, Vol. I, pp. 30-80; criticisms and additions on the above by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *Revue des Études Islamique*, April 1939.

4. E. g., Ibn Hishām, p. 251; Ṭabarīy, *History*, I, 1203. For details, Ibn-Ḥabīb, *op. cit.* pp. 167-8.

5. Cf. دیوان الحماسة (ed. Europe, pp. 365-66) verses of Abū-Khīrāsh:—

حدث إلهى بعد عروة إذ بنحى خراش وبعض الشرا هو من بعض
ولم أدر من ألقى عليه رداءه على أنه قد سل عن ما جد محض

6. There are innumerable cases when a vendetta was prevented thereby.

7. Wāqidiy (ed. von Kremer), p. 23.

8. al-Azraqīy, اخبار مكة (ed. Europe), pp. 106-107.

9. Ibn Hishām, pp. 85-86; Suhailīy, روض الانف, I, 90-94; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 41; *Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal*, I, 190.

10. و آذن بعضهم بعضا بالحرب (cf. كتاب بكر و تغلب MS. Brit. Mus., Or., 6492, fol. 22a, b.)

11. وكانت ربيعة لا تسبى إذ العرب يتسابون في الجاهلية: 2207; Ṭabarīy, *History*, I, 2207; XII, 47; كتاب الاغانى.

distribution of booty,¹ special privileges of the commander of the expedition,² spies,³ hostages (دھائن),⁴ truce and armistice⁵ and parleys⁶ and a host of other matters, even distinctive uniforms,⁷ were treated in a more or less regularized manner, no matter how harsh or lenient.

Even neutrality was not unknown, and considerable material is available on the subject which we shall deal in Part IV of this monograph.

CHAPTER X

The Place of Islam in the History of General International Law

MODERN international law, in use practically all over the world, is in fact the law originated in Western Europe. Speaking of its history, writers habitually begin with the Greek city-states, describe the Roman period as immediately following, and then all of a sudden talk of modern times, neglecting the gap of full one thousand years that intervenes, and asserting that during the Middle Ages : "for an International Law there was . . . no room and no need."⁸

We do not know much about ancient Phœnicia, which gave Greece such an elementary requirement of culture as script, nor of Irân which was a rival of hers for centuries together. Otherwise we could have known to what extent the Greek system of international law owed its origin or modification to the influences of the city-states of the East.

Again, the influence of Eastern laws on Roman law has been examined by more than one competent scholar, and I do not propose to dwell on this topic at this moment. The main object of this chapter is to examine how far the assertion of Oppenheim tallies with facts when he states that there was no international law in Europe during the Middle Ages, that

1. Cf. any dictionary, s.v. مرباع .

2. Cf. 'Abdallah-ibn Ghanmah : *حكمك والنشيطه والفضول* quoted by the lexicon تاج المعروس s.v. مرباع and by as-Sarakhsîy, *al-Mabsû*, X, 9. The commander had a right over (1) a fourth of the booty, (2) any other thing which he chose before the distribution, (3) anything captured before the general plunder, (4) any fraction which was indivisible. For the "fourth" cf. also Tabariy, *History*, I, 1710.

3. They were of two kinds, viz., eye-spy (عين) and ear-spy (سماع), taken notice of even by the Qur'ân.

4. نقاض حرير والفرزدق, pp. 93, 462 (various kinds).

5. تاريخ البعقوني, I, 314.

6. *Bakr wa Taghlib*, (MS. Brit. Mus.), fol. 21b.

7. For instance, in the protracted war of Bakr and Taghlib, once all the members of a razzia shaved their heads except one who was proud of his fine hair, and was consequently killed at the hands of his own folk unawares.

8. Oppenheim, *International Law*, I, 62 (4th ed. 1928).

there was no need of such at that time, and that there was no intermediary link between the Roman Period and Modern Times which are separated from each other by almost a thousand years.

As we know, the characteristic feature of the Greek system was that it concerned itself with the limited number of city-states, situated in the Greek Peninsula and inhabited by people of one and the same race, speaking the same tongue, believing in the same religion, and observing the same customs, though independent of each other and jealously guarding this exclusive existence of theirs at no small cost. The Greek states had, in fact, two separate and distinct sets of the rules of international law, *viz.*, one to be observed in relation to Greek people, and the other regarding the rest of the world. This latter set of rules was less developed and scarcely systematised.

The chief feature of the Roman Period, on the other hand, is said to have been this, that their law applied not to people of one race but to subjects of the Roman Empire as a whole. This Roman Empire consisted, in fact, of so many states, more or less owing allegiance to Cæsar yet enjoying to a great extent internal autonomy and home-rule. Whenever these different states under the sway of Cæsar had some dispute with one another, the matter was referred to Rome and the decision of the Emperor, in accordance with Roman Law, was final. This is what our enthusiastic writers call the successor of the Greek system of international law and the precursor of its namesake of modern times. Perhaps one may be entitled to doubt the correctness of this statement. Why not give the name of Roman International Law to that set of rules which the Romans observed in their dealings with non-Roman countries, in times of war as well as peace? These rules might not have been very elaborate nor greatly developed to the extent of being systematised, yet they alone would legitimately be entitled to be called Roman International Law, and not that set of administrative rules which were applicable only to the component parts of the Empire itself. It would be simply a misnomer. My impression, however, is that the Roman International Law of peace was a great advance on the Greek system (cf. Phillipson's work); yet the Roman law of war remained very much the same, recognising no right for the belligerent, and using nothing but discretion regarding the non-Roman enemy.

The Modern system of international law, however, recognises that a belligerent has as much right as a friendly state in time of peace; that war does curtail certain rights, nevertheless many a right of an independent state remains intact even when the parties find themselves at war with each other.

How did that come about? The modern European system is said to be based upon the Roman system, and we have seen that there was nothing in the Roman Law which could have suggested this change of attitude. Is it a purely modern achievement or any influence of Christianity or anything else?

Let us take Christianity first. Although the European people began to embrace Christianity very early, yet the teaching of love inculcated by Jesus ill-suited the development of international law. Matthew transmits as the saying of Christ the injunction : " Resist not evil, but whoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other cheek also." And again : " Put thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword shall perish by the sword." And there are similar other sayings to the same effect. The early Christian teaching was, as Prof. Nys of Belgium has so clearly described,¹ that a Christian might not only not defend himself by the use of force, but he might even not ask for the help of the law of the country to protect him against tyranny. And as Prof. Norman Bent-which has recognised : " It was the spirit of the Hebrew against the Canaanite "—and may I add, also the movement for ' back to Rome ' ?—" and not the spirit of the Christian Gospel that moved the people that in the end became masters of the Roman Empire." ² Further, at the time of the formulation of the theories of Modern European International Law, Christianity lacked moral force more than ever. The papacy and clericalism had fallen into disrepute. Grotius, father of European International Law, for instance, mentions in the preface to his *De jure belli ac pacis*, (§. 28) as the occasion of his compiling that book (published 1625), that in his time the Christian nations of Europe behaved in their wars in a manner that even barbarians would be ashamed of.

To me it is unthinkable that Christianity should have provided for the necessary change while the civilised Christian nations believed till as late as 1856 that the benefits of their international law were confined to Christian nations ; and it was no philanthropic or Christian impulse but a sheer need of practical politics that led them to admit the Muslim state of Turkey in the society of the civilised nations under the treaty of 1856. Japan and other non-Christian nations had to wait still further to have the same honour. Many people cherished the same notions even much later, and in 1889, Woolsey³ still insisted that international law was what *Christian* nations recognised as obligatory in *their* mutual relations only. According to a Papal bull, the Christians were not bound by their pacts with Muslims.⁴

As Prof. Nys⁵ has vividly described, the Muslim occupation of Jerus-

1. *Les Origines du droit international*, p. 44 : " Les préceptes de renoncement prêchés par le Christ avaient été exagérés ; non seulement il avait été défendu aux fidèles de se protéger par la force, mais ils ne pouvaient même réclamer le plus légitime des appuis, ils ne pouvaient invoquer la loi de l'État."

2. *Religious Foundation of International Law*, p. 87.

3. Th. D. Woolsey, *International Law* (4th ed. New York, 1889), *in loco*, cited by A. Rechid, *op. cit.* p. 378.

4. For a long discussion and citations, cf. A. Rechid, *op. cit.*, pp. 426-30.

5. *Op. cit.*, pp. 141-42.

alem, that cradle of Christianity, followed by the occupation of Alexandria and Antioch, the two seats of Patriarchs, and the repeated defeats of Christians at the hands of the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Turks and others so embittered the clergy that it led the Christian church itself to *augment the horror of war*. So much so that monks and even Popes organised crusades ; and the orders of Templars, and Hospitalers, the order of St. John and the Teutonic order and others came into being simply for the purpose of waging war against Islam.¹ Moreover, as Prof. Walker² has remarked, it was only under the stress of Muslim fear, that the Christian Europe learned for the first time during the Crusades, to unite ; and different European nations fought under the same banner, which they had never done before in spite of having embraced Christianity and recognising in the Pope their common superior.

The cultural reaction of Spain and Southern Europe and of the Crusades cannot be too strongly emphasised. But there is one more aspect which must not be neglected in this connection. The earliest European writers on international law, such as Pierre Bello, Ayala, Victoria, Gentiles and others all hailed from Spain or Italy, and they were all the product of the renaissance provoked by the impact of Islam on Christendom. Baghdād in the East and Cordova in the West stood as torch-bearers of Arabian culture, and in between lay Europe obsessed by the fear of being dominated and subdued by one or the other of the two mighty empires of the Arabs.

Luther was a profound scholar of Arabic even as several Popes and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, not to speak of innumerable commoners that flocked into Arab Universities from all parts of Europe, and studied Arab laws and culture in their curricula. It was the Latin translation of Arabic books that supplied the educational needs of Europe for centuries.

But the question remains whether the Muslims themselves had cultivated an international law ? This we have already replied to in the preceding chapters, and we know that *siyar* (international law) has ever since been taught in all Muslim schools as part of *Fiqh* or Law.

It is clear from this, that the Muslims very early developed a science of international law, and divorcing it from political science and law general, made it an independent subject. And when we study the early Arabic works on international law and allied subjects, we have a vivid idea of the relations of the Muslims and the *Rūm* (Byzantines) and others in time of war as well as peace, and we see how interaction was going on not only in the art of warfare but also in the very science of international law. In Muslim law we come, for the first time, across the full-fledged notion of recognising rights for the enemy in all times, in peace as much as in war, rights endorsed by the Qur'ān and by the practice of the Prophet and his successors. Further, it is also to be noted that books

1. Nys, *op. cit.*, p. 143 ff.

2. T. A. Walker, *A History of the Law of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 89.

on *jura belli* (laws of war) by Ayala and Victoria, Gentiles and Grotius and others have no counterpart in the Roman and Greek literatures, and they are the product of an age when European erudition was not so highly developed as to-day. To us, therefore, they are but echoes of these Arabic works on *jihād* (war) and *siyar* (conduct in time of war and peace). There must we seek for the link between the Roman and the Modern Periods, and there must we recognise the origin of the epoch-making change in the concept of international law. And we see the rôle played by Islam in the world history of international law.

CHAPTER XI

The Ethical Basis of Muslim Law

IT must have been clear from the description of the origin, sources, and aim of Muslim Law that it attaches not a small importance to ethical values. In the beginning, there was one sole science which occupied Muslim intelligentsia, that of the commands of their religion. Soon many sciences had to be cultivated, history, philology, astronomy, etc.; yet they all revolved round and were subservient to the all-embracing Qur'ān : history primarily to explain the allusions in the Holy Book, philology (including poetry) to explain the exact sense of the words used in it, astronomy and physical geography to find out the direction of the Ka'bah to turn towards, as also the timing for the daily religious services, grammar to standardise the text and diction of the Holy Writ, and so on. This Qur'ānic basis of all sciences controlled the latitude to be exercised by poets and others, and always checked and pruned the morbid growth of un-Islamic morality.

When even the branches of law, like our own subject, International Law, acquired the status of independent and full-fledged sciences, they still retained their ethical values : their provisions had to have the sanction from the Qur'ān or the *Sunnah* or the Orthodox Practice. No Muslim science was originally cultivated for its own sake, independent and regardless of others ; but all were made subservient to the *Shari'ah* in order to contribute to the well-being of man in this world as well as in the Hereafter. Without belief in Resurrection and Reckoning, man may become more devilish than the Devil ; and man without enjoyment of what God has created for him would be no man at all. The Golden Mean is the rule in Islam (خيرالامور أوسطها), and this is true of even such an overwhelmingly materialistic science as Muslim International Law. And although divorced from law general and political science, international law of Islam was not based on mere human reason to be guided by convenience but continued to retain its ethical basis of the unchangeable Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.

M. HAMIDULLAH.

(To be continued)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PHYSICIAN, AR-RĀZĪ

A recent publication of Arabic texts by Dr. Paul Kraus, Cairo

ABŪ BAKR Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' ar-Rāzī (*Rhazes* 251/865-311/925 or 320/934) is known to the historians of medicine as the greatest clinical genius amongst the physicians of the Islamic world. His treatise on "Small-pox and Measles" is world famed; his *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fi't-Ṭibb* served, in its Latin translation, as a basis for medical education in Europe down to the XVIIth century. His *Hāwi fi't-Ṭibb* (*Continens Medicinæ*) is the greatest encyclopædia of therapeutics written during the Middle Ages.

As an alchemist, ar-Rāzī has been, as it were, discovered by Professor Ruska who published several of his works¹ and proved that Rāzī possessed a remarkable knowledge of the chemical properties of metals, and was more free from charlatanry and quackery than all the alchemists before and after him.

In recent years Dr. P. Kraus (Cairo) and Dr. S. Pines (Paris) have begun to investigate a hitherto unknown side of Rāzī's activity, *viz.*, his philosophical works. They have published several preliminary studies and an article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.²

They proved that Rāzī is, in philosophy, a remarkably original and independent thinker who does not follow the trodden path of Aristotelian Logic and Metaphysics. As far as the few completely preserved books and the many fragments of Rāzī's philosophical works which have come down to us, allow of judgment, he had a strong affinity to Plato's doctrines with some inflow of earlier Greek philosophy, and he possessed an amazing knowledge of the translated Greek and of the early Arabic literature (medical as well as philosophical). His atomism, different from the theories of the *mutakallimūn*, relies on the system of Democritus. He distinguished universal or absolute space from partial and relative space.

1. J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze*, Berlin 1935.

Idem, *Die Alchemie al-Rāzī's.*, in: *Der Islam* 1935.

Idem, *Al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimniss der Geheimnisse*, Berlin 1935 & 1937.

2. Vol. III (Leyden-London 1936) pp. 1134-6.

Paul Kraus, *Raziana I—IV in Orientalia*.

S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1935.

Absolute space, denied by the Aristotelians, is pure extent beyond the limits of the world ; it is infinite. In the same way he differentiates absolute and limited time. Absolute time is independent, existed before the creation of the world and will exist after its destruction ; Rāzī identifies it with Eternity (in Arabic : *dahr*). He denies the possibility of a reconciliation between philosophy and religion and the value of holy scripts. Therefore he was violently attacked as a heretic.

Now, Dr. Paul Kraus, Lecturer of Semitic languages at the Faculty of Letters of the Fuad I University in Cairo (Egypt), after several years of laborious research, has brought together a collection of Arabic and Persian texts of Rāzī's philosophical writings. He published, in a first volume, under the auspices of the Faculty, eleven of these texts¹; (a second volume is to follow at the earliest occasion). It is a beautifully printed volume of 316 pages in which Dr. Kraus gives a careful edition of Arabic and some Persian texts with all the variants of the MSS. and his corrections, as well as numerous and useful footnotes. Each of the eleven texts is preceded by an introduction in which Dr. Kraus furnishes ample information about its story, its bibliography and the MSS. or printed publications forming the basis of his edition.

This useful publication allows us for the first time to gain insight into Rāzī's philosophical thought which was hitherto known only by fragments enclosed in the polemical writings of his adversaries. Even his most important biographer, the celebrated astronomer and physicist, Abu'r-Rayhān al-Bērūnī (d. 448/1050) calls him a heretic and condemns his philosophical work.² The texts throw, moreover, a little more light on the life history of the great physician of which only scanty notes have come down to us. They allow us also to judge the excellent Arabic knowledge and style of Rāzī who was a Persian-born scholar. The Persian texts are not his, but translations from his works by that famous writer who was the Ismā'īlitic propagandist, traveller and poet, Nāṣir-i-Khosraw (V/XIth century). In sum, Dr. Kraus' merit in bestowing on us this important publication is very great. And as the printing of the second volume may be delayed by the war, I thought it useful to give the gist of the first volume now in the form of the following detailed analysis.

I. *Kitāb at-Ṭibb ar-rūḥānī*. (The Book of Spiritual Medicine)

This book is mentioned by most of ar-Rāzī's old bio-bibliographers (al-Bērūnī, Ibn al-Qiftī, ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, etc.) and by several modern

1. Abi-Bakr Muhammadi Filii Zachariae Raghensis (Razis) Opera Philosophica Fragmentaque quae supersunt, collegit et edidit Paulus Kraus. Pars. I Cahiræ 1939.

2. P. Kraus : *Épître de Bērūnī contenant le répertoire des ouvrages de Muḥammad b. Zakariyya'ar-Rāzī*, Paris 1936. German translation by J. Ruska, *Al-Bērūnī als Quelle für das Leben und die Schriften al-Rāzī's*, in *Isis* vol. V Bruges 1922, p. 46 foll.

authors (Wüstenfeld, Leclerc, Brockelmann, Ranking). De Boer has written on this book (*De Medicina Mentis*) for the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (in 1920), and given some extracts of the text. But Dr. Kraus' edition is the first complete one.

The exact time of the composition of the book is not known, but ar-Rāzī, in his introduction, says himself that he wrote it after his return from Baghdād to Rayy, his birthplace (in Ṭabaristān, North Persia, now Mazenderān). He composed it for the same Maṣṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad (governor of Rayy from 290 to 296 A.H./902-8 A.D.) to whom he had already dedicated his medical treatise *Al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fi't-Ṭibb*.

Ibn al-Jawzī has extracted passages from the book, with polemic remarks against it. The *Dā'i ad-Du'āt* (Chief of the Ismā'ilitic Missionaries or Propagandists) Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī who lived about 400 A.H. in Cairo, wrote a detailed refutation of the book in his *Al-aqwāl adh-dhahabiyya* ("The Golden Words"), with long extracts from it. These extracts were used by Dr. Kraus to check the Arabic text, and he also gives in his notes quotations from this refutation.

Dr. Kraus edited the text based on three MSS. (British Museum, Vaticana and Cairo) the most complete and correct of which is the first; this is in most of the doubtful passages in agreement with al-Kirmānī's quotations. As to the contents of the *Ṭibb Rūḥānī*, ar-Rāzī says in his short introduction that he wrote the book at the order of the aforementioned governor—he calls him *amīr* (prince)—as a counterpart to the *K. al-Manṣūrī fi't-Ṭibb*. He then gives the index of the twenty chapters.

CHAPTER I.—On the Excellence of Reason and its Praise.

Reason is the most valuable gift of God; by it we are distinguished from the animals which have to serve us. By reason mankind invented navigation, medicine and astronomy and came to recognise the existence of the Creator; to know what is useful to our body, to have insight into the structure of the world, etc. Reason is in opposition to passion which must not gain preponderance in our souls.

CHAPTER 2.—On the Fight against Passion, its Suppression, and a Summary of the Opinions of Plato, the Sage.

The aim of the spiritual medicine is the improvement of the character; its basic principle is the fight against passion and its submission to reason. The will to achieve this aim has been bestowed on man in different degrees; it is not so in animals and young children. He, who is best able to dominate his passions, is the philosopher. Passion incites man to pleasure and to forget the evil consequences of his doings; the danger of habit is

great. Even those among the philosophers who do not believe in a separate existence of the soul are of this opinion. Rāzī then discusses the real meaning of pleasure and satisfaction of desire, and at the end the Platonic psychology with its distinction of the reasonable soul, the soul of wrath and the soul of desire.

CHAPTER 3.—*Preliminary Remarks on the Different Forms of Evil which befall the Soul.*

A short chapter, occupying half a printed page only.

CHAPTER 4.—*That the Man must Recognise his own Faults.*

Following a (lost) pamphlet of Galen, "That Just People take Profit from their Enemies"—composed on the model of a similar writing by Plutarchus—Rāzī gives advice not to pay attention to the criticism of friends alone, but also to that of enemies, in order to fight against bad qualities of the character.

CHAPTER 5.—*On Love and Friendship with a Summary on Pleasure.*

A short discussion of the theory of physiology of pleasure (of which Rāzī treats in detail in his work following hereafter as no. VI) and its application to lovers. They have, by their exclusive attachment to the subject of love, a disadvantage in comparison with animals who may satisfy their concupiscence without any restriction. They abuse the reason bestowed upon them by the Lord; love often is followed by insanity, in the case of the loss of the beloved one. Example taken from Plato (but not known in the Greek texts). Then follow polemic remarks against contemporary men of letters who pretend that love is a sign of refined culture and sensitiveness. Rāzī maintains the opinion that refined culture is to be found only in philosophers, love in uncivilized Arabs, Kurds, Nabatians and Barbarians. The Greeks who were the most civilised people on the earth did not occupy themselves much with love. Poetry and science are nothing without philosophy and wisdom. Literality and dilettantism, so common amongst the educated people of the Islamic world, are without value. The literary men pretend that the prophets had been great lovers, but Rāzī declines to accept such prophets.

CHAPTER 6.—*On Vanity.*

Vanity is self-conceit; it prevents man from making efforts in continuing to promote his studies.

CHAPTER 7.—*On Envy.*

This is originated from cupidity and avarice together. Enviousness is mostly directed against friends and acquaintances. Therefore a foreign tyrannic ruler is often more appreciated than the indigenous sovereign who is exposed to the envy of his countrymen, even if he is much more just and righteous. Rāzī then insists on the evil physiological and psychological consequences of enviousness. To fight this vice, one has to be content with one's own possessions.

CHAPTER 8.—*On Fighting Wrath.*

Wrath is more harmful to the choleric than to the person who is its object. Rāzī gives examples from his personal experience, *e.g.*, when a man shouted so strongly in an excess of fury, that he got a hæmoptysis and died from phthisis. He also quotes an anecdote on the mother of Galen, the celebrated Greek physician. Rāzī then gives advice on avoiding the bad consequences of revenge.

CHAPTER 9.—*On Fighting Lies.*

The psychological cause of the lie is the desire to be appreciated. Discussion of the different kinds of lies and anecdotes illustrating them.

CHAPTER 10.—*On Avarice.*

Rāzī explains the difference between avarice and economy and relates his conversation with a miser about the causes of his attitude.

CHAPTER 11.—*On the Struggle against the Harm of Excessive Thought and Reflection.*

Rāzī advises the avoidance of excessive thought, because it is harmful to the soul ; it is better to give up oneself to recreation and joy in order to be sheltered against sorrow. Even the student of philosophy must not exaggerate ; he, who would try to learn within one year the philosophy of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Eudemus, Chrysippus, Themistius and Alexander (of Aphrodisias), would work himself to death or become insane. On the other hand, philosophy must not be studied as a simple pastime for leisure hours.

CHAPTER 12.—*On the Struggle against Grief.*

Too great a grief is harmful to the reason, the soul and the body. It is the excessive attachment to things which one loves, and those who possess many beloved things are exposed so much more to sorrows. The real sage must not attach himself to the perishable things of this world. The affliction of him who has no children is less than that of a person who has lost a child. The delight at the possession of a beloved being is in no proportion to the grief over his loss. Rāzī here gives some examples, and recalls his doctrine of pleasure (*hédone* of the Greeks). One must keep one's mind independent without becoming an ascetic. In this world all is perishable, even the greatest joy, so we have to be grateful for our own share of joy. Grief and complaint mean a downfall into passion. Time brings consolation; one must reflect upon the causes of one's affliction in order to get rid of it.

CHAPTER 13.—*On Concupiscence.*

Its cause is the prevalence of the concupiscent soul (called in Greek *psyché epithymêtiké*) which escapes from the control of the reasonable soul (*psyché logiké*). Rāzī illustrates his sayings by an anecdote on gluttony and his personal experience with a glutton in Baghdād. The answer of an ancient philosopher to a person who wondered about the paucity of his meal was : " I eat in order to live, and you live in order to eat ! "

CHAPTER 14.—*On Drunkenness.*

The consequences of drunkenness are dangerous, as it strengthens the concupiscent soul and the irascible (choleric) soul, and weakens the reasonable soul. Drinking is advisable only to fight grief and to stimulate courage.

CHAPTER 15.—*On Sexual Intercourse.*

Discussion of its physiological and psychological consequences. Exaggeration is harmful, as the man is neither a he-goat nor a bull. What is natural in animals is against nature in man.

CHAPTER 16.—*On Constrained Actions, on Playfulness and Bad Habits.*

They are to be suppressed with the help of the irascible soul. Rāzī then writes against the exaggeration of the religious ablutions. Dr. Kraus found this passage greatly abridged in two of the MSS., because it is contrary to the Islamic ritual.

CHAPTER 17.—*On Acquirement, Receipts and Expenditure.*

A discussion of mutual help in the human society. Every profession profits from the others. Exaggeration of acquirement is harmful ; it is better to acquire only what is useful for one's self and one's fellow citizens. It is better to acquire technical skill than material goods. Then follows an illustrating anecdote.

CHAPTER 18.—*On Longing after Rank and Social Station.*

Partly a repetition of ideas expressed in former chapters. Reason will prevent desire for wordly honours and ranks which do not attract philosophers.

CHAPTER 19.—*On the Best Conduct of Life.*

The best conduct is that of the philosopher who follows reason and struggles against passion. Bad religions and legislations incite the majority of men to an inferior, nay criminal behaviour, like that of the Daysonites (Bardesanes) and of the Muḥammira (Bābak), of the Manichaeans and other religious sects and dissidents. The best conduct of life is justness and avoiding quarrels with fellow citizens. By good advice and charity one will acquire the love and esteem of one's contemporaries.

CHAPTER 20.—*On the Fear of Death.*

Rāzī does not intend to discuss here the question of immortality of the soul which had been taught by many religions and philosophers. He declares the fear of death to be nonsensical. As in Rāzī's mind pleasure is nothing but the return of the normal condition of rest, so doubtlessly the eternal rest of death is preferable to life with its continuous change of pleasure and affliction. He, who fears death, does not die one, but many deaths. He, who believes in life in another world and retaliation, has still less reasons to fear death, presuming that he has the right conduct in this life.

After this probably greatest of Rāzī's philosophical works, Dr. Kraus edited a short treatise entitled :

II. *Kitāb as-Sīra al Falsafīyya* (The Book of the Philosophical Conduct of Life).

Dr. Kraus had published the Arabic text with an introduction and a French translation in his *Raziana I* in *Orientalia*, NS., vol. IV (Rome 1935) pp. 300-334. The present edition is an improved publication of the text, based on the unique MS. in the British Museum (Add. 7473 foll. 1B-5B).

In spite of its conciseness, this book is of the highest interest for the knowledge of Rāzī's personality. It is, as explained by Dr. Kraus, not only an exposé of Rāzī's ethical ideal, but an apology of his life in face of the attacks of his adversaries, who denied him the right to call himself a philosopher. Rāzī answers in full consciousness of his value as a pupil of the ancient Greek philosophers and physicians. According to Dr. Kraus who extracted a passage from Abū Ḥatim's *A'lām an-nubuwwa*, Rāzī felt himself to be in medicine an emulation of Hippocrates, in philosophy an imitation of Socrates in his later years. For, curiously enough, the Islamic tradition had formed an image of a Socrates, hostile to the society and had confused this picture with that of Diogenes ; alleging that Socrates had lived in a barrel in the desert, detested the consumption of meat and wine and so on, and preaching a kind of nihilism.

In his treatise, Rāzī begins refuting the attacks of his adversaries on the conduct of his ideal, Socrates, attributing this mode of existence to the first period of Socrates' life. But in his later life, Rāzī pretends that Socrates had fought for his home town, procreated children and followed the way of a real philosopher. Rāzī refers himself to his former writings, especially the "Spiritual Medicine" and then gives six maxims :

1. We have to expect, after our death, for our souls a state of happiness or unhappiness, according to our conduct in this world.
2. The aim for which we are created is not wholly pleasure, but acquisition of knowledge and practical justice : this will lead to a world where death and pain are unknown.
3. Nature and passion push us to worldly pleasure, but the intelligence must teach us to resist in favour of more important subjects.
4. Our Lord abominates injustice and ignorance and likes justice and knowledge. He will punish those who cause grief and pain.
5. We must not stand pain, hoping for a pleasure which surpasses in quantity and quality this pain.
6. The Creator has bestowed on us necessary things, like tillage and weaving and others by which the existence of mankind and the earning of its life is granted.

Rāzī then develops three maxims in detail. He condemns the ascetism of the Hindus, Manichæans and Christian monachism. Although an adherent of the metempsychosis creed, Rāzī admits the killing of noxious and dangerous animals, and a certain consumption of meat. He finishes by the sentence : "Philosophy is the imitation of God, the Exalted One, as far as it is possible to a human being." For details of the philosophical conduct of life, he again refers to his "Spiritual Medicine."

In the last section of his treatise—which is the most interesting part of it—Rāzī defends himself with vigour against the allegation of his adversaries that he did not deserve the title of a philosopher. On the theoretical point of view, he points out the great number of his scientific books

(about 200) which he had composed ; philosophical, physical, medical and alchemical works. He mentions that he had no time to perfect himself in mathematics. We learn on this occasion, that he had devoted fifteen years of his life to the completion of his greatest medical work, " *The Summary* " (*Al Jāmi'* better known as *Al-Hāwī fi't-Ṭibb*, in Latin, *Continens Medicinæ*) so that he had lost the use of his eyes and of his right hand ; he was in need of a secretary for reading and writing. Thus it is evident that he had written his " *Philosophical Conduct of Life* " in his old age.

On the practical point of view, Rāzī explains that he well merits the name of a philosopher. He does not live at the court of his sovereign as a soldier or official, but as his medical and ethical adviser ; that he avoided exaggeration in his mode of life and that he took interest in all scientific books and men besides his own literary activity. He asks, in conclusion, his adversaries to specify their conception of the conduct of the philosopher, in order to discuss it with them.

III. *Maqāla fimā ba'd aṭ-ṭabī'a* (Discourse on Metaphysics)

This is a fragment of a small work whose beginning and ending are missing. Dr. Kraus was obliged to establish the text from a unique and not faultless MS. in the Rāghib Pāshā Library (No. 1463) in Iṣtānbul. There is no doubt about the authenticity of this discourse, as the author quotes it in his book, " *On the Doubts against Proclus*," which is known to be a work of ar-Rāzī. The *Maqāla* may be a fragment of Rāzī's lecture on physics, *Sam'al-Kiyān* or from his book *Fī ārā aṭ-ṭabī'iyya* (" *On the Opinions of the Physicists*").

The contents of this fragment are the discussion of certain questions of the Greek Physics in an aphoristic form, the criticism of doctrines without giving Rāzī's own opinion, and dialectics, e.g., he puts the questions : What is the *Physics* (nature) of the Greeks ? How does it act in the material world ? Exemplification from the formation and growth of the embryo and of plants. Discussion of the ancient opinions on the eternity of the celestial bodies and the universe and of the unlimited duration of movement, time and (empty) space. All this is criticised by Rāzī in a negative sense ; but he does not reveal, in this fragment at least, his own standpoint.

The main interest of this fragment lies in the great number of quotations from ancient and early Arabic authors. Besides quotations of well-known sentences from Hippocrates, Galen and Alexander of Aphrodisias, we find an unknown aphorism of Aristotle : " He says that Nature has been endowed with wisdom on behalf of the soul which is dispersed in the world." Rāzī answers : " This is a myth ! " He then quotes Plotinus, Joannes Philoponus (in Arabic *Yahyā an-Nahwī*) from Proclus' book, " *On the Eternity of the World*," the Rhetorician Antiphon from one of Philoponus' commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* ; Porphyrius from his lost

commentary on the same, the astronomer Seleucus according to the *Placita* of Plutarchus ; but this latter quotation cannot be identified ; and so on. He goes on to quote a metaphysical and physical work of Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī, " the philosopher of the Arabs," a work that has not come down to us ; sentences from an unknown philosophical work of the great Ṣābian astronomer and mathematician, Thābit ibn Qurra, and of the Ṣābian translator, Abū Hilāl al-Ḥimsī (whose son, Hilāl, translated the conical sections of Apollonius). In all this Rāzī's knowledge of the ancient literature is amazing.

IV. *Maqāla fī amārāt al-iqbāl wa'd-dawla* (Discourse on the Signs of the Chances of Fortune)

A short irregularly written pamphlet of three pages. It is mentioned by al-Bērūnī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. Edited by Dr. Kraus from the MS. 1463, Rāghib Pāshā (Istānbul). It contains an enumeration of signs of lucky chances for the use of princes ; it recalls al-Kindī's *Fī Mulk al-'Arab wa-kammiyatih* (" On the Reign of the Arabs and its Duration").

V. *Min Kitāb al-ladhdha* (From the Book of Lust)

Dr. Kraus, in his introduction, informs us that this book is lost, although it was widely known and influential in the Islamic world. He was obliged to pick out small fragments of it from the works of various authors. It is a psycho-and physiological analysis of lust, a theme which was treated by ar-Rāzī also in some of his other works (e.g., in *Tibb rūhānī* and *Sīra falsafīyya*). Rāzī shows in this book a strong Platonic trend. He must have been acquainted with Plato's *Timæus* and *Philebus*, probably by Galen's paraphrase. Rāzī was considered, on account of the opinions expressed in this work, as an Epicurean or Hédônist (later Arabic authors e.g., Ibn al-Qiftī, confused Epicurus and Pyrrho, the founder of the Sceptical school).

The main doctrine of ar-Rāzī is that pleasure is the giving up of a non-natural condition, pain (*alam*) the giving up of natural condition. Rest (*rāha*) is intermediate between the two and is not pleasure.

Dr. Kraus edited fragments of the *K. al-ladhdha* from works of Ṣadr-ad-Dīn Shīrāzī, Naṣir ad-Dīn Ṭūsī and his commentator, Qūshajī. Mentions of the book are found in writings of Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī, Miskawayh, Ibn al-Haytham and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*. The bibliographies (*Fihrist*, al-Bērūnī, etc.) moreover, quote another book of Rāzī, " *On the Discussions on Lust which took place between him and Shahīd al-Balkhī*." The latter, one of the oldest Persian poets and philosophers, a contemporary of Rāzī, is mentioned in Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī's *Ṣiwān al-Hikma* where a long extract from Al-Balkhī's book, " *On Lust*," is quoted.

Last and not least, Dr. Kraus found in Nāṣir-i-Khosraw's famous *Zād-al-Musāfirīn* long extracts from Rāzī's book, giving a detailed analysis of its contents, but in Persian translation. He printed these extracts and has taken pains to re-translate them into Arabic. Then follows Nāṣir-i-Khosraw's Persian refutation of Rāzī's book.

VI. *Min Kitāb al-'ilm al-ilāhī*. (From the Book of the Theological Science).

This book, also lost, is known by the refutations written by a series of prominent authors who all charged ar-Rāzī with heresy. Fragments are quoted and collected by Dr. Kraus from al-Fārābī, al-Mas'ūdī, 'Alī al-Jūzjānī, Ibn al-Haytham, Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Riḍwān, Nāṣir-i-Khosraw and Maimonides. Dr. Kraus has edited thirteen extracts from these authors in order to give an idea of the contents of Rāzī's book.

The main themes discussed are : metempsychosis, the empty space, a violent criticism of prophecy and the prophetic mission, and a pessimistic outlook on the doctrine of lust (according to Maimonides : the amount of pain in the world is greater than that of pleasure).

Dr. Kraus attracts attention to the fact that this book shows evident literary affinities to the Pythagorean tradition, pronouncedly anti-Aristotelian, and not without some Šābian-Harrānian and Manichæan dualistic trend. Then follows a discussion of Rāzī's fundamental doctrine of the five eternal principles or elements, of which he treats *in extenso* in the following chapter, (No. VII). He supports this doctrine by pretended Manichæan and Zoroastrian ideas. Discussion of the authentic scripts of Mānī, with magic and alchemistic influences. Al-Mas'ūdī had seen Rāzī's book about 310 A.H.

VII. *Al-qawl fi'l-quḍamā al k̲h̲amsa* (The Discourse on the Five Eternal Elements)

This is a fragment, and in Dr. Kraus' opinion, it is together with the three following fragments (VIII-X), doubtlessly extracted from the aforementioned *K. al-'ilm al-ilāhī*.

According to ar-Rāzī, the five eternal principles are : the Creator, the soul, the matter (*hayūlā*=Greek *hylē*), the space and time. Certain Arabo-Persian authors (Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī, Ṭūsī and Shahrastānī) ascribe this doctrine to the Šābians of Harrān, and they pretend that their terms in exposing it, were the same as those of which ar-Rāzī made use. But this does not mean that he borrowed his doctrine from the Harrānians. According to Kraus it was Massignon who found out for the first time that the Harrānian literature was a literary romance, the development of which had been promoted by several early Islamic philosophers : e.g., Abū Sahl

al-Balkhī, Abu't-Tayyib as-Sarakhsī (a disciple of al-Kindī), and the doubtfully renowned Ibn Wahshiyya. Ar-Rāzī belongs to this group, and it is easy to follow the development of the romance in his case. Firstly, the attribution of the doctrine of the five eternal principles to the Harrānians is stated exclusively in the works of later authors who were well acquainted with Rāzī's writings. Secondly, Rāzī himself, in his *K. al-'ilm al-ilāhī* expressly ascribed his doctrine to the Harrānians. He pretends, in other scripts, this doctrine to be that of the pre-Socrates, repeated by Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato and the old natural philosophers. All these authorities are cited in the Harrānian writings.

As a result of this agreement, Dr. Kraus thinks that Rāzī, in order to cover his heretic doctrine by a very old authority, did not ascribe it to the Harrānians of the III / IXth century, his immediate predecessors, but to the ancient Greek sources of the Harrānian knowledge. By doing this, Rāzī becomes himself one of the main promoters of the Šābian (Harrānian) romance or legend. In the same manner, says Dr. Kraus, the heretic Ibn ar-Rāwandī made use of a literary legend, viz., ascribing his bold attacks on the religions of revelation to Indian Brahmans, which is an impossible allegation.

For us, the main sources of the knowledge of Rāzī's doctrine of the five eternal principles are of al-Bērūnī, Ibn Taimiyya, Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī and his commentator, Najm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī and especially the *Kitāb al-azmina w'al-amkina* of Aḥmad al-Mazūqī (d. 421 A.H.) who rendered in detail Rāzī's doctrine of the eternity, of time, (empty) space, and of the descent of the soul into matter.

VIII. *Al qawl fi'l-hayūlā* (The Discourse on Matter)

This book was mentioned by al-Bērūnī and, under various titles, by the Arabic bibliographers. Dr. Kraus gives extracts from Nāṣir-i-Khosraw's Persian rendering of Rāzī's doctrine (which he has retranslated into Arabic), appending Nāṣir's refutation. It is a Democritic-atomistic interpretation of Plato's doctrine (in his *Timæus*) of the space (Greek *chora*). This doctrine has been commented in detail by Dr. S. Pines in his aforementioned German book on the atomistic doctrine in the Muslim world.

IX. *Al qawl fi'l makān wa'z-zamān* (The Discourse on Place and Time)

In this work, of which only fragments remain, Rāzī is in sharp opposition to Aristotle, because he admits, besides the place (*makān juz'ī*) i.e., the surface of a given body, the unlimited empty space ; following in this Democritus and Plato. In the same way, he is opposed to the Aristotelian conception of time, i.e., the succession of "nows," the Platonic idea of eternity (Greek *aiōn*, Arabic *dahr*). The main sources of our knowledge

of this doctrine of Rāzī are Ibn Ḥazm, Nāṣir-i-Khosraw and Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī in his most mature philosophical work, *Al-maṭālib al-‘āliya* ; Dr. Kraus reproduces the relative passages from the works of these three authors, rendering in Arabic the Persian text of Nāṣir-i-Khosraw.

X. *Al-qawl fi'n-nafs wa'l-'ālam* (The Discourse on the Soul and the [Creation of the] World)

Dr. Kraus explains that Rāzī's ideas in this (lost) book treating of the longing of the soul of the universe for the matter, and its descent into it, doubtlessly witnesses a gnostic trend. It represents, in Rāzī's mind a kind of Platonic myth which is apt to make understandable, although not to explain in full, the creation of the world. This is a point in Rāzī's metaphysics in which he finds himself in agreement with the religions of revelation, and so with the representatives of the Islamic orthodoxy. Rāzī does not hesitate to pretend that his doctrine is the only proof to defeat the supporters of the eternity of the world (*ad-Dahriyya*), viz., the Aristotelians.

XI. *Al-munāẓarāt bayn Abī Ḥātim ar-Rāzī wa-Abī Bakr ar-Rāzī* (The Discussions between Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī and Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī)

This discussion took place at Rayy (Ṭabaristān, North Persia) the birthplace of the two Rāzīs. Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān ar-Rāzī was an Ismā'īlitic *dā'ī* (missionary, propagandist) who died in 322 A.H. some years after Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī. This latter is said by al-Bērūnī to have died in 311 A.H. but as the aforementioned discussion took place in the presence of the general Mardāwij, who had conquered Rayy in 317, Abū Bakr must have lived after this year. The text of the discussion is to be found in Abū Ḥātim's book, *A'lām an-nubuwwa* which is not printed, but of which several MSS. exist in India. Dr. Kraus edited the text of the discussion—which forms the introduction to Abū Ḥātim's book—mainly from a MS. belonging to and graciously lent by Dr. Ḥusayn al-Ḥamdānī (of Bombay).

The following are the themes of the discussion :

1. The criticism of Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī against the religions of revelation and his negation of the necessity of prophecy. He alleges that the prophets and the controversies between the religions are the main causes of wars and of the misery of mankind. (In this he foreshadows the French Era of Enlightenment).

He criticises with particular severity the Shī'ite doctrine of the Imāms and the blind acceptance of their authority preached by the Ismā'īlitic propagandists.

2. Rāzī's doctrine of progress : the fact that there exist contradictions between the doctrines of philosophers and learned men is not an argument against philosophical and scientific investigation. On the other hand, he pretends that the contradictions existing between the religions provoke the abolition of religious truth. On the contrary, if a later philosopher or learned man contradicts one of his earlier predecessors, he does it in the interest of the eternal progress of the science. Perhaps none of us possess the entire truth, but it is our duty to promote, as far as possible philosophical and scientific investigation ; we are always following the path to truth. The ancient philosophers and other thinkers possibly were more important and greater than we are, but nevertheless we can improve their results by our own investigations (like dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants, being enabled to look more far away).

3. A detailed discussion on Rāzī's doctrine of the five eternal principles, especially on space, time, and the descent of the soul into matter. It ends by a curious discussion of the three kinds of movement (natural, by constraint and involuntary).

At the end Dr. Kraus reproduces another refutation of Rāzī's arguments by the aforementioned Ismā'īlīte, Aḥmad al-Kirmānī in his book, *Al-aqwāl adh-dhahabiyya*.

Here ends the first volume ; in a second one, Dr. Kraus intends to publish a series of philosophical writings and fragments of Rāzī's, with a biography and indexes. He prepares, also, a survey of Rāzī's philosophy in a European language.

DR. MAX MEYERHOF.

THE JEWISH DEBT TO ARABIC WRITERS ON MUSIC

“ What saith the science of music among the Christians?
‘ I was assuredly stolen out of the land of the Hebrews.’ ”

IMMANUEL BEN SOLOMON: *Meḥabberot*, xxvi, 16.

WHETHER it is the art or the science of music to which Immanuel ben Solomon (d. ca. 731 A.H./1330 A.D.) refers in his *Meḥabberot*, there is little concrete evidence that the Christians stole or borrowed either from the Jews. It is true that some musicographers have endeavoured to prove that the early music of the Christian Church is of Jewish origin and that source of the *neume* is to be sought in the Hebrew *ne'imah*, but, however shadowy these claims may be, which primarily concern the *art* of music, it is quite certain that, in the *science* of music, the Christians owe nothing to the Jews of the Middle Ages. Yet perhaps we ought to consider the lines of the Jewish fabulist as a mere poetic licence rather than a racial vaunt and be sufficiently indulgent to view the statement in the light, that the Jewish author was more concerned with pleasing a generous patron with a reminiscence of *Genesis*, XL, 15, than with veracity.

The truth is that during the early Middle Ages, the Jews derived all that they knew in the *quadrivium* or *mathesis* from Arabic writers, and during the late Middle Ages from Christian scholars. Although, as I have already shown elsewhere,¹ the Jews made the theory or science of music one of the prescribed subjects of study from the time of Isaac Israeli (d. c. 320 A.H./932 A.D.), yet during this period they did not produce a solitary writer of any originality on the subject. Indeed, one has but to turn to Moritz Steinschneider's *Jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters* to realize how little this field was cultivated by the Jews,² and even what has been preserved of these Jewish writings eloquently testify that they are direct or indirect borrowings. What was “ borrowed ” from Arabic sources we shall see.

The first of the Jewish writers who can be called a *musta'ir* is Sa'adya Gaon (d. c. 331 A.H./942 A.D.). In the tenth chapter of his *Kitāb al-amānāt* there is a section dealing with the influence of music on the soul of man. Sa'adya comes to deal with this subject in his treatment of sense impressions in which he selects sight, hearing and smell for his purpose.

1. *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* (1933), pp. 870-1.

2. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvii (1905), pp. 559-61.

In ignoring taste and touch, he follows Al-Kindī (d. c. 258 A.H./870 A.D.), called "the philosopher of the Arabs," and we can place our finger on the identical work from which Sa'adya borrowed.

Sa'adya begins with the sense of sight and argues that single colours do not produce a beneficial effect on the soul, whereas a mixture of colours is not only pleasing to the eye but is stimulating to the soul. Passing to the sense of hearing he endeavours to show a similar result, i.e., that the reiteration of a *note* of the same pitch, or a *beat* of the same measure, creates monotony, whereas a combination of notes differently pitched, or beats differently measured, creates an agreeable effect on the soul. He then proceeds to describe the eight rhythmic modes together with the corresponding *ethos*,¹ all of which, as I pointed out many years ago,² is derived from an Arabic source, and is to be found in the *Risāla fī ajzā' khabariyāt al-mūsīqī* of Al-Kindī, the exemplar of which is in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.³

The next Jewish writer on the theory of music is Abraham bar Hiyya (d. c. 533 A.H./1136 A.D.). He was the author of a treatise entitled the *Yesode ha-tebunah* which is supposed to have dealt with arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy and music. It only survives in fragments, unless the *Hibbur ha-meshihah*, a work on geometry, is part of this treatise. The latter work shows its dependence on Arabic geometers, and perhaps the section on music was similarly dependent. In the Vatican (400,5) there is a manuscript on music attributed to him, but it has not yet been critically scrutinized, although it is said to be a translation from an Arabic original.⁴ In his *Megillat ha-megalleh*, this author quotes from Sa'adya on music.

In Joseph ibn 'Aqnīn (d. 625 A.H./1226 A.D.), we see this dependence on Arabic works very clearly. In his *Ṭabb al-nufūs*, Ibn 'Aqnīn deals with arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, music and statics. The Arabic works, recommended for study, are the *Kitāb fī'l-uṣūl* (Elements) of Euclid, and the *Kitāb al-arithmātiqī* of Nicomachus, the *Kitāb al-akkār* (Spherics) of Theodosius, the *Kitāb fī'l-ashkāl al-karī* (Spherics) of Menelaus, the *Kitāb fī'l-kura wa'l-ustuwāna* (Sphere and Cylinder) of Archimedes, the *Kitāb al-makhrūtāt* (Conic Sections) of Apollonius, the *Kitāb fī'l-a'dād al-mutahabba* of Thābit ibn Qurra, the *Istikmāl* of Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin ibn Hūd, the *Tahrīr al-manāẓir* (Optics) of Ibn al-Haitham (which he says is to be preferred to the *Optica* of Pseudo-Euclid), the *Almajistī* of Ptolemy, and the *Kitāb al-hiyal* (Mechanics) of the Banū Mūsā ibn Shākīr. For the theory of music, he recommends "the Book of Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī]," by which he must mean the *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*, the greatest work on the theory of music which had been published up to the fourth century of the *Hijra*.

1. *Kitāb al-amānāt*, ed. S. Landauer (Leyden, 1880), p. 317.

2. Farmer, *Arabian Influence on Musical Theory* (London, 1925), p. 12.

3. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, 5503.

4. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (London, 1897), p. 337.

In the section on music, Ibn 'Aqnīn divides the subject into two parts. The first part is a verbal reproduction of the chapter on music from Al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, but without precise acknowledgement. The second part is a mere appreciation of music with quotations from the Old Testament and the Talmud.

The *Ṭabb al-nufūs* of Ibn 'Aqnīn demonstrates very obviously how great was the debt of the Jews to Arabic literature in the *disciplinæ*, and in the theory of music as much as in any other sphere for, as Steinschneider remarks,¹ "the theory and expression of music . . . belongs, like all similar sciences, originally to the Arabian school." Indeed, it was in Arabic translation that the Jews could read the works of the great Greek writers on music, *viz.*, Aristotle, Aristoxenus, Euclid, Nicomachus, Ptolemy and Aristides Quintilianus, who had been known in this language since the third century of the *Hijra*. These treatises had been of the utmost importance to such Arabic theorists as Al-Kindī (d. c. 258 A.H./870 A.D.), Al-Sarakhsī (d. 286 A.H./899 A.D.), Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 289 A.H./901 A.D.), Al-Fārābī (d. c. 339 A.H./950 A.D.), Abu'l-Wafā' al-Būzjānī (d. 388 A.H./899 A.D.), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428 A.H./1037 A.D.), Ibn al-Haitham (d. 430 A.H./1038 A.D.), Abu'l-Šalt Umayya (d. 529 A.H./1134 A.D.), Ibn Bājja (d. 533 A.H./1138 A.D.), and Ibn Rushd (d. 595 A.H./1198 A.D.), whose writings had a deep influence not only in Jewry but on Christian Europe.²

It is worthy of note that whilst Arabic-speaking peoples had access to the ancient Greek writers on music in Arabic translation, the latter were unknown in either Hebrew or Latin. It is true that Jehūdah al-Ḥarizi had issued his *Sefer musre ha-philosophim* somewhere about the year 600 A.H./1203 A.D., but the work does not deal with theory but with the opinions of the Greek philosophers on music.³ He translated it from the Arabic of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq (d. 260 A.H./873 A.D.) whose work, the *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, was derived from Greek sources.

In Western Europe, the Jews appear to have been as much interested in music theory as in the East, and in the *Yair netib* of Jehūda ben Samuel ibn 'Abbās (7th cent. A.H.) music is classed with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and optics among the disciplines. Unfortunately, whilst the textbooks for the other sciences in the works of Ibn al-Haitham, Al-Farghānī, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārizmī, Abraham bar Ḥiyya and Abraham ben Ezra are mentioned, the guides to the theory of music are omitted, although the *Ṭabb al-nufūs* of Ibn 'Aqnīn is quoted elsewhere.⁴

Another Spanish Jew, Shem Tob ben Joseph Falaquera (d. c. 689 A.H./1300 A.D.), the author of the *Iggeret ha-wikkuaḥ* and the *Reshit ḥokmah*,

1. Steinschneider, *Jew. Lit.*, p. 154.

2. Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London, 1930), pp. 11-20, 25-38.

3. Löwenthal, *Sinnsprüche der Philosophen* (Berlin, 1896), pp. 76-86.

4. Gödemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode*, (Vienna, 1873),

shows that the sequence of study was arithmetic, geometry, optics, music and astronomy,¹ whilst the Italian Jew, Immanuel ben Solomon (d. c. 731 A.H./1330 A.D.) makes arithmetic, geometry, music, mechanics, optics and astronomy the appropriate order.² Yet in spite of this, there is but one instance of a Jewish writer on the theory of music and that is Levi ben Gershon (d. 745 A.H./1344 A.D.). He is the famous Gersonides or Magister Leo Hebraeus of the Middle Ages. In the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale there is a manuscript (*Fonds Colbert*, 7378 A) containing a short *tractatus armonicus* from his pen, which states that it was written at the request of the music theorist, Philip of Vitry.³ The present writer has not seen the work in question, but that it was not included by Coussemaker in his *Scriptores de Musica medii ævi* (1864-76 A.D.) leads one to assume that it is of little importance.

If the Jews did not produce much, or any, original work on the theory of music, they did at least offer Hebrew translations from Arabic works or compends of the same, as well as assisting Christian scholars in translating Arabic works into Latin. In the year 683-4 of the *Hijra* (1284 A.D.) a Spanish Jew, Sarahya ben Isaac translated the Arabic *Kitāb al-nafs* (= *De anima* of Aristotle) into Hebrew, although it has to be said that this work was prompted because of its philosophic interest rather than because it contained Aristotle's treatment of the physical bases of sound. Incidentally, the Jews already knew the substance of it in Hebrew because Moses ibn Tibbon (fl. 638-82 A.H./1240-83 A.D.) had translated from the Arabic Ibn Rushd's great commentary on *De anima* as the *Kelale sefer ha-nefesh* in 641-2 A.H./1244 A.D., and his middle commentary as the *Bi'ur sefer ha-nefesh* in 660-1 A.H./1261 A.D., although Shem Tob ben Isaac had already issued the latter in 652 A.H./1254 A.D.

The only other work of Greek origin possibly known in Hebrew, was the *Sectio canonis* of Euclid. This was already current in Arabic,⁴ and commentaries on it had been made by Al-Kindī and Ibn al-Haitham.⁵ It was one of these sources which was the *fons et origo* of the Hebrew treatise '*Al ha-qanun* written by Isaiah ben Isaac and printed in Eisig Graeber's periodical, *Beth oẓar ha-sefarot*.⁶

Of the great Arabic theorists, who were known in Hebrew, we have little evidence. In the year 713-14 A.H./1314 A.D., Kalonymus ben Kalonymus ben Meir of Arles translated Al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* into Hebrew under the title of *Ma'amar be mispar ha-ḥokmot*. It was the section on music in this work which Ibn 'Aqnīn had "borrowed" in his *Tabb*

1. Gödemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-Arabischen Period.* (Vienna, 1873), p. 157.

2. Gödemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien*, (Vienna, 1884), p. 124.

3. Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen-âge* (1852) p. 214: *Scriptores de Musica* (1869), iii, pp. x-xi.

4. Al-fihrist (Leipzig, 187-2), p. 266.

5. Farmer, *Sources of Arabian Music* (Glasgow, 1940), pp. 20, 142.

6. Przemyśl, 1887, xxxi.

al-nufūs. Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-najāt* was partly rendered into Hebrew by Todros Todrosi of Arles in the early eighth century of the *Hijra*. The physical and metaphysical portions are still extant under this translator's name and it is highly probable that the work on music among the Hebrew manuscripts at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (2482), is based on the section on music from the treatise of Ibn Sīnā. It is possible also that the *Risāla fi'l-mūsīqī* of Abu'l-Ṣalt Umayya was known in Hebrew since it is quoted from by Profiat Duran in his *Ma'aseh efod* written in 805-6 A.H./1403 A.D., hence perhaps, as Steinschneider says,¹ the original was supposed to exist in the Oratory.²

The last of the "borrowers" to be dealt with comes from the East. In 1350-1 A.H./1932 A.D. the late Professor Richard Gottheil brought forward a Genizah fragment dealing for the greater part with music in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.³ The professor acknowledged that, although the work was written in the Hebrew script, the language was Arabic and that there was nothing Jewish in it. Still it carried the name of the scribe, a certain Ṣa'īd b. Da'ūd al-Yamanī, and the date 1774 of the Greek Era, i.e., 867-8 A.H., but he could not trace the author. Now this Ṣa'īd was the notorious individual who had passed off, under his own name, a work entitled the *Zakāt al-nufūs* which he had brazenly copied word for word from the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* of Al-Ghazālī. In the present case, the work, which he circulated, was taken from a compendium of the sciences written by Ibn al-Akfānī entitled *Al-durr al-naẓīm*.⁴

None of these "borrowers" appears to have been found out in his own time. The views of the philosophers on the soul which Jehudah ha-Levi (d. c. 535 A.H./1140 A.D.) introduced into his *Kuzari*, was not discovered as a verbal borrowing from Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla fi'l-nafs* until more than seven hundred years had passed. Yet the *musta'ir* is generally discovered in the long run, for as the Arab poet says :⁵

"He will run among men like a half-breed
Whom the pure-breeds have left on the course."

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 337.

2. Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*, ii, 331.

3. Vol. xxiii, pp. 163-80.

4. Vienna MS., N.F. 4., fol. 42v. *et seq.*

5. Quoted by Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama. See *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments* by Robson and Farmer (Glasgow, 1938), p. 4.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORIANS DURING THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SHĀH JAHĀN

IN this paper I have attempted to collect only those historical works which were written by contemporary or Court historians of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, A.H. 1037-1069, (A.D. 1628-1659). It will be of interest to note that as many as nineteen histories dealing with the life of the Emperor from his childhood till his death were written by reliable authors. Particulars of such works with short accounts of their writers will, I think, be of interest to students of Mughal History. These works are as follows :—

1. AḤWĀL-I-SHĀHZĀDIGĪ-I-SHĀH JAHĀN

احوال شاہزادگی شاہ جہان

A history of Shāh Jahān's early life till his accession to the throne, from A.H. 1000-1037, (A.D. 1590-1627). The author does not mention his name in the text, but "endorsments" ascribe the work to Mu'tamad Khān. Dr. Rieu in his *Supplement Cat.*, No. 76, II, observes : ' Mu'tamad Khān, if such be the author's name, must be a distinct person from his namesake, the author of *Iqbāl Nāma*,' the famous history of Jahāngīr, edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1865. But some verses of the book show that the work was written during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

It has 58 foll.

For copies of the MS. see Rieu, *Suppt.*, No. 76, II, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 67, No. 565, I, and *Buhār Cat.*, No. 74, I.

2. PĀDSHĀH NĀMA OR SHĀH JAHĀN NĀMA

پادشاہ نامہ (یا) شاہ جہان نامہ

AN official record of the reign of Shāh Jahān from the beginning of the fifth year to the end of the eighth year (20th March, A.D. 1632 to 19th March, A.D. 1636) by Mīrzā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Ṭabaṭabā'ī. He came from

Ispahān to India in A.H. 1044, (A.D. 1634) and, on being enrolled as one of Shāh Jahān's Court chroniclers, wanted to write a history of five years of this sovereign's reign, but owing to envy of his rivals he had to discontinue the work. He is highly praised as the master of a new style of Persian composition and none but Abul Faḍl ever wrote history with equal elegance.¹

It has 165 foll.

For copies see *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 244, No. 359, *Lindisiana*, p. 161, No. 410, and *Rieu, Br. Mus. Cat.*, Vol. III., p. 933. See also Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VII., p. 132.

Ṭabāṭabā'ī is also the author of the following works :—

(a) *Shash Fath Kāngra*. شش فتح کانگرہ

It comprises six stylistic accounts of the one expedition which Shāh Jahān, then Governor of Gujarāt, sent under command of Rāja Bīkramājī against the rebel Sūrajmal, son of Rāja Bāsū, in the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign, A.H. 1027, (A.D. 1618), and of the capture of the fort of Kāngra in the Punjab below the Himalayas. In order to display the inexhaustible wealth of his rhetorical resources, the author relates the same events in six separate pieces, written in as many different styles of composition.

For copies see Asiatic Society, (*Curzon Collection*), No. 29, *Bankipore Suppt.* II, No. 2198, *Rieu, Vol.*, I p. 258. Extract of this work is given in Elliot's *History*, Vol. VI., pp. 517-531. See also *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. II., No. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 52, the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. II (1919) pp. 56-62, and Storey, *Persian Literature*, Section II, *History of India*, p. 566.

(b) *Tauqī'āt-i-Kisrawīya*. توقيعات کسرویہ

The so-called institutes of Khusrāu Anūshīrwān, translated from Arabic into Persian by Ṭabāṭabā'ī. Palmer in his *Cat. of Cambridge MSS.*, p. 154 names the work *Dastūr-Nāma e Kusra* and remarks that "the title is a chronogram, the numerical value of the letters amounting to 1056 A.H. (1647 A.D.). The book is in the form of questions and answers, and treats of Cosmogony, Philosophy, etc., according to the doctrines of the Mobeds or Magian Priests."

(1) Bibliography :—*'Amal-i-Sālih*, Vol. III., pp. 435-36. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, Vol. III., p. 463, and Elliot : *History of India*, Vol. VI., p. 517.

Printed in Calcutta, 1824 and repeatedly lithographed in Lucknow and Cawnpore. It is also transliterated and translated into English with notes and a preface by W. Young. See Arberry, *Cat. of the Library*, India Office, Vol. II., part VI, Persian Books, p. 532.

(c) Prose preface to the *diwāns* of:—

(1) Abū Tālib Kalīm (died A.H. 1061 or 1062). See Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1771.

(2) Qudsī (died A.H. 1055 or 1056), see *ibid.* No. 1552, I.

(3) *Shifā'ī* (died A.H. 1037 or 1038), see *ibid.* No. 1763, 21.

(4) *Sāqi Nāma* of Zuhūrī (died A.H. 1025), see *Bankipore Suppt. Cat.*, Vol., II, No. 2200.

(5) Munīr Lāhūrī (Abul Barakāt, died A.H. 1054), see Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 933.

(d) *Muntakhab az Bayād.* منتخب از بیاض

A collection of letters, congratulatory pieces and other occasional compositions. The following letters are of special interest. Letters to Afḍal Khān (Mullā Shukrullāh Shīrāzī, wazīr of Shāh Jahān, who died in A.H. 1048). Letters to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain and to the poet, Tālib Kalīm. Letters written in the name of Shāh 'Abbās to 'Abdullāh Khān the Uzbek. Several congratulatory pieces addressed to Shāh Jahān. For copy of the work see Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 933.

3. JANG-I-ISLĀM KHĀN OR MATHNAVĪ DAR FATH BANGĀLA

جنگ اسلام خان (یا) مثنوی در فتح بنگاله

A mathnavī or poetical work on the victories of Islām Khān in Cooch Behār and Assam by Muḥammad Qulī Salīm Tīhrānī. He was for some time attached to Mīrzā 'Abdullāh, Governor of Lāhījān, and subsequently came to India during the reign of Shāh Jahān. Here he found a good patron in Islām Khān, a distinguished noble of the Emperor's Court. He died in A.H. 1057, (A.D. 1647).¹ Islām Khān conquered Cooch Behār and Assam in A.H. 1047, (A.D. 1637). See 'Amal-i-Sālih, Vol. II, p. 286-8, 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd, *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, pp. 68-90, and *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, pp. 162-7.

It has 20 foll.

(1) Bibliography:—*Haft Āsmān*, pp. 144-5, Storey, p. 567, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 88 and the authorities cited there.

For copies see *Asiatic Society Cat.*, p. 339, No. 748 (6), *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 88, No. 311, fol. 21b, and *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 1032.

4. SHĀH JAHĀN NĀMA OR TAWĀRIKH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ

شاه جهان نامہ (یا) تواریخ شاه جهانی

A very rare history of Shāh Jahān. It begins with the illness of Jahāngīr and the accession of Shāh Jahān. The events of the reign are then told year by year in a very simple style. The narrative closes with the confinement of Shāh Jahān by Aurangzīb and it is stated at the end that Shāh Jahān lived eight years in captivity. The author of the work is Muḥammad Ṣādiq entitled Ṣādiq Khān. He was a Persian by birth and served Shāh Jahān very faithfully. On the accession of Shāh Jahān, our author was promoted to the rank of *Bakhshī*¹ (Adjutant-General). He was then appointed tutor to Prince Shujā', whom he accompanied in Khāndīs and Mālva and subsequently in Badakhshān. From the 20th year of the reign he appears to have remained in constant attendance upon Shāh Jahān. He also held the office of *Waqā'i' Navīs* (State Chronicler) in Agra. At the time of the defeat of Dārā Shikūh and the victorious advance of Aurangzīb, he was one of the few *Amīrs* who remained faithful to Shāh Jahān and in his book he comments severely on those who deserted the ailing sovereign to flock round his rebellious son. He was summoned by Aurangzīb in Jumādā II, A.H. 1068, (A.D. 1658), who dismissed him from the post of State Chronicler.²

It has 205 foll.

For copies see *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 262, Vol. III, p. 1008 and *Rampore Library*, vide *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1936, p. 281. *Elliot*, Vol. VII, p. 133, thinks that *Ṭabaqāt Shāh Jahānī*, a work on the lives of the eminent men who flourished under Tīmūr and his successors down to the reign of Shāh Jahān, is written by our author. But *Rieu* in his *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 1010, remarks that this work is the composition of another scholar of the same name who was evidently a man of humble circumstances, devoted to study and religious life and not an *Amīr* of the Imperial Court. The name of the author of this work, *Ṭabaqāt Shāh Jahānī*, is Muḥammad Ṣādiq Dehlavī. He was born about A.H. 1000, (A.D. 1590) and spent his life in Dehlī. He studied under Shāikh Fā'iz, who died in A.H. (1022, A.D. 1613) and became a disciple of 'Abd-ul-Ḥaqq Dehlavī, died A.H. 1052, (A.D. 1642.) The date of composition of this work is not mentioned

1. For detailed meaning of the word *Bakhshī*, see *Blochmann, Ā'in Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 161 and *Irvine, The Army of Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37-40.

2. Bibliography:— *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 262 and *Elliot, History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 133. See also *Storey*, p. 577.

in the preface, but A.H. 1046, (A.D. 1636) is spoken of in the last part of the work as the current year.

'Abdul Muqtadir in his *Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 65 mentions *Āthār-i-Shāh Jahānī* or *Akhbār-i-Jahāngīrī*, in the list of the histories dedicated to *Shāh Jahān*. He thinks that the author, who calls himself *Muhammad Ṣādiq Dehlavī*, is identical with the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī*. *Dehlavī* is also the author of a valuable rare work which contains biographical notices of *Muḥammadan* saints who lie buried in *Dehlī* and this work is called *Kalimāt-uṣ-Ṣādiqīn*.

For copy of this work see *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VIII, p. 34.

5. ZAFAR NĀMAH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ

ظفرنامہ شاہ جہانی

A poetical history of *Shāh Jahān* in *Mathnavī*, rhymed by *Muḥammad Jān* who took the surname of *Qudsī* from the holy shrine of *Mashhad*, his native place. In his youth he performed a pilgrimage to Mecca and then came to India in A.H. 1041, (A.D. 1631). 'Abdullāh *Khān Fīrūz Jang*, a noble of the rank of 6000, (died A.H. 1054, A.D. 1644), introduced him to the Court of *Shāh Jahān* in *Rabī' II*, A.H. 1042, (A.D. 1632). The Emperor as a token of appreciation of the poet's meritorious attainments rewarded him on various occasions. *Qudsī* enjoyed a reputation in no way inferior to that of his contemporary, *Ṭālib-i-Kalīm*, the poet-laureate of the Court. He died according to best authorities¹ in A.H. 1056, (A.D. 1646) either in *Lahore* or in *Kashmīr*. We notice his portrait in *Havell, Indian Sculpture and Paintings*, 2nd ed., plate LVIII.

It has 183 foll.

For copies see *Rieu*, Vol. II, p. 685, Vol. III, p. 1001, *Ethé, Bodl., Cat.*, Nos. 1102-1111; *Ethé, India Office Cat.*, Nos. 1552-1557, and 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore*, Vol. III, pp. 74-86.

6. PĀDSHĀH NĀMA

پادشاہ نامہ

A metrical history of *Shāh Jahān's* reign with descriptions of some buildings by *Mīr Muḥammad Yaḥyā Kāshī*. He came to India from *Kāshān* in the reign of *Shāh Jahān* and became a panegyrist of the Emperor

(1) Bibliography :—'Abd-ul-Hamīd Lāhūrī, *Pādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 444, Part II, pp. 351-3, 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, Vol. III, pp. 397-401, *Khazāna-i-Āmīra*, p. 377, *Mīr'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 134, *Ātash Kada*, p. 131; *Haft Āsmān*, pp. 143-4, *Rieu*, Vol. II, p. 684 *Ethé, India Office*, No. 1552, *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II., p. 1105, and *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, pp. 74-77.

and of the heir-apparent Dārā Shikūh. He was appointed Imperial Librarian and was commanded to write a poetical record of the Emperor's reign, but afterwards he lost the royal favour and most probably discontinued the poem. He died¹ in A.H. 1064, (A.D. 1653). A fragment of this work (45 foll.) is only in the Br. Mus., see Rieu, Vol. III, p. 1001.

7. *CHĀR CHAMAN*

چارچمن

A description of Shāh Jahān's Court with its splendours and festivals, and of the principal cities of his realm, beginning with Shāhjahānābād, followed by a memoir of the author's own life by Chandarbhān, poetically known as Barahman. He was the son of a Brahman of Punjab, called Dharamdās, and was born at Lahore, where he studied under Mullā 'Abd-ul-Hakīm Siyālkūtī (died A.H. 1067, A.D. 1656). He became the secretary to Afdal Khān who was appointed Mīr Sāmān in Shāh Jahān's first year in A.H. 1037, (A.D. 1628), and Dīwān-i-Kull in the second year, and who died in A.H. 1048, (A.D. 1639), (see *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, pp. 145-51). After the death of his patron, he passed into the imperial service in A.H. 1055, (A.D. 1645), and subsequently in A.H. 1057, (A.D. 1647) was appointed *Waqā'i' Navīs-i-Hudūr*, his duty being to attend the Emperor on his journey and record the daily occurrences of the Court. With the Emperor's consent he entered the service of Dārā Shikūh, but in A.H. 1066, (A.D. 1656), he was taken away from Dārā Shikūh, given employment in *Dār-ul-Inshā'*, Epistolary Dept. of the State and was given the title of Rāy. He was sent by the Emperor on a mission to the King of Bijāpūr. According to *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 215, he retired from the imperial service after the death of Dārā Shikūh in A.H. 1069, (A.D. 1659), went to Benares and died there in A.H. 1073, (A.D. 1663).²

Rāy Chandarbhān was a distinguished writer of prose as well as poetry. The present work is written in a highly embellished prose style intermixed with numerous poetical specimens and is divided into four *Chamans* (or sections).

The first section contains descriptions of various festivals at Court, with pieces of poetry recited by the author on the occasions.

The second describes the splendours of the Court, the daily occupations of Shāh Jahān, his new capital Shāhjahānābād and the principal cities and *ṣubahs* of the empire.

1. 'Abd-ul-Hamid Lāhūrī, *Pādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, pp. 758-9, *Haft Āsmān*, pp. 156-8, Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. III, pp. 1001-2, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III., p. 120, and Storey, p. 569.

2. Bibliography :— 'Amal-i-Sālīh, Vol. III. pp. 434-35, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 740, *Tadhkira Khushnavisān*, p. 55, S. M. Abdallah's article in *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. IV., No. 4 (Lahore, August 1928), pp. 2-12, Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 397, and Storey, p. 572.

The third contains the author's life and some of his letters.
The fourth deals with moral and religious thoughts.
It has 116 foll.

For copies see Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. II. p. 838, Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 2093, and Browne, *Suppt.*, No. 376. See also Storey, p. 570. F. Gladwin has printed a portion of the work in his book, *Persian Moonshee*, Calcutta, 1795. He is also the author of the following works :—

(1) *Dīwān*, a collection of lyrical poems.

For copies see Bodl., *Cat.*, No. 1123, Brownes, *Suppt.*, No. 517, Ethé, *India Office Cat.* No. 1574, *Asiatic Society Cat.*, Nos. 762-63, and *Asiatic Society (Curzon Collection)*, No. 740.

(2) A *Mystical Mathnavī*, published in *Majmū'ah-i-Rasā'il* at Lucknow in 1877. See Storey, p. 571 and Arberry, *Cat. of the Printed Persian Books*, India Office, Vol. II., Part VI, p. 285.

(3) *Munsha'āt* or *Inshā'*, letters to *Shāh Jahān* and others.

For copies see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 2094, Bodl., *Cat.*, Nos. 1385-6, Rieu, p. 397, *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I. p. 114, and *Aligarh Cat.*, p. 53. It was published at Lucknow, in 1885, see Storey, p. 571.

(4) A Vedantic work, *Nāzūk Khayālāt*, translated by Chandarbhān from *Ātma-Vilāsa*, ascribed to *Shankara Achārya*, was published at Lahore in 1901. See Storey, p. 571.

(5) Chandarbhān also translated from Hindī into Persian *Dārā Shikūh's* questions concerning Hindū beliefs and customs and the answers to them. For copy see *Berlin Cat.*, No. 1081, (2).

Dr. Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1574, names the following works also in the list of Chandarbhān's composition :—

(a) *Guldasta*, (b) *Kār Nāma*, (c) *Tuhfat-ul-Wazarā*, (d) *Tuhfat-ul-Fuṣṣahā*, (e) *Majma'-ul-Wazarā*.

8. PĀDSHĀH NĀMA OR SHĀH NĀMA

پادشاہ نامہ (یا) شاہ نامہ

A poetical account of *Shāh Jahān's* reign by *Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib 'Kalīm.'* He was born in *Hamadān*, but as he lived for a long time in *Kāshān*, he is sometimes called *Kāshī*. He studied in *Shīrāz* and came to India during the reign of *Jahāngīr*. He returned to his native land in A.H. 1028, (A.D. 1618), but after staying there for two years came again to India. Shortly after *Shāh Jahān's* accession, *Kalīm* attached himself to the Imperial Court and soon became a favourite poet of the Emperor who gave him the title of *Malik-ush-Shu'arā*, (poet-laureate). It is related in several biographical accounts of the poet that the king of *Rūm* once asked the Mughal Emperor the reason of his adopting the title of *Shāh Jahān*, which means the king of the world, while he was only the king of India.

Kalīm replied that the numerical value of *Hind* (India) and *Jahān* (world) was the same, consequently there could be no argument against the King's adopting the title of *Shāh Jahān*.¹ Kalīm and Qudsi (see No. 5) were simultaneously engaged in composing two poetical accounts of *Shāh Jahān*. Kalīm was sent to Kashmīr where he devoted himself to the composition of the above work and died there in A.H. 1062, (A.D. 1651) or A.H. 1061, (A.D. 1650).² According to the *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, (*Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VIII., p. 144, No. 40), Kalīm's *Shāh Nāma* gives a detailed account of ten years of *Shāh Jahān*'s reign and consists of 14,948 verses.

It has 518 foll.

For copies see *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 102, No. 316, *Rieu, Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 687, *Browne, Suppt.*, No. 792, and *Ethé, India Office Cat.*, No. 1570.

9. LATĀ'IF-UL-AKHBĀR OR TĀRIKH-I-QANDAHĀRI

لطائف الاخبار (یا) تاریخ قندهاری

A detailed account of Prince Dārā *Shikūh*'s expedition to Qandahār in A.H. 1063, (A.D. 1652). The name of the author does not occur anywhere in the text, but *Khafī Khān*, Vol. I, p. 722 ascribes this work to *Rashīd Khān*, known as Muḥammad Badi', *Dīvān* of Mahābat *Khān*. He accompanied Dārā *Shikūh* in his campaign to Qandahār and states in the preface that he had recorded in this work only those events which he had either seen with his own eyes, or ascertained from trustworthy witnesses. After the fall of Dārā, the author attached himself to Aurangzib, in whose 24th year, he became *Diwān-i-Khālīṣa*. *Tadhkirat-ul-Umarā*, fol. 46, says that he died in the 41st year of Aurangzib's reign, viz., A.H. 1110, (A.D. 1698). According to *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadī*, fol. 234, he died in Agra, A.H. 1107, (A.D. 1695).³

The work is divided into three parts :—

I. Accounts of some previous events, namely, the revolt of the Uzbaks in A.H. 1056, (A.D. 1646), the expedition under the Princes Murād and Aurangzib to Qandahār, and finally the march of Dārā to that place.

II. Events of the siege, recorded day by day, beginning with 10th of Jumāda II, A.H. 1063, (8th May, A.D. 1652) to the 15th *Dhu'l Qa'da* of the same year.

1. Kalīm says :—

هندو جهان ز روی عدد چون بود یکی بر شه خطاب شاه جهان زان مقرر است

2. Bibliography :—'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd, *Pādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 757, *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 144, *Majma'-ul-Fuṣṣahā*, Vol. II, p. 28, *Shibli, Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. III, pp. 205-230, *Browne, Lit. History*, Vol. IV, pp. 258-63, *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 698 and *Storey*, p. 573.

3. Bibliography :—*Khafī Khān*, Vol. I, p. 722, *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 829, *Rieu*, Vol. I, p. 264, Vol. III, p. 1083 and *Storey*, p. 573.

III. Dārā's return from Qandahār and his arrival in Multān on the 9th Dhū'l Hijjah, A.H. 1063, (31st October, A.D. 1652). A rough English translation by Major Raverly is mentioned by Storey, p. 574. It is said that the events narrated in the present work were correct, and Dārā after this campaign continued to receive warm favours from Shāh Jahān. He received the title, Shāhzādah-i-buland Iqbāl, and in public ceremonies a silver chair, close to the Imperial throne, was reserved for him. The prince was further allowed an increment of ten thousand soldiers and ten thousand cavalry, and received a reward of one lakh of ashrafis.

It has 234 foll.

For copies see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 338, Rieu, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 264, Bodl., *Cat.* No. 238, Blochet, Vol. I, No. 593, *Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, No. 155, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 75; and *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 250.

10. BĀDSHĀH NĀMA

بادشاه نامہ

THE official history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. The work consists of three volumes (daftars), each of which comprises a period of ten lunar years. The history of the first two decades of the reign, i.e., A.H. 1037-1057, (A.D. 1627-1647) was written by 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd Lāhūrī. He was a pupil of Abul Faḍl and was the celebrated master of the style of composition in Persian introduced by his teacher. Shāh Jahān, hearing his fame, summoned him in his Court and entrusted to him the task of writing a history on the model of *Akbar Nāma*. 'Abdul-Ḥamīd wrote very successfully the first and second daftars comprising the first two decades, which were revised by Sa'dullāh Khān (Shāh Jahān's Vazīr). But infirmities of old age prevented him from proceeding with the third decade of the reign. He died¹ in A.H. 1065, (A.D. 1655).

The first two daftars of the *Badshāh Nāma* have been printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1866-72.

Extracts of the work are translated :—

1. Cooch Behār, Kooch Hājo and Assam in the 16th and 17th centuries according to *Akbar Nāma*, *Pādshāh Nāma* and *Fathīya-i-'Ibriya* by Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 41 (1872) pp. 49-101.

2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. VII. pp. 3-72.

1. Bibliography :—'Amal Ṣāliḥ, Vol. III, p. 438, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 3-72 and 121-2, Royal As. Soc., new series, Vol. III, p. 462, *Critical Essay*, p. 40, *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 40; and *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 4, (Lahore, August 1926), p. 53.

3. *A Complete Key to the Persian Entrance Course for 1897-1898*, by Oudd Behārī Lāl and Jwāla Prasād, Part I, Allahabad, 1896, pp. 80-108.

The third daftar of the *Bādshāh Nāma*, containing the history of the third decade of the reign, i.e., A.H. 1057-1067, (A.D. 1647-1657), is by Muḥammad Wārith. He was a pupil of 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd and was also the master of the Persian style. He was entrusted with the task of writing the third daftar as his teacher was incapacitated by age. He was ordered to submit his work for revision to Fāḍil Khān. On the 10th Rabī' I., A.H. 1091 (A.D. 1680), Wārith Khān was killed by a mad student, whom he had taken under his protection.¹

Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII. pp. 121-2.

For copies see, Morley, *Descriptive Cat.*, p. 122, Aumer, p. 95, Rieu, Vol. I., p. 260, Ethé, Bodl., Nos. 232-235, Ethé, India Office, Nos. 325-330, Blochet, Vol., I., Nos. 586-7, 588, *Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, No. 149, it bears an autograph note by the Emperor Shāh Jahān, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 67, and *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 220, Vol. III, p. 92.

II. MULAKHKHAṢ, (USUALLY CALLED SHĀH JAHĀN NĀMA)

ملخص (یا) شاه جهان نامه

A history of Shāh Jahān's reign by Muḥammad Tāhir with poetical name Āshnā, commonly known as 'Ināyat Khān bin Zafar Khān bin Khwājah Abul Ḥasan. His ancestors were men of letters, and held high offices under the Mughal kings of India. His grandfather, Abul Ḥasan (died A.H. 1042, A.D. 1632) held the rank of five thousand under the Emperor Jahāngīr, his father, Zafar Khān, was governor of Kābul and Kashmīr. He held the post of Dāroghah-i-Hudūr and Dāroghah-i-Kitāb Khāna or Imperial Librarian of Shāh Jahān. Manuscripts bearing his signature are extant. In Emperor Aurangzib's reign, he retired to Kashmīr where he died in A.H. 1077, or 1081, (A.D. 1666 or 1670).²

This history is an abridgement of *Bādshāh Nāma* of 'Abd-ul-Ḥamīd and of Muḥammad Wārith (see No. 10) and, so far as the 4th to 10th years are concerned from *Bādshāh Nāma* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīn (see No. 16) and consequently it was given the name of *Mulakhkhaṣ* (abridged one). An English translation in MS. by Major Fuller is preserved in the *British Museum Add.* 30,777, foll. 1-562. Translation of the preface and some extracts are in Elliot's *History*, Vol. VII, pp. 73-120.

It has 463 foll.

1. Bibliography:—*Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgīrī*, p. 192, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 121, Rieu, Vol. I, p. 260 and Storey, p. 576.

2. Bibliography:—*Tadhkira Tāhir Naṣīrābādī*, Vol. I, pp. 58-9, *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā* Vol. II, pp. 762-3, and Storey, p. 578.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 261, Ethé, No. 33, Bodl., Cat., No. 237, Morley, p. 123 and *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 76.

He is also the author of a poetical work called in Springer's Cat., p. 339, *Kulliyāt Āshnā*.

For copy and description see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1584.

12. TĀRIKH DIL GUSHĀ

تاریخ دل گشا

A history of Shāh Jahān and his predecessors by Shaikh 'Ināyatullāh Kanbū. He was born at Burhānpūr and was the elder brother and teacher of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, the author of 'Amal-i- Ṣāliḥ (see No. 13). After a period of service as an official of Shāh Jahān, he retired from the world and lived besides the sacred shrine of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī at Dehlī. He died in A.H. 1082, (A.D. 1671), at the age of 65.¹

For copy see Browne, *Supplementary Hand-List*, Cambridge, No. 234.

He is also the author of a popular romance, called *Bahār-i-Dānīsh*, repeatedly lithographed in India. See Arberry, p. 64. Translated into English by J. Scott, 3 Vols., London, 1799.

13. 'AMAL-I-ṢĀLIḤ

عمل صالح

A detailed history of Shāh Jahān by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū² Lāhūrī. He was a pupil of 'Ināyatullāh Kanbū whom he called his elder brother.³ He was from his childhood an intimate friend of Abul Burakāt Munīr, a poet of Lahore, who died in the prime of life in A.H. 1054, (A.D. 1644). Prof. Dowson (Elliot, *History*, Vol. VII, p. 123), confounds the author with Mīr Ṣāliḥ Kāshfī, an eminent penman and poet, who died in A.H. 1061 (A.D. 1650), i.e., nine years before the composition of this work. S. M. Laṭīf in his work, *Lahore, its history, etc.*, 1892, states on unspecified authority on p. 209 that he died in A.H. 1085, (A.D. 1675). His tomb still exists outside the Mochī Gate at Lahore. Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī in his Preface, p. 8, says, a small beautiful mosque, built by his order, stands to this date

1. Bibliography :—'Amal Ṣāliḥ, Vol. III, pp. 378-82, pp. 439-41, Muḥammad Laṭīf, *Lahore : its history architectural remains and antiquities*, (Lahore 1892) p. 208, Ethé, *Grundriss der Iran Philologie*, Vol. II, p. 325 and *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 478.

2. See Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī's Preface for the meaning of the word Kanbū, pp. 3, 4, note.

3. Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī in the Preface to his excellent edition of 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, states that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ cannot have been the brother of 'Ināyat Khān, but Prof. Storey rejects this theory of Prof. Yazdānī. For full discussion see the said Preface, p. 6, and Storey, *Persian Literature*, fasc. 3, p. 579, note 1.

inside the Mochī Gate and the inscription of the mosque gives the year of its construction as A.H. 1079, (A.D. 1668).¹

The work is very useful and was completed in A.H. 1070, (A.D. 1664). The account of Shāh Jahān's death in A.H. 1076, (A.D. 1665) and of other events in the biographical notes, some of which took place as late as A.H. 1080, (A.D. 1669), must therefore be in a later edition.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 263, Morley, *Descriptive Cat.*, p. 124, Mehren, p. 21, Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, Nos. 332-336, Browne, *Suppl.*, No. 791, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 78, *Asiatic Society of Bengal's Cat.*, No. 152, *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 248, and Lahore Punjab University Library (see *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 4, August 1926), p. 53.

Edited by Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī, in *Bibliotheca Indica* in 3 Vols., 1939. Extracts translated by Prof. Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 123-132.

He is also the author of the following works :—

(a) *Fath-i-Balkh*.—It gives an account of the expedition sent by the Emperor Shāh Jahān under the command of Prince Murād Bakhsh and 'Alī Mardān Khān, against the Uzbek chief, Nadhr Muḥammad and of the capture of Balkh on the 28th Jumadā I, A.H. 1056.

For copy see Rieu, Vol. III, p. 934, where it is stated that the work is a rhetorical amplification written in the most pompous style with far less attention to facts.

(b) *Bahār-i-Sukhun*.—A collection of letters and other refined prose-writings by our author. The work is divided into four parts, each called *Chaman*. It contains, besides a panegyric on Shāh Jahān, letters written by the author in the name of Shāh Jahān, Aurangzib and other royal and princely personages, as well as descriptions of Shāhjahanābād, Agrā, Kashmīr and other localities.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 398, where it is stated that it was completed in A.H. 1074, (A.D. 1664), Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 3090, where the date of completion is given A.H. 1065, (A.D. 1655), and *Asiatic Society*, (*Curzon Collection*), No. 144.

14. TUḤFAH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ

تحفة شاه جهانى

A concise history of the life and reign of Shāh Jahān from his birth in A.H. 1000, (A.D. 1592) to his death in A.H. 1076, (A.D. 1666), by Sudhārī La'l. Nothing is known to me about the author.

It has 32 foll.

For copy see Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 337.

1. Bibliography :—*'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, Vol. III., p. 381, Prof. Ghulām Yazdānī's introduction, pp. 2-9, *Ma'd-thir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 222, Rieu, Vol. I, p. 263, Storey, p. 579, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, Vol. III, p. 463, and *Critical Essay*, p. 41.

15. *ĀSHŪB NĀMAH-I-HINDUSTĀN*

آشوب نامہ ہندوستان

A historical poem by Bihishtī-Shīrāzī from the time of the civil war during the reign of Shāh Jahān and the struggle of his sons for the empire. He was a poet of some repute and was a panegyrist of Sultān Murād Bakhsh. He wrote this work in the interest of his master and in a spirit of bitter animosity against Aurangzib. He completed this work before the death of his patron which took place in A.H. 1071, (A.D. 1660). The work is also called *Āshūb-i-Hindūstān*.

Lithographed, Lucknow, A.H. 1300, (A.D. 1883).

It has 60 foll.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. II, p. 689, Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1579 and Bodl., *Cat.*, No. 1124.

16. *BĀDShĀH NĀMA*

بادشاہ نامہ

A history of the first ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign by Muḥammad Amīn bin Abul Ḥusain Qazvīnī, known as Mīrzā Amīna. He was a native of Persia and came to India and entered in the service of Shāh Jahān as a *Munshī* in the fifth year of the reign. As the Emperor was not satisfied with the work of his Court chroniclers, and was looking for a better writer, he was appointed historiographer in the eighth year (A.H. 1045, A.D. 1635) of his reign and was ordered to prepare a history of the first ten years of the reign. The title *Bādshāh Nāma* was given to the work by the Emperor himself. The author wanted to write another volume containing the second decade of the reign, but was prevented from carrying out his plan, owing to his transfer to the Intelligence Department.¹

The work is divided into three sections :—

I. Birth of Shāh Jahān, accounts of his predecessors, and a history of his minority.

II. His accession and the first ten years of his reign.

The history of the last year is incomplete, ending with the month of Shahrēwar, or sixth month, corresponding to Jumāda I, A.H. 1047. It is stated here that the Emperor, reverting from the solar to the lunar year, ordered the history of the eleventh year to begin on the first Jumāda II, the month in which he had ascended the throne.

1. Bibliography :—*Amal-i-Šāliḥ*, Vol. III, p. 439, Rieu, Vol. I, p. 258, Morley, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 121, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 71, Storey, p. 566, and Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

III. Biographical notices of saints, learned men, physicians and poets of the period.

It has 545 foll.

For copies see Rieu, Vol. I, p. 258, Blochet, Vol. I, No. 590, *Edinburgh Cat.*, No. 409, *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 71, *Buhār Cat.*, Vol. I, No. 69, and *Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat.*, p. 46, No. 151.

The copy in the Bankipore Library is a very valuable one. It was seen by their Majesties King George and Queen Mary on the occasion of their visit to Delhi in 1911, and their signatures appear on the flyleaf at the beginning of the copy :— “ Seen this day December 10th, 1911 George R. I. Mary.”

It contains twelve large beautiful paintings and seven coloured drawings of buildings, mosques, etc. of Shāh Jahān’s time. In one of the paintings we notice that Jahāngīr accompanied by Prince Khurram (afterwards Shāh Jahān) and others went out a hunting. Jahāngīr’s horse took fright at the sight of a lion. The Emperor alighted from his horse and fired, but missed. The lion became furious, and attacked the Mīr Shikār, and after flinging him aside, returned to its place. Jahāngīr fired again, but ineffectively. The beast then attacked Jahāngīr, whereupon Anūp Rāi interposed to save the Emperor. The lion wounded Anūp Rāi and seized his hands and arms in its jaws. He succeeded in freeing one hand. Prince Khurram attacked the lion with his sword and saved Anūp Rāi.

17. KITĀB-I-TĀRIKH

کتاب تاریخ

A history of the three Mughal Emperors of India, viz., Bābar, Akbar and Shāh Jahān, preceded by an account of Tīmūr. The name of the author or the title of the work is not given anywhere in the text, but the work was written during Shāh Jahān’s reign as he speaks of the Emperor in the present tense. It ends abruptly in the middle of the eighth year of the Emperor’s reign (A.H. 1044, A.D. 1634).

It has 78 foll.

For copy see *Bankipore Cat.*, Vol. VII, p. 79.

18. WAQĀ’I’-I-DAKHAN

وقائع دکن

AN account of events in the Deccan in Shāh Jahān’s reign. The name of the author is not known.

It has 78 foll.

For copies see Blochet, Vol. I, No. 20, and *Hyderabad Cat.*, Vol. p. 258, No. 417.

19. *ḤILYAH-I-SHĀH JAHĀNĪ*

حلیۂ شاہ جہانی

A *Mathnavī* describing the physical features of *Shāh Jahān*. The name of the author is not known, but most probably he was one of the Court poets.

It has 25 foll.

Only one copy of the work is in Bankipore Library, see 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 111, No. 325.

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

MYSTIC MONASTICISM DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

' Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes Angulus ridet '—That nook of the world
has charms for me before all else.

HORACE.

MONASTICISM was forbidden by Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam. It is related in the traditions that Usmān ibn Maz'ūn came to the Prophet with the request that he might retire from society and become a monk. The Prophet replied : " The retirement which becomes my people, is to sit in the corner of a mosque and wait for the time of Prayer."¹ Although God has given a prophet to every people in its own tongue, yet different minds incline to different methods for spiritual attainments. By and by with the development of Sufic Philosophy and thought monasticism came into being because it was nothing but the elaboration of the relations between the Sufic Preceptor and the disciple. Routine in a hospice moved round the lives of the mystic Master and his numerous disciples.

In Ancient India, there is conclusive evidence of monks and monasteries earlier.² It is common that we hear of younger princes becoming monks.³ Asoka's daughter Charumati and her husband Devapala built a nunnery and a monastery.⁴ Chaityas and Viharas, belonging to the Hindu Period, lead us to the same conclusion.⁵ Sir John Marshall has candidly remarked : " Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive."⁶

The consolidation of Muhammadan power in India secured the conquered land for the propagation of Islam and along with it for the infusion of the already developed mystic monasticism. Old custom is hard to

1. *Dictionary Of Islam*, p. 354.

Mishkāt ; Book IV, Ch. 8.

2. V. A. Smith : *The Early History of India*, pp. 174 & 176.

3. Ma-twan-lin, cited in *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 22.

4. Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal (Musée Guimet, 1905-8)*, I, pp. 67 & 263 ; II 24, 336 ; III, 161 f.

5. *Cambridge History of India*, I., p. 637.

6. Do do Vol. III, p. 568.

break and scarce any man will be led otherwise than seemeth good unto himself. The mystics of the Mughal period received the custom and code of Sūfic spirituality, as a heritage from their medieval masters. The ideal of a Šūfī disciple is and was to follow in the footsteps of his spiritual Guide as far as possible in the matter of dress, diet and meditations.

THE SITUATION OF A HOSPICE

THE existence of Sufist monasteries in Mughal India cannot be doubted. All the authorities are agreed on the point that the Islamic institution of monasticism was in a thriving state.¹ The monasteries had commodious compounds and enough rooms to accommodate the large number of the disciples, who thronged at the threshold of the spiritual Master to learn the latent mysteries of the other world. A particular hospice described by the author of *Sīyar-ul-awliyā* was a double-storeyed building.² The second storey was reserved for the spiritual Preceptor and served as his private apartments. The lower storey consisted of many small cubicles for the use of the disciples. There were fruit-bearing and shady trees around the hospices.³ On one side was a tank served by a well. Large verandahs circumscribed the rooms of the monastery. Almost every hospice had a mosque within or nearby attached to the main building. During the summer the spiritual Guide and his disciples sat under the cool shade of the trees.⁴ In some of the monasteries there was also a congregational hall for the daily discourses and spiritual assemblies.⁵

THEIR CONCEPTION OF GOD

THESE monasteries were the strongholds of the seekers of God. To His quest they devoted their lives. A high authority stresses the point in

1. *Badā'ünī*, II, 73 ; III, 4, 14, 54, 160, 200, 130.

Tārīkh-i-Farīšta, II, 563.

Sīyar-ul-'Arīfīn, MS., 14, 15, 16, 24.

Masnaviyāt-i-Mullā Shāh, MS, 30.

Hālāt-i-Bilawal, 4.

Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī, 48, 58.

Sīyar-ul-awliyā, 129, 264, 270, 288, 290, 363, 511, 513.

Akḥbār-ul-akḥyār, 187.

2. *Sīyar-ul-awliyā*, 292, 363.

3. *Hālāt-i-Bilawal*, 3.

Sīyar-ul-awliyā, 362.

4. *Ibid.*, 362.

5. *Ibid.*, 358.

the following manner :—¹

“ Their every purpose is with God united,
 Their high ambitions mount to Him alone.
 Their troth is to the Lord and Master plighted,
 O, noble quest, for the Eternal One.”

In their hospices they sounded the trumpet of Ipseity² and said : “ In reality there is no other being ; we are all God, but on account of a small point of difference, we are all separated from Him.”³ The doctrine of unity in diversity was prevalent. “ Neither am I myself nor you yourself, nor are you me. I am myself too. You are yourself also and you are also me.”⁴ God was regarded as being very near to the human being, but it was also said that the individual could not realize Him easily.⁵ No curtain hid Him except that of one's own self.⁶ To become a part of Him, required great effort and self-annihilation, without which none could find the way leading to His presence.⁷

Only when being has been left behind,
 Canst thou the only source of being find.⁸

Although man leaves no stone unturned in order to find Him, yet it is God alone who can show him the right path of spiritual development and eternal bliss. A great Šūfī has said : “ None knows Him, save him to whom He has made Himself manifest.”⁹ They regarded everything as perishable except God, to love Whom was their only desire and concern.¹⁰ Like Massillon they said : “ God should be the object of all our desires, the end of all our actions, the principle of all our affections, and the governing power of our souls.” To the mystic the love of God was a gigantic beacon of spiritual light, hailing him towards the region of eternal peaceful radiance, and far away from the sorrow and squalor of this iniquitous and material world. Worldly desires, bodily appetites and passions were the torrential hurricanes blowing furiously and trying to retard his progress towards his destination.¹¹

1. *Kitāb-al-Ta'aruf-i Maḍhab Ahl Al-Taṣawwuf*, I, translated by Arthur John Arberry.

2. *Tarīqat-ul-ḥaqīqat*, pp. 1, 2.

3. *Mir'at-ul-ḥayāl*, 335.

4. *Akḥbār-ul-akḥyār*, 285.

5. *Hujjat-ul-asrār*, p. 3.

6. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, MS., (24), printed (42).

7. *Maktūbāt-i-Aḥmadī*, I, p. 24.

Badā'ūnī, III., 155.

8. *Islamic Culture*, 1934, p. 97.

9. *Kalīd-ul-tawḥīd*, p. 25.

10. *Muḥkam-ul-fuqarā*, p. 13.

Diwān-i-Bāhū, p. 9.

11. *'Ayn-ul-fuqarā*, p. 120.

The spring of Pantheism flows in a sprightly rhythm throughout their abundant epistles. "He is the kernel of the world ; the world is naught but the shell. But what of kernel and of shell, when all things are He.¹ To those who traverse the latent Sūfic stages, He is manifest in every substance, material or spiritual ; but to him who has not covered the path, He remains hidden. Sarmad, a Šūfī saint of the Mughal period writes :—²

" Though Thou art hidden, yet behind the eye
 Thou dwellest, knowing well my secret. Aye,
 And like the lamp behind its coloured shade,
 Thou sheddest light for me to travel by."

PRECEPTOR AND DISCIPLE

CROMWELL, in his earliest extant letter, wrote from St. Ives : " Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies ; to build material temples is judged a work of piety ; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious."³ The seeker of God was advised to search out and receive initiation from a perfect spiritual Preceptor.⁴ That teacher, who purged the student's mind by expurgating the desires of this material world, was regarded as a perfect master.⁵ Year in and year out, the lives of the disciples in a hospice revolved round the nucleus of their Sufic Guide. He instructed them in the latent mysteries of monastic mysticism. Generally the ceremony of initiation consisted of instruction as to the method of repetition of the Great Name of God (*Ism-i-A'zam*) ; and the gift of a long shirt called the *Khirqā-i-Irādat* and a cap to the disciple by the Preceptor. Various and manifold services were voluntarily undertaken and delightedly performed by the disciples in the hospice. A few looked after the cooking in the kitchen, some supplied water and others brought fuel and wood from the jungles nearby.

Ruskin has said : " God is not to be known by marring His fair works and blotting out the evidence of His influence upon His creatures ; not amidst the hurry of crowds and the crash of innovation, but in solitary places, and out of the glowing intelligences which He gave to men of old." In the hospices situated far away from the worldly turmoil of the town, initiation at the hands of a perfect spiritual master was essential for the realization of God. To sit at his feet was regarded as the greatest boon of life. He led his students out of the darkness of passions and

1. Badāūnī, III., p. 102.

2. *Islamic Culture*, 1934, p. 101.

3. Letter, dated January 11, 1635, in Carlyle's Collection.

4. *Shams-ul-'Ārifin*, p. 5.

5. *'Aql-i-Bēdār*, p. 47.

submerged them in the ocean of Eternal Bliss and Light (God). "Although the people of His path are not God, yet they are not separate from Him."¹

REPETITION OF THE GREAT NAME OF GOD

THE disciples under the instruction of their Preceptor occupied themselves with all their heart and soul in the repetition of the Great Name of God (*Ism-i-'Aẓam*). Every breath of life was precious to them. It was not to be whiled away in amusement. They were enjoined to utilize it in remembrance of Him.

The Emperor Jahāngīr wrote to a Muslim saint in Gujarat asking him to send him some of the names of God, so that the King might repeat them.² The Ṣūfīs as well as the Muslim mystics are at variance concerning the Names of God. Some of them maintain that the names of God are neither God nor other than God. Others hold that the Names of God are God. Some of them regard that the Name of God is within the human body and can be realized there.³

Once a Ṣūfī saint was asked if he remembered the Great Name and the language in which It was. He aptly replied, "Cleanse your stomach from forbidden, illegal and unlawful food and expel the love of this material world. After accomplishing so much, with whichever word you may remember God, that will be His Great Name, for He will hear it and answer your call."⁴ Prince Dārā Shikōh is of the same opinion. He begins one of his works with the verse: "In the Name of One, Who hath no name. With whatever name thou callest Him, He uplifteth His Head."⁵ He further writes: "With what name should one call the Truth? Whatever name there is, it is one of the names of God." The residents of the monasteries repeated some Arabic names such as *Allāh* or *Allā-hū*.

CONGREGATIONS

SPIRITUAL congregations were held in the hospice under the presidency of the religious Preceptor. Disciples and outside visitors took their seats according to their rank. The Holy Qur'ān and *Mathnavī-i-Ma'navī* were read. Religious stories and anecdotes were told. Visitors and newcomers asked questions and received appropriate answers pertaining to the mysteries of the spiritual world. At times the audience was so much enraptured that the hearers forgot their own being. In some of the

1. *Asrār-i-Ma'rafat*, p. 49, Bābā Lāl to Prince Dārā.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I., p. 173.

3. *Khūb-Tarang*, Punjab University MS., p. 17.

4. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, p. 486.

5. *Majma'-ul-bahrain*, B. I., 37 Eng., 79. Persian.

assemblies no one had the courage to question any statement made by the Master. The author of *Sīyar-ul-awliyā* gives us to understand that the presiding Preceptor through his spiritual power divined the doubts and problems arising in the minds of the audience and gave satisfaction without being asked any questions.¹

MONASTIC MUSIC AND SPONTANEOUS DANCE

ALTHOUGH we cannot emphatically assert that every hospice echoed with Sufic music and spontaneous dance, yet we are prone to think, as most of the contemporary authorities point out, that it was a common custom.² Luther had a great esteem for music. He writes : " Next to theology I give to music the highest place and honour ; and we see how David and all the saints have wrought their godly thoughts into verse, rhyme, and song."

In the congregations of the Sufic *Shaikhs* and their disciples, the *Qavvāls* or the spiritual singers sang in the hospice. The Sufist songs were generally in Persian, but verses in Hindi were also recited by the *Qavvāls* in these monastic meetings.³ The mystic music overflowed with exhortation, admonition, the longing of the soul to unite with the Source of all Creation, the Unity of God, the transitoryness of the material world and its renunciation. The soothing rhythmic songs, rich in Oriental thoughts and philosophy, kindled in the hearts of the hearers an intense Love for God, a strong craving to reach Him, an unshakable determination to curb their passions and, last but not the least, it impressed upon their minds the shortness of human life.

" Life is a bridge, a bridge that you shall pass over ;
You shall not build your house upon it."⁴

This world appeared to them an illusion. They became conscious of their own shortcomings.

Songs dealing with the attributes of God made them aware of His Presence everywhere, and overcome with spiritual bliss and mystic delight, they danced spontaneously. At times some were moved to such a state of ecstasy and trance that they expired. In a few opulent monasteries these singers received monthly salaries and sang whenever called upon to entertain the congregation.

1. Vide p. 130.

2. *Haft-Iqlīm*, p. 75.

Sīyar-ul-awliyā, pp. 270, 315, 319, 492, 501, 504, 505, 507, 512, 514.

3. Do p. 512 ; *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi*, p. 57.

Sakīnat-ul-awliyā, p. 56 ; *Badāūnī*, III p. 11.

4. Arabic Inscription upon the Buland-Darwāza, Fatehpūrsikrī.

It appears that these Qavvāls were given permits for spiritual singing (*Ijāzat-Nāma-Simā'*) by the presiding preceptors of the strongholds of spiritual knowledge.¹

Shaikh 'Abdul-Haq, the author of *Akhbār-ul-akhhyār*, which he completed in 1590-91 A.D., referring to a meeting which he attended, writes : "I went and sat in front of the tomb. The spiritual musical performances in the congregation were of its highest and Qavvāls and the Ṣūfīs were excited."² Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn, a Muslim saint of mediæval India, was fond of hearing spiritual songs, so much so that in his hospice he appointed Qavvāls on monthly salaries, who sang before him at least once every day.³

Shaikh Burhān (1462-1562, 3 A.D.) used to compose and sing Hindi songs.⁴ Maulānā Wajih-ud-dīn was in the habit of reciting Hindi songs very sweetly.⁵ Hazrat Miyān Mīr⁶ took great delight in hearing Sufic music from Qavvāls. He never employed any spiritual singers on salary but, if they came of their own accord, he enjoyed their music. Of music he liked that best which was set to Hindi verse.⁷

Miyān Shaikh Mohī-ud-dīn Abū Yūsuf Yaḥiya (1602-1689 A.D.) was fond of hearing ecstatic songs. Mirzā Bāqir, the Muḥtasib, in accordance with a royal ordinance of Aurangzīb, suppressed all such assemblies throughout Aḥmadabad. The Shaikh defied the order to abstain from listening to music in his congregations. The Muḥtasib, as the last resort, planned to bring the singers out of the convent of the Shaikh by force, but the mystic smelt mischief and prepared for resistance. Mirzā Bāqir was persuaded by an Arab chief not to meddle with the Shaikh's affairs. The Shaikh then sent a letter to Aurangzīb, who kissed it and issued orders to the Nāẓim of Gujarat, the Dīwān and the Qāzī requiring them to censure Mirzā Bāqir, the Muḥtasib, and to bid him refrain from troubling the Shaikh.⁸

Such was the glamour which the savant saints cast over rich and poor alike, because of their secluded ascetic lives, and miracle-working that even Mughal monarchs of such calibre and character as Aurangzīb had

1. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 505.

2. *Vide* 288.

3. *Safinat-ul-awliyā*, (Punjab University MS.), 64.

Haft-Iqlīm MS., 75.

Siyar-ul-awliyā, 315.

4. *Badā'ūnī*, II., 10.

5. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 512.

Akhbār-ul-akhhyār, 326.

6. A well-known mystic buried near Lahore (1550-1635 A.D.).

7. *'Amal-i-Ṣāleḥ*, MS., (a) 731, (b) 614.

Sakīnat-ul-awliyā, 75.

Safinat-ul-awliya, MS., 44.

8. *Mir'at-Aḥmadi*, S. 69.

to bow before them and allow them the joy of their monastic music and spontaneous dance, in contravention of the Imperial ordinance.

ROUTINE IN A HOSPICE

THOMAS A. Kempis has said : " Seek a convenient time to take heed to thyself and think of times of the benefits of God." The sombre, silent and calm night was regarded as the best time for meditation by the inmates of the monasteries. The mystic preceptors and disciples got up at midnight to repeat the Sacred Name and meditate. Some of them passed the whole nights in meditation and austerities in their cubicles. When it was morning, they washed their faces while repeating the Great Name. They assembled at the congregational hall and said their morning prayers in the company of the Preceptor. There the Qur'ān was read and the disciples again engaged themselves in repeating the *Ism-i-A'zam*. After two or three hours, i.e., at about 10 A.M. the spiritual Master retired to his private room. One by one the disciples interviewed him there. He made enquiries about their spiritual progress. Outside visitors were allowed to pay homage to the Sufic Guide, without any regard to the hour of the day or night. Meals were served after the *Chāsh*t prayers. Victuals were distributed to all from the free kitchen of the monastery. All then rested till the *Zuhr* prayer at sun-down. After a siesta, they gathered again in the congregational hall for prayers and repetition of the Sacred Name. In this meeting the Preceptor delivered a spiritual discourse. After the '*Ishā*' prayers some Sufic work was read.

PERFORMANCE OF PRAYER AND MEDITATION

IN the words of St. Ambrose : " Prayer is the wing wherewith the soul flies to heaven ; and meditation the eye with which we see God." The Mughal mystics believed likewise. The congregational prayers were to be performed in the hall of the mosque and were meant to make the mind stable, peaceful and conscious of the presence of God.¹ The remaining time was to be employed in practising the repetition of the Great Name. A great religious Preceptor used to advise his disciples thus : " Every breath that we take is precious. The same we cannot take again. It should be employed in the repetition of the Name of God."² During the 24 hours, they were advised to perform repetition of the Holy Name on at least six occasions :—

1. From early dawn to the time when the sun shoots up from the horizon.

1. *Siyar-ul-awliya*, p. 442.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

2. From the time when the sun has well risen to *Chāshṭ* prayers (about 11 o' clock).
3. From midday prayers (Digar—between 2 and 4 P.M.) to the evening prayers.
4. From the evening prayers to the '*Ishā* prayers when the night has closed in.
5. From the '*Ishā* prayers to midnight prayers.
6. From midnight to early dawn.

When a Preceptor was questioned as to the posture during meditation, he said : " It is better to sit in that posture in which congregational prayers are said, with hands resting on thighs. If one wants to sit with thighs lifted, he should take no support and ought to recline his head on his knees." They were also allowed to squat with crossed legs, but as it was a posture mostly used by the Jōgīs, few adopted this position while meditating.¹ It was a custom to perform meditations with clean dress and body.² They generally occupied themselves in repeating the two words—HŪ ALLĀH (He is God). HŪ appearing while the breath came in and ALLĀH when it went out,³ according to the Quranic verse, "And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification."⁴

READING OF THE HOLY QUR'ĀN

THE Ṣūfīs are agreed that the Qur'ān is the very word of God, and that it is neither created nor originated in time nor an innovation. At quite an early age they read the Qur'ān and most of them committed it to memory. During the month of Ramaḍān, they recited the Holy Book regularly and finished it at least once daily.⁵ Their religious preceptors instructed them to grasp its meaning intelligibly while reading. It was considered far better to read only one chapter intelligently than to go through fifteen chapters hurriedly. The mind was to be concentrated on the text and the meaning. The reading of the Holy Qur'ān was to be regular, and although the contents could be discussed and explained, which most of the preceptors were accustomed to make pellucid in their congregations for the improvement and progress of their disciples in the spiritual domain, yet it could not be questioned.⁶ Great care was taken to pronounce the Arabic text accurately and chastely. It was thought a great

1. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 444.

2. *Akhbār-ul-akh'yār*, 245.

3. *Majma'-ul-bahrain*, 47.

4. The Qur'ān, Ch. XVII., 44.

5. *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi*, S. 41, 44.

6. *Khūb-Tarang*, MS. 3.

Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi, S. 58.

honour to be perfect in the recitation of the Holy Book and almost all strove to attain this.¹

MUNIMENT OF MYSTERIOUS MIRACLES

THE Šūfīs and mystics were agreed in confirming the miracles of the Šūfic saints. The miracles performed were of diverse nature, such as walking on water, entering into conversation with plants and beasts, disappearing in one place and appearing in a distant place without any obvious means of transportation, producing commodities procurable in far off countries at that time of the year, healing the sick and suffering and restoring the dead to life. In the opinion of Abū Maṣṣūr² working of wonders by saints is possible. They establish them as proofs of their veracity, just as the miracles of the prophets are evidence for the establishment of their claims.³

Jahāngīr writes that although the saints avoided such display : " Yet occasionally in the excitement of ecstasy an appearance is manifested unintentionally and without control, or for the sake of teaching some one, the exhibition is made."⁴ Prince Dārā gives us to understand that in the year 1634 A.D. although the doctors had declared his case hopeless, yet the Prince regained his health through Ḥaṣrat Miyān Mīr, who gave him a cup of water to drink after passing his breath over it.⁵ Another mystic, Shāikh Bilawal, used to give water as a medicine to the visitors for their sick relations. About a Kashmir Šūfī, it is related that he escaped from his would-be assassins on account of his miraculous power, by which he changed his features.⁶ Badāūnī, after receiving some gifts from Shāikh Dāūd, made a representation to him, saying : " If you bestow on me the gift of a shirt, it will be light upon light." However it was not bestowed upon him and he obtained leave to depart. While at Saharanpur, Badāūnī received from a traveller that mysteriously conveyed gift of the shirt. He regarded it as a miracle.⁷

The contemporary documents swarm with stories of crotchety and quaint miraculous happenings. A distinction between what is remarkable and what is miraculous has to be borne in mind. Faith-healing is remarkable, but not miraculous. We have modern experiences of healing by

1. *Akḥbār-ul-Akhyār*, 255.

2. Abū Maṣṣūr, 'Abdal-Kabir ibn Tāhir al Baghdādī, d. 1037 A.H. 1627, 28 A.D.

3. *Al-Farq Bain-al-Firāq*, 203.

4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, II, 70.

5. *Safinat-ul-awliyā*, MS. 45.

6. *Khwāja, Khāwind Maḥmūd* (d. 1640).

Tārikh-i-'Azamī, 139.

'*Amal-i-Šāleḥ*, MS., (a) 733, (b) 616.

Bādshāhnāmā. B.I. II., 332.

7. *Badāūnī*, III., 57, 61.

faith. Auto-suggestion and the power of the mind over the body in certain diseases is an established fact.

WRITING OF CHARMS

IN Mughal India, men believed in magic, miracles, witchcraft, spells, sorcery, enchantments and charms. Bābar in his *Memoirs* writes : " I sent for the Sultāns : (Taimūr Sultān and Bugrā Sultān)...to come to the boats. Bugrā Sultān performed some of his enchantments. A high wind having risen, it began to rain."¹

Niccolao Manucci, the Venetian traveller, was not only famous as a doctor, but was rumoured to be capable of expelling demons from the bodies of the possessed. He states : " Here two things happened to me that I wish to recount, so that inquiring persons may learn that these people are much given to sorcery." He describes how the Rājā of Chiutia took a fancy to a handsome horse, which Rājā Jai Singh had given to the traveller. The Rājā requested him to sell the horse. Mannucci was unwilling to part with it ; but " when it was time for my departure, the horse had lost the use of its legs, and was unable to move," through sorcery. The other incident is of the same nature. " One of my servants passing through a field of radishes, stretched out his hand to pluck one out of the ground, when his hand adhered in such a fashion to the radish that he could not take it away." The owner of the field was approached and was requested to liberate the servant. He took something as a fine and after beating the servant, recited some words and the servant was released.²

In 1672, during the reign of Aurangzīb, the superstitious terror of the Satnamis' magical skill had demoralised the spirits of the imperial troops, which were sent to quell their rising. At last Aurangzīb, who had the reputation of a saint working miracles ('Alamgīr zinda pīr), wrote out prayers and magical figures with his own hand and ordered these papers to be sewed on to the banners of his army in order to counteract the enemy's spells!³

These ideas and beliefs were not peculiar to the prevalent popular mental outlook on occult life in Mughal India. Even in England, the Stuart epoch was marked by the belief in black arts and the ' most scandalous blot on English humanity was witch-finding.'⁴

In India, illness and disease were alleged to be the influence of some evil spirits. The Shaikhs and mystics used to write charms to be worn

1. Babar's *Memoirs*, II. 381.

2. A *Pepys of Mogul India*, pp. 130, 160.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV. 244.

Sarkar : *A Short History of Aurangzib*, 163.

4. *England Under the Stuarts*, 32.

by the patient under the shirt either round the neck or on the arm, to checkmate injurious influence. They also at times, delegated the power of writing charms to some of their advanced students and permitted them to distribute them free of charge to the poor and the needy. Once a disciple questioned his spiritual Preceptor as to what he should write in a charm. The Master replied : " It is not inscribed either on my hand or on your palm. Charm is the name of God. Write it and give it unto the needy." ¹

ISHWAR CHANDRA BHATNAGAR.

1. *Siyar-ul-awliyā*, 429.

NUMERICAL COMPOUNDS IN PERSIAN

هفت

هفت *haft*: seven.

دِهَان بِشست به هفت آب خاك و توبه كند به دست تو كه نگويد چنين سخن ها باز
bi haft āb shustan, to wash with seven waters. To wash and purify completely. Kamāl Ismā'il says (ARaj.):—

هفت حال .
Also see

آبَا — — *ābā*, seven fathers. The seven heavens. The epithet is further elaborated as هفت آباى علوى *haft ābāy 'ulwī*, the seven celestial fathers. The idea is probably taken from the ancient Egyptian belief of the heavens being fathers as against the earths being mothers. آباى علوى is contrasted with امهات سفلى *ummahāt-i suflī*, the terrestrial mothers.

آبگون چتر — — *ābgūn-i chatr*, seven water-coloured parasols. The seven heavens.

اجرام — — *ajrām*, seven bodies. The seven heavenly bodies, the seven planets. See هفت اختر . *Khāqānī* says :—

ابو اسحاق ابراهيم كاندر جنب انعامش به يك ذره نمى سنجد سپهر و هفت اجرامش

هفت اختر .
اختار — — *ukhtān*, seven sisters. The seven planets. See

اختر — — *akhtar*, seven stars. The seven planets, the moon (ماه) whose zone is the first heaven, Mercury (تير) whose sphere is the second heaven, Venus (ناهيد) whose abode is the third heaven, the sun whose zodiac is the fourth heaven, Mars (جرام) in the fifth heaven, Jupiter (برجيس) in the sixth, and Saturn (كيوان) in the seventh heaven. The time taken by each to revolve, comes to some seven thousand years, the gross total coming to forty-nine thousand. It is said that, when all the

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seven rounds of the planets are over the world will come to an end. Mawlawī says :—

هفت اختر بی آب و اکز آشیان خون می خوردند هم آب بر آتش زنم هم بادها شان بشکنم

Also see دوسرای.

غوث (Qutub), قطب — *akhyār*, seven noble ones : namely, نجبا (Nujabā), نقباء (Nuqabā), ابدال (Abdāl), اوتاد (Awtād), او تاد (Ghawth), and اولیاء (Awliyā). They are said to be three hundred and fifty-nine in all, divided into seven ranks, as stated above. This world is said to be kept in existence for their sake.

هفت اختر — *aḡdahā*, seven dragons. The seven planets. See اژدها.

آسیا — *āsiyā*, seven mills. The orbits of the seven planets. Şā'ib says :—

کیم من و چه بود رزق هم چو من موری که بار خاطر این هفت آسیا شده است

اصل — *aṣl*, seven roots. (1) The seven earths. (2) The seven climates.

اعضاء — *a'dā*, seven limbs. The whole of a man's body, comprising of the head with the neck, the chest with all inside it, the back with the organs, the two arms, and the two legs. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm says (Bahār) :—

نمازم را درستی نیست هر چند زیبار سجده هفت اعضاء شکسته

الوان — *alwān*, seven colours. Different kinds of meat. Food sent down from heaven for Jesus Christ, which consisted of bread, salt, fish, vinegar, honey, butter, and cresses. This is based on the brief Quranic narrative of the feast demanded of Jesus Christ by certain of his followers. It is mentioned in Sura V, verses 114-115.

امام — *imām*, seven *imāms*. The seven leaders of the seven schools of Sunnī Muslim thought, the 'Great Imām,' i.e., Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām Shāfi'ī, Imām Mālik, Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, Imām Abū Yūsuf, Imām Muḥammad, and Imām Zufar.

اندام — *andām*, seven bodies. (1) The seven members of the body, namely, the head, the breast, belly, arms, and legs ; or the head, hands, sides, and feet. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm says (Bahār) :—

چنان کز طاعت حق هفت اندام به وقت سجده کردن خاکسار است

بود محکوم امرت هفت اقلیم همیشه تا که نصف هشت چار است

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(2) The aorta or the great artery, called in Arabic نهالبدن (the river of the body), so called because, if this artery be severed, the person will bleed to death.

اوراق — — *awraq*, seven leaves. The seven heavens.

اورنگ — — *aurang*, seven thrones. (1) The constellation of the Great Bear, comprising of seven stars, in Arabic called بنات النعش (*Banāt-un Na'sh*). It has the form of a vulture, in Arabic دب (*dubb*). 'Alī Marqadī (Samarqandī ?) says (Jah.) :—

بگردا گرد چترش مدار هفت اقلیم چو کرد قطب شمالی مدار هفت اورنگ

(2) The seven heavens. B. Q. says that the compound can also be written without الف as هفتورنگ.

آیات زر — — *āyāt-i zar*, seven verses of gold. The seven planets. Badr Chāch says :—

مصحف نه جلد با هفت آیت زر ماه را هر مہی سی پاره دید از غیرت انوار من

(The مصحف نه جلد — the book with nine bindings—implies the nine heavens).

آئینه — — *ā'ina*, seven mirrors. The seven planets. They are also styled هفت آئینه خود بین *haft ā'ina-i khud bīn*, seven self-seeing mirrors. *Khāqānī* says :—

از رای تو صیقلی فلک را هفت آئینه در دکان به ینم

هفت رقعہ — — *aywān*, seven palaces. The seven heavens. See هفت رقعہ. And also هفت ایوان خضرا *haft aywān-i khadrā* (also اخضر *akhḡdar*), seven blue palaces. *Khāqānī* says :—

به دستش داد هفت ایوان خضرا کلید هفت شادروان اداکن

باز — — *bāz*, a player with seven. A companion, a partner.

بام — — *bām*, seven terraces. The seven heavens. *Khāqānī* says :—

فراو بر هفت بام و چار دیوار جهان کار نامه هشت بنیاد چنان انگیزته

بانو — — *bānū*, seven princesses. The seven planets.

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برادران — — *birādarān*, seven brothers. The seven stars in the Great Bear.

برگ — — *barg*, seven leaves. A medicinal seven-leaved herb, called mezereon. It is of two kinds, white and black. The white is called شخیص (*Shakhīsh*), and the black هفت برگ (*Haft barg*)—mezereon.

بنا — — *binā*, seven structures. The seven heavens.

بنیان — — *bunyān*, same as هفت بنا • *Khāqānī* says :—

خود حضرتش جهان نیست کز عنصر کمالش برتر ز هفت بنیان بنیان تازه بینی

But he has used it also in the exactly contrary sense of the seven strata of the earth :—

دای تو و رای هفت طارم خصم تو فرود هفت بنیان

پاسبان — — *pāsbān*, seven guards. The seven planets.

پدر — — *pidar*, seven fathers. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets.

پر ثریا — — *par-i thurayyā*, seven feathers of the Pleiades. The smallest star in the Pleiades.

پرده — — *parda*, seven curtains. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven notes of the gamut. (3) The seven tunics of the eye. See هفت پرده چشم.

Hāfiz says :—

اشک حرم نشین نهان خانه مرا زان سوی هفت پرده به بازار می کشی

ازرق — — *parda-i azraq*, seven blue curtains. The seven heavens. *Khāqānī* says :—

از جور هفت پرده ازرق ز اشک لعل طوفان به هفت رقعۀ ادکن در آورم

— — *parda-i chashm*, seven veils of the eye. The seven tunics of the eye, namely, (1) Tunica conjunctive, (ملتحمه *Multaḥima*); (2) Cornea, (قرنيه *Qarniyya*); (3) Uvea, (عنبيه *Inabiyya*), its colour varies in different persons; (4) Arachnoides, (عنكبوتیه *Ankabūtiyya*); (5) Retina, (شبکیه *Shabkiyya*); (6) Choroides, (مشیمیه *Mashimiyya*) and (7) Scleratica, (صلبیه *Ṣalbiyya*). Each of the two eyes is composed of seven tunics and three moistures.

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پرده کحل — — *parda-i kuḥlī*, seven collyrium-like veils. The seven heavens, on account of similarity in colour.

پرکار — — *parkār*, seven compasses. The seven heavens.

پشت کسی به سگ آبی رساندن — — *pusht-i kasī ba sag-i ābī rasāndan*, to bring the seven backs of a person to a water-dog. To overapplaud one, to overpraise a man. *Ashraf* says (*Bahār*) :—

من کجا و اختلاط آن سگ کو کز شرف با سگ آبی رساند هفت پشت خویش را

پوست — — *pūst*, seven hides. The seven heavens.

پیر — — *pīr*, seven old men. The seven master-readers (قراء) of the Holy Qur'ān, who were : Nāfi' of Medina, Ibn Kathīr of Mecca, Abū 'Umar of Baṣra, Ibn 'Āmīr of Syria, 'Aṣīm of Kūfa, Ḥamza of Kūfa, and Kisā'i of Kūfa.

پیکر — — *paykar*, seven bodies. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. See هفت اختر.

تان — — *tanān*, seven persons. (1) اصحاب الکهف (the People of the Cave). This term is used in the Qur'ān to denote the youths who in the West are commonly called 'the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.' See the *Encycl. Islam* under *Aṣḥābu'l Kahf*. (2) See هفت اخیار *supra*.

جزیره — — *jazīra*, seven islands. The seven climes.

جوش — — *jūsh*, a mixed metal composed of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. *Ashraf* says (*ChirH.*) :—

چار آئینه چهار ادکان به تن باشش پر هفت جوش گردون چکند

چراغ — — *chirāgh*, seven lamps. The seven planets.

چشم چرخ — — *chashm-i charkh*, seven eyes of the heavens. (1) The seven planets. *Khāqānī* says :—

خسرو مشرق جلال الدین که برق خنجرش هفت چشم چرخ خضرا برتنباد بیش ازین

چشم خراس — — *chashm-i kharās*, seven eyes of the giant-mill. (1) The seven planets. (2) The seven heavens.

چشمه بهشت — — *chashma-i bihisht*, seven fountains of paradise. They are cleverly enumerated in the well-known couplet :

کوثر و کافور و میم و سلسبیل باز تسنیم و معین و زنجبیل

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حال — — *ḥāl*, seven circumstances. (1) In all conditions, always, continually. *Khāqānī* says :—

دل خاک پای او شد شستم به هفت آبش جان صید زلفش آمد دیدم به هفت حالش

هفت پرده چشم q.v. — — *ḥujla-i nūr*, seven rooms of light. Same as *حجله نور*. Also see *دو حجره خواب*.

— — *ḥarf-i ābī*, seven watery letters. The seven of the alphabets of the Arabic language, namely, ظ and ش، ف، س، ق، ز، ج، ح.

— — *ḥarf-i ātashī*, seven fiery letters. They are : ا، ه، ذ and ش، م، ف، ط.

— — *ḥarf-i isti'lā*, seven high letters : ط، غ، ض، ص، خ and ظ.

— — *ḥarf-i khākī*, seven earthy letters : خ، د، ع، ل، ح، د and غ.

— — *ḥarf-i hawā'ī*, seven airy letters : ت، ص، ن، ی، و، ب and ض.

— — *ḥikāyat*, seven stories. (1) The stories related by the seven princesses to the Sasanian emperor, Bahrām Gūr, as versified in the Quintette by Nizāmī of Ganja. (2) The chief qualities of the هفت اندام q.v.

— — *khātūn*, seven ladies. The seven planets. *Khāqānī* :—

هفت خاتون را درین خرگاه سبز داه این درگاه والا دیده ام

— — *khāṣiyyat*, seven peculiarities. (1) The chief characteristics of the seven limbs of the body, the head, the breast, belly, arms and legs. (2) The seven planets. See *هفت اختر*. (3) The seven countries of the world. (4) The seven stars affecting the destinies of the seven countries.

— — *khāna-i zarrīn*, seven golden houses. The seven heavens. *Khāqānī* says :—

اجرام هفت خانه زرین به سوگ تو بر هفت نیم خانه مینا گریسته

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خراس — — *kharās*, seven giant-mills. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets

خروار کوس — — *kharwār-i kūś*, seven ass-loads of drum. The seven heavens

خزینہ — — *khazīna*, seven treasures. (1) The seven inner parts of the body, namely, the stomach, liver, lung, hearts, gall, spleen and kidney. (2) The seven heavens.

خط — — *khatt*, seven lines. (1) The seven lines on the cup of Jam viz., خط جور *Khatt-i jawr*, خط بغداد *Khatt-i Baghdād*, خط بصرہ *Khatt-i Baṣra*, خط ازرق *Khatt-i Azraq*, خط اشک *Khatt-i aṣḥk*, خط کاسہ گر *Khatt-i kāsagar*, and خط فرودینہ *Khatt-i farūdīna*. خط سبز is also called خط سبز *Khatt-i sabz*, خط سیاه *Khatt-i Siyāh*, and خط شب *Khatt-i Shab*; while خط اشک is also named خط خطیر *Khatt-i khaṭīr*; and خط فرودینہ is also termed خط فرود *khatt-i farūd*. Qā'ānī:—

به هفت خط و چار حد به هر دیار و هر بلد فزون ز حصرو حد و عد تراست جان نثار ها

(2) The seven climates.

خطر گاه — — *khaṭargāh*, seven dangerous zones. (1) The seven climes. (2) The seven planets. Khāqānī says:—

این رایت نگوں سرو و رخس بریده دم بر غافلان هفت خطر گاه برآورد

خلیفہ — — *Khalīfa*, seven monarchs: (1) The stomach, liver, thighs, heart, gall, milt and kidneys. (2) The soul, reason, sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. (3) The seven limbs on which the body is supported in prostrating during the Muslim prayer, viz., the forehead, palms of the hands, knees, points of great toes. (4) The seven states of the heart, flowing (صدر), beating (قلب), distemper in the short ribs (شغاف), heart's core (حبة القلوب) and bleeding of the heart (مہجۃ القلوب). (5) The seven inauspicious things, viz., علیط *'Ilyatt*: which is the name of a certain tree, عریم *'Arīm*: a calamity, سرموش *Sarmūsh* (or *Sarmash*, a kind of cider-apple); کلاب *Kulāb*: hydrophobia; ذو ذوابہ *dhū dhūwāba*: a comet; لییان *Lihyān*: a pot-hole in the ground, and کید *Kayd*: war, vomit.

خم — — *khum*, seven jars. The seven heavens.

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خوان — — *khuwān*, seven tables. (1) The seven heavens. It is also used as هفت خوان گردون. Badr Chāch says:—

زان پیش کا سمان را طباخ صبح بنهد بر هفت خوان گردون یک طاسک معصفر

(2) A road between Iran and Turan, along which only two warriors, Rustam and Isfandiyār, successfully completed their journeys. Each of them met with seven adventures on the way, and at the successful completion of every one each held a feast, whence the name هفت خوان (seven dining-tables). These two expeditions are also named after the two champions stated above.

خواهران — — *khwāharān*, seven sisters. The seven stars in the Great Bear. Badr Chāch says:—

پرچم بیرق تو شد کیسوی هفت خواهران چرمه رایت به خور روز و نما قران گرفت

داداران — — *dādarān*, seven brothers. Same as هفت خواهران q. v.

دانه — — *dāna*, seven grains. A dish composed of seven different sorts of fruits and herbs dressed with syrup which, on the tenth day of Muḥarram, they distribute in Persia to neighbours and the poor, in commemoration of the death of Ḥusayn, son of 'Alī.

دائره — — *dā'ira*, the seven revolvers. The seven heavens. Badr Chāch says:—

آن جام زر که بر سرتاس زمرد است در گرد هفت دائره گردان برای ماست

دختر خضرا — — *dukhtar-i khadrā*, the seven green daughters. The seven planets. Mentioned without خضرا the epithet هفت دختر also implies the seven stars comprising the Great Bear. *Khāqānī* says:—

ازین هر هفت کرده هفت دختر چو طبعث چرخ بانوی ندارد

در — — *durr*, seven pearls. The seven planets. Also :

درد — — *durar*, seven pearls.

در هفت — — *dar haft*, seven in seven. (1) The seven articles of a lady's toilet, namely, antimony, woad, rouge, ceruse, gold-leaf, etc. These articles are applied to seven parts of the body : hands, feet, eyes, eyebrows, both sides of the face, and cheeks. See شش بانوی پیر. (2) The seven chief characteristics of the seven limbs of the body. (3) The seven

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planets which affect the destinies of the world. Every climate of the earth is related to a planet : first to Saturn, under which falls India : second to Jupiter which rules Khaṭā and Khutan ; third Mars, dominating Turkey ; fourth the sun, influencing Irāq and Khurāsān ; fifth Venus, affecting Transoxiana ; sixth Mercury, controlling Rome ; and seventh the moon which rules the northern hemisphere. (4) The seven countries. (5) The seven climes. (6) The seven oceans. See هفت دریا.

دریا — — *daryā*, seven seas, namely, Caspian Sea, Sea of Oman, Red Sea, Sea of Barbary, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Black Sea. Khāqānī says :—

نمازی نیست گرچه هفت دریا اندرون دارد کسی کاندر پرستش هست هفت اندام کسلانش

دریای اخضر — — *daryā-i akhḍar*, seven green oceans. The seven heavens.

دستنبو — — *dastanbū*, seven perfumes. The seven planets. Khāqānī :—

در کف بخت بلندش ز اختران هفت دستنبوی زیبا دیده ام

دکان — — *dukkān*, seven shops. The seven climates. Khāqānī says :—

ازان دو عاقیر صحرای دلها درین هفت دکان گیای نیابی

دور — — *dawr*, seven revolutions, cycles.—(1) Each cycle of years is said to consist of one (according to some, seven) thousand years. Each revolution (دور) is related to a planet. When all the seven revolutions end, the world will come to end. Khāqānī says :—

پیش کعبه گشته خون باران زمینی بوس از نیاز واسمان را در طواغش هفت دوران دیده اند

دوزخ — — *dūzakḥ*, seven hells. The seven stages of Hell, viz., سقر (*Saqr*), جهنم (*Jahīm*), جحیم (*Ḥuṭama*), حطمه (*Nuṭayy*), نطی (*Sa'ir*), سعیر (*Saqr*), جهنم (*Jahīm*), and هاویه (*Hāwiya*), which is the worst of all.

ده — — *dih*, seven towns. (1) The seven heavens. Also and particularly as هفت ده زیر, seven lower towns, signifies (2) the seven climes. As in Khāqānī :—

درین هفت ده زیرونه شهر بالا و رای خرد ده لیای نیابی

راه — — *rāh*, seven paths. The seven tunics of the eye. See هفت پردۀ چشم. Rsh. here quotes Hāfiz :—

اشک حرم نشی نهان خانه مرا از سوی هفت راه به بازار می کشی

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This is, however, misplaced, as the correct reading of the second hemistich, is هفت پرده and not هفت راه. See هفت پرده supra.

رخشان — — *rakhshān*, seven shining ones. The seven planets.

رصد — — *raṣad*, seven watch-towers. The seven climes of the earth.

رقعه — — *ruq'a*, seven sheets. (1) The seven strata of the earth. (2) The seven climes. *Khāqānī* says :—

زیک عکس شمشیرش این هفت رقعه تصاویر آن هفت ایوان نماید

Also سی مهره ماه صیام *haft ruq'a-i pāstān*, seven old sheets. See هفت رقعه باستان.

رقعه اداکن — — *ruq'a -i adkan*, seven black sheets. The seven climes of the earth. See هفت پرده ازرق.

رقعه خضرا — — *ruq'ah-i khadrā*, seven green sheets. The seven heavens.

رنگ — — *rang*, seven colours :— (1) The colours related to the planets, i.e., black to Saturn, grey to Jupiter, red to Mars, yellow to the sun, white to Venus, blue to Mercury, and green to the moon. (2) A species of beautiful Indian rose of many colours called گل قرمزی *gul-i-qirmizī*. *Asadī* says (*Rsh.*) :—

هزاران صفت گل دمیده زسنگ ز صد برگ و دوری و از هفت رنگ

(3) A kind of painting or embroidery. *Khāqānī* says :—

هر هفته هفت عید و رفیقان هفت بام آذین هفت رنگ به بندند بردرش

(4) The ornaments of a woman.

رنگی — — *rangī*, seven-coloured. Capricious, artful, cunning.

رواق — — *rawāq*, seven vaults. The seven heavens.

زرد — — *zarda*, seven yellows. A kind of narcissus, the best of its genus, also called صد برگ.

زمین — — *zamīn* (also *zamī*), seven lands. (1) The seven climes. (2) The seven lands : ربکا (*Rabkā*), اخلد (*Akhlada*) the abode of the scorpions of Hell, عرقه (*Araqa*) a place for the spiders of Hell, عربیا (*Arabiyyā*) the abode of the hawks of Heaven, هوملتا (*Hūmaltā*), سچین

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(*Sijjīn*) it has the register of the deeds of the victims, عَجِيبَا ('*Ajība*) the place of Iblīs (Satan) and his followers.

زندان — — *zindān*, seven prisons. The world, as consisting of seven climes. *Khāqānī* says :—

جان یوسف زاد را کا زاد کردن همت است وادهان زین چار میخ وهفت زندان وادهان

سیع — — *sab'*, seven sevens. (1) The seven *manzils* (stages) of the Qur'ān. The reciters of the Qur'ān (قراء) fixed seven days (a week) for the finishing of the whole Qur'ān. Whatever they read in one day came to be known as one stage. Thus the Qur'ān comprises seven "stages." In the formula فمی بشوق each one of the seven letters is the initial of the Sūra of the Qur'ān wherewith the *manzil* begins. Respectively the letters stand for the Suras : (1) فاتحه, (2) مائده, (3) یونس, (4) بنو اسرائیل, (5) شعرا, (6) وصافات, and (7) قاف. (2) To some the contents of the Qur'ān are of seven kinds (a) وعده promise, (b) وعید threat, (c) وعظ sermons, (d) قصص stories, (e) امر commandments, (f) نهی prohibitions and (g) ادعیه prayers.

سرای — — *sarāy*, seven houses. The seven climes. *Khāqānī* :

گیتی ز دست نوحه به پای اندر آمده رخنه به سقف هفت سرای اندر آمده

سقف — — *saqf*, seven roofs. The seven heavens.

سلام — — *salām* seven *salāms* (greetings). The seven verses of the Qur'ān commencing with the word سلام : (1) XXXVII, 58—سلام قولا من رب رحیم (Peace, a word from the Merciful Lord), (2) XXXVII 79—سلام علی نوح فی العالمین (Peace on Noah among nations), (3) XXXVII, 109—سلام علی ابراهیم (Peace be on Abraham), (4) XXXVII, 120—سلام علی موسی و هارون (Peace on Moses and Aaron), (5) XXXVII, 130—سلام علی ال یاسین (Peace be on Elias), (6) XXXVII, 181—سلام علی المرسلین (Peace be on the Apostles), [and (7) XCVII, 5—سلام هی حتی مطلع الفجر (Peace ! it is till the break of the morning).

سلطان — — *sultān*, seven *sultāns*. (1) The seven planets. (2) The Sultān of *Khurāsān*, Sultān Ibrāhīm Adham, Sultān Bāyazīd of Bistām,

هفت

Sultān Abū Sa'id Abu'l Khayr, Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Sultān Sanjar, Sultān Ismā'il Sāmānī. Khāqānī :—

شاه ملت پاسبان را برفلك هفت سلطان پاسبان بینی بهم

سيل — — sayl, seven torrents. The seven heavens.

شادروان — — shādurwān, seven canopies. (1) The seven heavens.

(2) The seven climes. It is further qualified as being :

هفت شادروان ادکن haft shādurwān-i adkan, seven black or sandy canopies. See هفت ایوان خضرا

شمع — — sham', seven candles. The seven planets. Says Badr Chāch :

ازدوده چراغ تو یک ذره هفت شمع ازهر پنج شاخ تونه چرخ چون حباب

شمع بی دخان — — sham' bi dukhān, seven smokeless candles. Same as above. Khāqānī says :—

از پی افروزش بزم جلالش دان و بس نورها کین هفت شمع بی دخان افشاندند

شمع درخشان — — sham'-durakhshān, seven brilliant candles. Same as q. v. هفت شمع

صحیفه — — saḥīfa, seven books. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. (3) The crystalline or the empyrean heaven and the ninth heaven, supposed to be the throne of God.

طارم — — tārām, seven vaults. The seven heavens.

طبق — — tabaq, seven strata. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven earths.

طبقه — — tabaqa, same as q. v. هفت پرده

جان شکار jān shikar, (contracted form of جان شکار jān shikār), seven soul-hunting boys. The seven planets. Khāqānī :—

چرخ نارنج گون چو بازیچه در کف هفت طفل جان شکر است

طلای خضرا — — tilāy khaḍrā, seven green golds. The seven heavens.

علف خانه — — 'alaf khāna, seven grass-houses. The seven climes.

Khāqānī says :—

آتش ز نیم هفت علف خانه فلك چون بگریم نزل فراوان صبح گاه

هفت

فرش — — *farsh*, seven floors. (1) The seven climes of the earth.
(2) The seven strata of the earth.

فرشته ایام — — *ferishta-i ayyām*, seven angels of the days of the week.
The seven archangels according to the Jewish belief.

فعل قلوب — — *fi'l-i qulūb*, seven “verbs of the heart.” In Arabic grammar, the seven verbs, حسب (*ḥasiba*), ظن (*ẓanna*), خال (*khāla*), used to imply a doubt; علم (*‘alima*), دای (*ra’ā*), وجد (*wajada*), used to signify certainty and زعم (*za’ama*), implying either a doubt or a certainty of idea — are known as the “seven verbs of the heart,” for they express the feelings. They are also termed, “verbs of doubt and certainty.”

قراء — — *qurra'*, seven readers of the Qur'ān. See هفت پیر *Khāqānī* :—

پس از تحصیل دین از هفت مردان پس از تاویل وحی از هفت قراء

قفل — — *qufl*, seven locks. (1) Seven amulets. (2) Seven prayers.

قلعه خیبر — — *qal'a-i Khaybar*, seven forts of *Khaybar*, namely, *Katiba* (کتیبه), *Nā'im* (ناعم), *Shaqq* (شق), *Qamūṣ* (قموص), *Naṭāt* (نطاة), *Tīh* (طیح) and *Salām* (سلام).

قلعه دوار — — *qal'a-i dāvvar*, seven revolving fortresses. The seven heavens. Thus in *Badr Chāch* :—

فضای عرصه یک سرستون بارگهش محیط نه روض هفت قلعه دوار

قلعه مینا — — *qal'a-i mīnā*, seven glassy forts. The seven heavens.
Khāqānī says :—

از اشک خون پیاده و از دم کم سوار غوغا به هفت قلعه مینا بر آورم

قلم — — *qalam*, seven pens. The seven modes of writing, called *Thulth* (ثلث), *Muḥaqqaq* (محقق), *Tawqī'* (توقيع), *Rayḥān* (ريحان); *Riqā'* (رقاع), *Naskh* (نسخ), and *Ta'līq* (تعلیق). All these are comprised in the following couplet :—

ثلث است و محقق است و توقيع ریحان و رقاع و نسخ و تعلیق

هفتک *haftak*, a seventh. (1) One-fourth of the Qur'ān. (2) A volume, a book.

هفت

کادر — — *kār*, seven works. A texture or cloth of seven colours. Ibn Yamīn says (*Rsh.*):—

باز فراش چمن یعنی نسیم نوبهار بر چمن گسترد فرشی از پرند هفت کادر

کاسه — — *kāsa*, seven cups. The seven heavens.

کحلّی — — *kuhlī*, seven antimony-coloured ones. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven climes.

کردن — — *kardan*, to perform 'seven.' To decorate, adorn and beautify. See هفت هر.

کره — — *kura*, seven spheres. The seven heavens.

کشور — — *kishwar*, seven countries. (1) The seven climes. See چار ملت *infra*. (2) The seven countries that have great kingdoms, namely, China, Turkistan, India, Turan, Iran, Syria and Rome. Some count Europe instead of Turkistan.

کوه — — *kūh*, seven mountains, namely, Caucasus, Damāwand, Sarāndīp, Gulistān, in the vicinity of Tūs, Wazn, Dazkiyān, and China.

کهنه — — *kuhna*, seven old-ones: friend, associate, book, wine, bath, sword and china.

گانه — — *gāna*, seven-fold. (1) A sea. (2) A castle.

گاه — — *gāh*, seven places. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven climes.

گره — — *girah*, seven knots. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. (3) The seven climes.

گنبد — — *gunbad*, seven domes. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven domes or cupolas built by Bahrām Gūr, better known as *Haft Manẓar* (هفت منظر).

گنجینه — — *ganjīna*, seven treasures. (1) Gold, silver, tin, lead, iron, copper, and brass (bronze). (2) The seven ways in which the royalty of Persia used to show their generosity, namely, cash, jewels, robes of honour, animals, food, land and gardens. (3) It was the custom of the Iranian kings to keep their treasures at seven places, hence the name. (4) The seven treasures of *Khusraw Parwiz*.

هفت

گیسودار — — *gīsūdār*, seven possessors of locks of hair, namely, comets. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven planets. *Khāqānī* :—

در دكاش هفت گیسودار و شش خاتون ردیف گوهر از الماس و مشک از پرنیان افشاندہ اند

هفت گیسودار Out of the forty-eight images of heaven seven are called

گیسودار چرخ — — *gīsūdār-i charḵh*, seven heavenly possessors of locks of hair. Same as هفت گیسو دار. *Khāqānī* says :—

چون دو لشکر باهم افتادند چون گیسوی حور هفت گیسودار چرخ از گرد معجز ساختند

هفت پرده چشم — — *lāy chashm*, seven folds of the eye. Same as هفت پرده چشم q. v.

محمره — — *mijmara*, seven censers. The seven orbits of the planets.

محراب فلک — — *mihrāb-i falak*, seven vaults of the sky. The seven planets

محیط — — *muḥīt*, seven containers. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven seas : the Sea of China, the Western Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, the Sea of Tiberius, the Euxine, the Caspian and the Sea of *Kh̲wārazm*. *Badr Chāch* says :—

بحر سخاوت ترا قلۀ قبۀ حباب از سرموج اوج این هفت محیط برتراست

Also see چار بسیط.

مرد — — *mard*, same as هفت مردان q.v. *Khāqānī* says :—

بر دعای دولتش در شش جهت هفت مرد از یک زبان بینی بهم

مردان — — *mardān*, seven men. (1) The Prophet Muḥammad, the four Caliphs, and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. (2) Same as هفت تنان q. v. *Khāqānī* says :—

رسته دندان نیاز آن جا و پیر هشت خلد از بن دندان طفیل هفت مردان دیده اند

مردان معظم — — *mardān-i mu'aẓẓam*, seven great men. Same as هفت مردان q. v.

مشعله — — *mish'ala*, seven torches. The seven planets.

هفت

ملت — — *millat*, seven creeds. The seven creeds of the Muslims, which form the real basis of the so-called seventy-two creeds (هفتاد و دو ملت). The original seven are : Jabrī, Qadarī, Mushabbiha, Munazziha, Sunnī, Shī'ī, and Khārijī. Naẓīrī says :—

کتاب هفت ملت گر بخواند آدمی عامی است نخواند تا ز جزو آشنائی داستانی را

ملل — — *milal*, same as هفت ملت q. v. Sanjar Kāshī eulogises Ḥusayn Qilīch (Bahār) :—

دشمنی از معرفتش ترجمه چار کتاب برخی از معدلتش ضابطه هفت ملل

منبر — — *minbar*, seven pulpits. The seven heavens, firmaments. Khāqānī says :—

خامه زده عطارد در لاجورد گردون بنوشته نام سلطان بالای هفت منبر

مندل — — *mandal*, seven circles. The seven heavens.

منزل — — *manzil*, seven stages. (1) The seven heavens. (2) Same as q. v. (3) The seven valleys mentioned in Farīdu'ddīn 'Aṭṭār's celebrated *mathnawī*, the *Manṭiqu'ṭ-Ṭayr*. They are : (1) وادی طلب (the Valley of Search), (2) وادی عشق (the Valley of Love), (3) وادی معرفت (the Valley of Knowledge), (4) وادی استغنا (the Valley of Contentment), (5) وادی توحید (the Valley of Unity), (6) وادی حیرت (the Valley of Bewilderment), and (7) وادی فقر و فنا (the Valley of Poverty and Annihilation).

مهره زرین — — *muhra-i zarrīn*, seven golden beads. The seven planets. Khāqānī says :—

قضا به بوالعجبی تاکیت نماید لعب به هفت مهره زرین و حقه مینا

سرمش — — *mīwa*, seven fruits, namely کشمش (dried grapes), (a kind of rough cider-apple), انجیر (fig), انگور (grapes), شفتالو (peach), خرما (date) and آلوچه (a Damascene plum)—all taken together. Malik Mashriqī (Qummī ?) says (Bahār) :—

چندین دل شکسته ز سوء المزاج غم بیار هفت میوه این سبز طارم است

هفت

نراد فلک — — *narrād-i falak*, seven *nard*-players of the sky. The seven planets. Says *Khāqānī* :—

تخت ملک نرد را زان سوکه بدخواهان اوست هفت نراد فلک خانه مششدر ساختند

نطع — — *naṭ'*, seven leather seats. (1) The seven climes. (2) The seven strata of the earth.

نقطه — — *nuqṭa*, seven dots. (1) The seven planets. (2) Decoration.

نوبتی چرخ — — *nawbatī-i charḵh*, seven guards of the sky. The seven planets.

نیم خایه — — *nīm khāya*, seven half eggs. The seven heavens.

نیم خایه مینا — — *nīm khāya-i mīnā*, seven glassy half-eggs. The seven heavens. See هفت خانه زرین.

والای خضرا — — *wālāy khadrā*, seven green exalted-ones. The seven planets.

وچهار — — *wa chahār*, seven and four. The seven planets and the four elements.

وشش — — *wa shash*, seven and six. The seven planets (see هفت اختر) and the six dimensions (see شش جهت).

وشش در تنگ — — *wa shash dar-i tang*, seven and six narrow doors. The seven countries and six dimensions.

1. Almost all the dictionaries of the Persian language (ARaj., BAj., BQ., Qul. Kashf., MF., Richardson among them) have written it as هفت نراد فلک (the seven lineages of the sky) and explained it as implying the seven planets. The correct reading, however, seems to be نراد (*narrād*— from *nard*, after the Arabic measure for *Mubālagha*). *Khāqānī* uses it in two of his couplets :—

تخت نرد ملک رازان سرکه بدخواهان اوست هفت نراد فلک خانه مششدر ساختند
بردم از نراد گیتی يك دوداد اندر سه زخم گرچه از چارآخشیع و پنج حس در ششدر است

The metre of the couplet defies and easily precludes the reading نراد and confirms نراد as correct. By the way, the word مششدر in the second hemistich is intriguingly interesting. The poet has not only formed نراد after the Arabic usage from نرد but has also coined مششدر as if it were an adverb from the Arabic (l) quadriliteral root ششدر.

هفت

— — *wa shash wa panj wa chahār*, seven and six and five and four. The seven planets, the six dimensions, the five senses and the four elements.

— — *wa nuh*, seven and nine. The seven articles of a lady's toilet (see هفت در هفت), and the nine ornaments of a lady, namely, سرآویزه (head-pendant), گوش واره (earring), سلسله (chain), حلقه بینی (nose-ring), انگشتر (ring), دست ابرنجن (bracelet), بازو بند (amulet), گلو بند (neck-tie, necklace), خلخال (a ring of gold or silver — worn by Arabian ladies round their ankles). 'Amīd Daylamī says (Rsh.):—

عروس دولت تو باد هفت و نه کرده به بام قصر جلال تو تا ابد مسکون
and Amīr *Khushraw* (Bahār):—

هفت و نه این صنم عشوه ساز طفل فریب آمد و برنا نواز

Also see شش و پنج.

— — *wa hasht*, seven and eight. (1) High words. Muḥammad Qulī Salīm says (ibid.):—

آسان بود شکست صف بی دلان عشق یک ناوک از نگاه تو و هفت و هشت ما

(2) Litigation. (3) The bowl of a dog.

har haft, each of the seven. Decoration, the seven articles of a lady's toilet (see هفت در هفت). *Khāqānī* says:—

چون تو هر هفت کرده ای حور در تو هر هفت ز یور اندازد

See هفت دختر خضرا.

hafta dūst, a week's friend. A slight acquaintanc, an inconstant friend.

— — *hasht*, seven-eight. Idle talk, abuse.

— — *haykal*, seven bodies. (1) The seven heavens. (2) The seven climes. (3) Amulets, charms. It is a prayer read in parts for seven days, and is believed to keep one safe and sound. *Khāqānī* says:—

این نامه هفت عضو مرا هفت هیکل است کاین کند زهول سباع و شروام

— — *haykal-i riḍwān*, the seven palaces of the Gardener. The eight grades of Paradise.

هشت

هشت باغ *hasht bāgh*, eight gardens. The eight heavens. *Khāqānī* says :—

بزم چو هشت باغ بین باد چهار جوی دان خاصه که ساز عاشقان حور لقای نوزند

هشت باغ بقا — — *bāgh-i baqā*, eight gardens of immortality. The eight heavens.

بستان — — *bustān*, same as هشت باغ q. v. *Khāqānī* says :—

حبذا خاک مدینه حبذا عین النبی هر دو اصل چارجوی و هشت بستان آمده

هشت — — *bihišt*, eight paradises, namely, جنت عدن (*Jannat-i 'Adan*), جنت الماوی (*Jannatu'l Māwā*), جنت النعیم (*Jannat'un Na'im*), عِلین (*'Illīyīn*), دارالسلام (*Dāru'l Qarār*), دارالقرار (*Dāru'l Qarār*), فردوس (*Firdaws*), خلد (*Khuld*). *Khāqānī* :—

هشت بهشت و نه فلک هست های دولت دولت یوسفیت راعقل به هفده مشتری

هشت جنان — — *jinān*, (also هشت بنیاد جنان), eight gardens. The eight heavens. See هفت بام.

خلد — — *khuld*, eight everlasting homes. Same as هشت بهشت. *Khāqānī*

نای چون شاه حبش ده ترک خاور پیش و پس هشت خلد از طبع و نه چشم از میان انگبخته

The epithet نه چشم — nine eyes—in the second hemistich signifies the nine holes in the lute, and the ده ترک خاور in the first hem., are the eight fingers and two thumbs of the singers playing upon a flute, likened to ten sunny-faced Turks, who form the retinue of the king. In another place these ده ترک assume the form of ده دایگان *dah dāyagān*, ten nurses ; when the same poet says :

نای است چون طفل حبش ده دایگانش ترک و ش نه چشم دارد شوخ و خوش صد چشم حیران بین درو

دهان — — *dahān*, eight mouths. (1) The wood of aloes. (2) Mallows, Persian hollyhock used as a medicine to cure one suffering from gout.

صفات — — *ṣifāt*, the eight attributes of God, namely, سمع : hearing, بصر : seeing, کلام : speech, اراده : will, علم : knowledge, حیات : life, قدرت : might, and ادراک : cognition, as in *Khāqānī* :—

زده حواس برون شو به کوی هشت صفات که هست حاصل این هشت هشت باغ بقا

هشت

گنج — — *ganj*, eight treasures—those of Khusraw Parwiz.

ماوی — — *māwa*, eight resorts. (1) The eight heavens. (2) The eight paradises.

مرعی — — *mar'ā*, eight pastures. As above.

منظر — — *manẓar*, eight scenes. (1) The eight paradises. See چار اصل . (2) The Zodiac with the orbits of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon.

و چهار چشم فلک — — *wa chāhar chashm-i falak*, eight and four eyes of the sky. The twelve Signs of the Zodiac. Says Khāqānī :—

دای همام گفت که ما خضر دولتم کز هشت و چار چشم فلک دید بان ماست

هزاری — — *hazārī*, one of eight thousands. In the idiom of the wrestlers, one who performs eight thousand sittings in exercising. Najāf says (*Bahār*) :—

چه عجب تخته اگر عود قاری گردد جای گیر قدمت هشت هزاری گردد

هیکل رضوان — — *haykal-i riḍwān*, the eight palaces of the Gardener. The eight heavens, eight paradises.

نه

نه بام *nuh bām*, nine terraces. The nine skies.

بام ایوان — — *bām-i aywān*, nine terraces of the building. The nine skies.

پایه — — *pāya*, nine feet. (1) The nine heavens. (2) A pulpit. See سه پایه .

پدر — — *pidar*, nine fathers. (1) The nine heavens. Also see سه ولد . (2) The seven planets with the dragon's head and tail. (3) Same as (2). نه حجره .

پرده — — *parda*, nine curtains. The nine heavens.

چشم — — See هفت خلد .

حجره — — *hujra*, nine rooms. (1) Same as نه پرده q.v. (2) The nine rooms of the harem of the Prophet Muḥammad. Nizāmī says (Rsh.) :—

دل از کار نه حجره پرداخته بنه حجره آسمان تا خته

حصار مینا — — *hiṣār-i mīnā*, nine blue castles. Same as نه پرده q.v.

خراس — — *kharās*, nine mills. Same as نه پرده q.v.

خرگاه — — *khargāh*, nine tents. Same as نه و ده q.v.

ده — — *dah*, (also *nuh wa dah*), nine and ten. The decoration and adornment of women.

رواق — — *riwāq*, nine palaces. The nine heavens. Qā'ānī says :—

پس از ورود سرود از برای سال طرازت زهی زمین تو مسجود نه رواق معلق

Also see دوهوگر.

سیزده — — *sīzdah*, nine-thirteen. A kind of gambling, in India called نوتیری (*Naw-tērī*— nine-thirteen).

شوهر — — *shawhar*, nine husbands. The nine heavens. Badr Chāch :—

دایه مهر و را بهر بلوغ سه پسر خواب آگاه چار زن در زیر این نه شوهر است

شهر بالا — — *shahr-i bālā*, nine high cities. The nine heavens.

Also نه شهر (nine cities). See هفت ده زیر.

صحیفه — — *saḥīfa*, nine books, (also صحیفه گردون *ṣaḥīfa-i gardūn* nine books of the sky). The nine heavens. Khāqānī says :—

نه صحیفه است فلک هفت ده آیت زیرش عاشقان این همه از سوده سودا شنوند

طارم — — *tāram*, nine palaces. Same as نه پرده q.v.

طاق — — *tāq*, nine shelves. As above.

طبق — — *tabaq*, nine plates. As above.

قصر — — *qaṣr*, same as طارم q. v. Also see چار اصل.

کاخ — — *kākh*, same as طارم q. v.

ده

گنبد — — *gunbad*, nine domes. The nine heavens. Also *nuh gunbad-i dawwār*—the nine revolving domes.

گوهر — — *gawhar*, nine pearls, namely, لعل (ruby), یاقوت (adamant), فیروزه (turquoise), الماس (diamond), نیلم (sapphire), زمرد (emerald), در (pearl), عقیق (cornelian), and مرجان (coral).

مقرنس — — *muqarnas*, nine parlours. The nine heavens. Also *nuh muqarnas-i dawwār*—the nine revolving parlours.

ده

ده انگشت بر (به) دهان گرفتن *dah angusht bar (bi) dahān giriftan*, to place ten fingers on the mouth. (1) To show astonishment and helplessness. (2) To cry, lament, or weep. (3) To show submission, humility, or loneliness. *Khusraw* says (*Rsh.*):—

زهر آن که ده انگشت بر دهان گیری دهان زمصلحت آن که می بماند باز

آیت — — *āyat*, ten verses. A circlet is usually employed by the scribes of copies of the Qur'ān to indicate the end of a sentence (also sometimes a clause), and is thus a mark of punctuation. In the early stages this mark of a circlet was placed after every ten verses (sentences), thus indicating a group of ten verses (آیت). The circlet itself came to be known, by a transference of epithet as a ده آیت.

پانزده — — *pānzdah*, ten-fifteen. Ornament, decoration.

پنجی — — *panjī*, a false coin, bad money, impure gold or silver. *Nizāmī*¹ says (*ARaj.*) —

با من آن شد که در سخن سنجی ده دهی زر دهد نه ده پنجی

Also see دهی.

تاس — — *tās*, ten dishes. A wooden shoe.

ترک — — *turk*, ten Turks. The eight fingers and two thumbs of the two hands. See under هشت خلد.

1. *Jah.* attributes the couplet to 'Asjadī (عسجدی), and reads it thus :

با من آن شد که در سخن سنجی ده دهی زر نیم نه ده پنجی

ده

ختی — — *khutanī*, ten *khutanīs*. The ten fingers. *Khāqānī* :—

نای عروس از حبش ده ختنی زپیش و پس تاج نها ده بر سرش ازنی و قند عسکری

هشت خلد ده ترک — — *dāyagān*, ten nurses. Same as ده ترک. Also see

دل — — *dil*, (also *dila*), of ten hearts. (1) Fickle, faithless. *Mawlawī-i Ma'nawī* says (*Bahār*) :—

شرح آن بگزادم و گیرم کله از جنای آن نگار ده دله

and *Sā'ib* says (*ibīd.*) :—

از دیدن طرائف اطراف بوستان وقت نظاره مردم يك دل چوده دله

(2) One who is perpetually changing his creed. (3) Brave, courageous. (4) Curses. (5) An anathema.

ده — — *dah*, ten out of ten. Pure gold.

دهی — — *dahī*, ten out of ten. Pure gold; the first degree of fineness in silver, current and standard money. *Qūsi* says (*Bahār*) :—

بر عیار من نظر کن بر حریفاتم مسنج قلب ده پنجی نه سنجد کس به تقدده دهی

Also see ده پنجی.

رگه — — *raga*, of ten veins. (1) Brave, courageous, experienced. (2) Zealous, jealous. (3) A bastard, villain, thief, robber, rogue.

روز — — *rūz*, ten days. A short period of time, because ده in reality refers to دو whose numerical value according to the *Abjad* (ابجد) system of calculation comes to ten, (ده). *Ṭālib Āmulī* says (*Bahār*) :—

ده روز عیش چون نکند دل در انتظار کرسن غم به محنت صد ساله ملهم است

and *Hāfiz* :—

ده روز مهرگردون افسانه ایست و افسون نیکی بجای یاران فرصت شمار یارا

زبانی — — *zubānī*, ten-tonguedness. To be always saying different things, not to stick to one's own words. *ChirH.* quotes *Shifā'ī* :—

با نسیم خانه زاد بوستانی دوستی ای گل رعنا چو سوسن ده زبانی زود بود

سال — — *sāl*, of ten years. The seven planets (see هفت اختر).

ده

عقل — — *'aql*, ten wisdoms. The ten angels. In the idiom of the philosophers عقل (wisdom) really means angel.

غلام ترک — — *ghulām-i Turk*, ten Turkish slaves. The ten fingers of the hands, when employed by a musician in playing upon a flute. Khāqānī says :—

چون شاه هندپیش و پس ده غلام ترک از فرعید گه نی و گه شکر افسرش

ماهی بلورین — — *māhi-i billūrīn*, ten bright crystalline fish. The ten fingers of a mistress.

مرد — — *marda*, (1) a company of ten men. (2) A captain over ten men. (3) A sturdy and strong person as good as ten. (4) A loquacious, talkative person.

مرده کاری کردن — — *marda kārī kardan*, to do the work of ten men. To overwork, to work too much.

مرده گفتن — — *marda guftan*, (also *dah mard* ده مرد), to talk as ten men. To talk too much. Shaykh-i Shīrāz says (*Bahār*) :—

حذر کن زندان ده مرده گوی چو دانا یکی گوی و پرورده گوی

مسکن ادریس — — *maskan-i Idrīs*, the ten houses of Idrīs. Paradise.

نه — — *nuh*, ten-nine. (1) زیب — ornament, decoration, because the numerical value of the word زیب, according to the Abjad (ابجد) system of calculation, comes to nineteen. Khāqānī :—

موکب شاه اختران رفت به کاخ مشتری شش مه داده ده نهش قصر دوازده دری

(2) To inflict a loss upon some body. (3) Two things that are almost the same as regards quality and quantity.

و دو نرگسه — — *wa dū nargisa*, twelve narcissi. The twelve houses of the Zodiac. Khāqānī says :—

نعل پی اوست چرخ کز عمل دست او آن ده و دو نرگسه بر سرایوان او

هفت — — *haft*, ten-seven. An ancient coin, so called because of ten *mithqāls* it contained only seven of pure gold.

دوازده

دوازده جوسق *dawāzdah jawsaq*, the twelve mansions. The twelve Signs of the Zodiac.

دخ — — *rukḥ*, the twelve towers, i.e., the twelve heroes, Gūderz their leader among them, who were chosen by Kay *Khusraw* (Kayaseres), king of Irān, to fight an equal number under Pīrān, nominated by Afrāsiyāb, King of Tūrān (Transoxiana) to decide the boundaries of those empires. A fierce battle took place in the valley of Kanābād hills, in the country of *Khurāsān*. The Persians proved victorious, and Pīrān was killed. In consequence of this defeat the Turks abandoned all the country to the south of the river Oxus. These heroes are often alluded to, and are equally celebrated in Persian histories and poems. The heroes, probably twelve in all, are known by this epithet, sometimes also styled as *yāzdeh rukḥ*—eleven towers—each of them, so to say, was a pillar of prowess and bravery.

مقام — — *maqām*, the twelve stations. The twelve notes of music, namely, *Rāst* (راست), *Ṣafāhān* (صفاهان), also *Shabāb* (شباب), *Bū Sulayk* (بوسلیک), *Zīr Buzurg* (زیر بزرگ), *Ushshāq* (عشاق), *Kūchak* (زیر کوچک), *Hijāz* (حجاز), *Irāq* (عراق), *Zangula* (زنګله), *Husaynī* (حسینی), *Rahāwī* (دهاوی) and *Nawā* (نوا).

دوازده جوسق *q.v.* *mīl*, the twelve miles. Same as میل — —

چارده

chārdah riwāyat, the fourteen recensions. The fourteen recensions of the fourteen pupils of seven leading “ Readers ” (*q.v.*) (هفت قراء). *Hāfiẓ* says :—

عشقت رسیده فریادگر خود بسان حافظ قرآن زیر بخوانی با چارده روایت

māh, fourteen moons. (1) The moon as seen on the 14th night, the fullmoon. (2) A mistress.

ma‘ṣūm, fourteen innocent ones, namely, the Prophet *Muḥammad*, his daughter, and the twelve Imāms as recognised by the Shī‘a Muslims.

بست و یک

بست و یک *bist-wa-yak paykar*, twenty-one bodies. (1) The starry figures of the northern hemisphere. As in Badr Chāch :—

بست و یک دان پیکر زلف ز کسوت در شال سینۀ پر نور شان گنجینه اسرار من

(2) The twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the nine heavens.

(2) بست و یک پیکر — — *khiltāsh*, twenty-one generals. Same as خيلتاش. *Khāqānī* says :—

بست و یک خيلتاش سقلاش حبل وی ماه را شکست آخر

قران — — *qirān*, the twenty and one 'conjunctions,' namely, the conjunction of Saturn, of Mars with four, of the sun with three, of Venus with two planets, and that of Mercury with the moon. *Khāqānī* says :—

هر هفت رسد به برج میزان تا بست و یکش قران به بینم

q.v. بیست و یک پیکر — — *giribān*, twenty and one collars. Same as گریبان

وشاق — — *washāq*, twenty and one transitory ones. Same as above. q. v.

سی

سی پاره *sī pāra*, thirty pieces. One of the thirty parts (or books), into which the whole text of the Qur'ān has been divided. *Ṣā'ib* says :—

جمع گراز بستن لب شد دل من دور نیست خامشی بسیار ازین سی پاره قرآن کرده است

ده آیت (ChirH. reads the second hemistich as سی پاره را بسیار). See

ستاره پاک — — *sitāra-i pāk*, thirty holy stars. The thirty teeth of a man.

لحن — — *lahn*, thirty melodies in music, composed and arranged in the following order by the celebrated Persian musician Bārbad (باربد) :

(1) آرایش جهان (*Ārāyish-i Khurshīd*), also آرایش خورشید (*Ārāyish-i Jahān*), (2) آئین جمشید (*Ā'in-i Jamshīd*), (3) اورنگی (*Awrangī*), (4) باغ شیرین (*Bāgh-i Shīrīn*), (5) تخت طاقدیسی (*Takht-i Tāqdīsī*), (6) حقۀ کاوس (*Huqqa-i Kā'ūs*), (7) راه روح (*Rāh-i Rūh*), or راه دو ح (*Rāh-i Rūh*)

سی

(8) دامن جان (*Rāmish-i Jān*), also دامن جهان (*Rāmish-i Jahān*), (9) سبز (*Sabz dar sabz*), (10) سروستان (*Sarwistān*), (11) سروسهی (*Sarw-i Sahī*), (12) شادروان مروارید (*Shādurwān-i Marwārīd*), (13) شب‌دیز (*Shabdīz*), (14) فرخ شب (*Shab-i Farrukh*), also فرخ شب (*Farrukh Shab*), (15) قفل دومی (*Qufl-i Rūmī*), (16) گنج بادآورد (*Ganj-i Bādāwurd*), (17) گنج سوخته (*Ganj-i Kā'ūs*), (18) گنج کاوس (*Ganj-i Kā'ūs*), (19) کین سیاهش (*Kīn-i Irīj*), (20) کین سیاهش (*Kīn-i Irīj*), (21) ماه برکوهان (*Māh bar Kūhān*), (22) مشک دانه (*Mushk Dāna*), (23) مشک مالی (*Mushk Mālī*), (24) مروای نیک (*Marwā-i Nīk*), (25) مهربانی (*Mihrbānī*), or مهرگانی (*Mihrgānī*), (26) نافوسی (*Nāqūsī*), (27) نوهاری (*Nawbahārī*), (28) نوشین باده (*Nawshīn Bāda*), (29) نیم روز (*Nīm Rūz*), and (30) نخچیرگانی (*Nakhchīrgānī*). Nizāmī has mentioned these in his mathnawī *Khusraw Shīrīn*, except three (واح روح، آئین جمشید), and in their stead adds four more, namely, نو روز (*Nawrūz*), فرخ روز (*Farrukh rūz*), and غنچه کبک دری (*Ghuncha-i Kabkdarī*). Therefore, they seem to be thirty-one in number, although generally known as سی‌لحّن; or it may be that the last is an additional one.

مهره ماه صیام — — *muhra-i māh-i Šīyām*, thirty gems of the month of 'fasting.' The thirty days of the month of Ramaḍān. *Khāqānī* :—

تا کشاده شش درسی مهره ماه صیام غلغلی زین هفت رقعۀ پاستان انگیزخته

sī wa dū jamā'at, thirty and two parties. All the religions of the world. Apparently it seems to refer to the seventy-two creeds (هفتاد و دو ملت), but why the figures were fixed to this cannot be said. Sayfī of Bukhārā (says Bāj.) :—

امام زاده که کارش بغیر طاعت نیست پری رخیست که درسی و دو جماعت نیست

چهل

chihal tan, forty persons. The forty persons, whom Moses is affirmed to have slain and brought to life again.

تنان — — *tanān*, forty bodies. A group of persons, known as ابدال for whose sake God is said to keep the world in existence.

چهل

ته — — *tah*, forty folds. An ample coat of mail.

چراغ — — *chirāgh*, forty lamps. An instrument of illumination consisting of a large number of lamps. Tāthīr says (ChirH.):—

نیست يك شیشه که از سوز دل صد پاره چل چراغی به سرتربت ماروشن نیست
ساله — — *sāla*, of forty years. The angels, reason and Adam.

صبح — — *ṣubḥ*, forty morns. The forty days during which the nature of Adam was fermented.

قد — — *qadd*, for forty statures. A sort of manner.

قدمی — — *qadamī*, pacing 'forties.' (1) A walk. (2) A custom at the funeral of Muslims of stepping back forty paces from the grave and again advancing towards it before reading the service over.

پنجاه

پنجاهه *pinjāha*, of fifty (days). (1) A prayer used daily during Lent. (2) The Christian Lent. Khāqānī says (Jah.):—

پس از چندین چله در عهد سی سال روم پنجاهه گیرم آشکارا

هفتاد

هفتاد *haftād*, seventy. Very many, innumerable. Nizāmī (Bahār):—

بنه بست زین کوه هفتاد راه به هفتم فلک بر زده بارگاه

bi *haftād āb shustan*, to wash with seventy waters. To overwash. Nizāmī says (AsLugh.):—

بشویا نیم گریه هفتاد آب ز آبش دهد شعله اجتناب

Also Bābā Fughānī (AsLugh.):—

از داغ های لاله بر افراخت صد علم پشمینه ام که عشق به هفتاد آب شست

کشتی — — *kushtī*, seventy fights. The seventy kinds of diseases incident to loving creatures.

واند ملت — — *wa and millat*, seventy and a few creeds. Better and more often used as دو ملت q. v.

هفتاد

و دو شاخ — — *wa dū shākh*, seventy and two branches. (1) A phrase used to signify the seventy tribes and different forms of religion upon earth. (2) Seventy-two modes of chanting the Qur'ān.

و دو کشتی — — *wa dū kashtī*, seventy and two belts. Seventy-two creeds.

و دو ملت — — *wa dū millat*, seventy and two creeds. (Sometimes هفتاد و اند ملت also). All the creeds come to seventy-three, one of them being the *Sunnat Jamā'at*; but while speaking of it as هفتاد و اند we exclude the above-named from the list, and take notice of the seventy-two only. These seventy-two really form six groups of twelve each, namely, دافضیه (*Rāfiḍiyya*), خارجیہ (*Khārijīyya*), جبریه (*Jabriyya*), قدریه (*Qadariyya*), جهمیہ (*Jahmiyya*) and مرجیه (*Marjiyya*). Naẓīrī says (ARaj.):—

آن کس که دین ندارد و گوید که عارفم تکفیر او به ملت هفتاد و اندکن

Khāqānī has mentioned it as هفتاد و سه فرقه (seventy-three sects) also, as in:—

خلق هفتاد و سه فرقه کرده هفتاد و دو حج انسی و جنی و شیطانی مسلمان دیده اند

و هفت — — *wa haft*, seventy-seven. Very many, numerous.

به هفتاد و هفت آب شستن *bi haftād wa haft āb shustan*, to wash with seventy and seven waters. To overwash. Nizāmī says (Bahār):—

چو همخوان خضری برین حرف جوی به هفتاد و هفت آب لب رابشوی

صد

صد انگشت نهادن *ṣad angusht nihādan*, to place a hundred fingers. (1) To find a hundred faults. (2) To commit a hundred faults.

برگ — — *barg*, of hundred petals. A kind of narcissus, also called هفت رنگ. See هفت زرد.

پایه — — *pāya*, of a hundred feet. (1) A shipworm, a centipede, long, hairy and of different colours. (2) A species of hairy catapillar or canker.

صد

پیوند — — *paywand*, of a hundred tendons. (1) A shepherd's staff or garment. (2) A herb.

تو — — *tū*, a hundred folds. That part of the tripe or stomach so called.

چراغ — — *chirāgh*, a hundred lamps. (1) A tree, rooted out, on whose off-shoots they hang a lamp and thus illuminate the place. Ṭughrā says (Bahār):—

کدو گر شود مجلس افروز باغ بود پیش مستان به از صد چراغ

(2) Many, innumerable lamps. Nizāmī says (Bahār):—

گل سرخ چون کله بند دباغ فروزد زهر چشمه صد چراغ

دهن — — *dahan*, a hundred mouths. (1) A hundred kinds of sounds. Sālik of Qazwīn says (ChirH.):—

مراهم اگر بودی آن برگ و ساز یکی قدردان شاه شاعر نواز
چو بلبل برو صد دهن خواندمی برو سرو بالا گل افشاندمی

(2) One who says one thing and then another.

به صد رنگ شدن *bi šad rang shudan*, to become a hundred colours. To change colours on account of shame and ignominy. Sālik Yazdī says (BAJ.):—

تنها نه شد از لعل تو عتاب به صد رنگ در جام و سبوغشت می ناب به صد رنگ

شاخ کردن — — *shākh kardan*, to split into a hundred branches. To break into a hundred pieces.

و چهارده — — *wa chahārdah*, a hundred and fourteen. The hundred and fourteen *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān.

و چهارده عقد — — *wa chahārdah 'iqd*, a hundred and fourteen necklaces. Same as *q. v.* صد و چهارده.

دو صد *dū šad*, two hundred. Innumerable. Šā'ib (Bahār):—

هر که باخود دو گواه از درگ گردن دارد می برد پیش دو صد دعوی بی معنی را
Also see بك دله.

هزار

سی صد *sī šad*, three hundred. Innumerable.

صدی ذات *šadī dhāt*, a personnel of a hundred. A *manṣab* (rank). One of this rank received two lacs of *dāms* (five thousand rupees).

پان صد ذات *pān-šad dhāt*, a personnel of five hundred. A rank whose occupant received eight lacs of *dāms* (twenty thousand rupees).

هزار

هزار *hazār*, a thousand. (1) A bird called the thousand voices (هزارآواز), having an uncommon variety of melodious modes ; a species of nightingale. Hāfiz says :—

صد هزاران گل شگفت و بانگ مرغی برنخواست
عندلیبان راچه پیش آمد هزاران راچه شد
and 'Alī of *Khurāsān* says (Bahār) :—

با آن که بود مرغ دلم بلبل ضعیف
هرجا که می نشست نوای هزار داشت
(2) Innumerable, very many. Naẓirī says (ARaj.) :—

به فتوه خرد پارسا طلاق دهم
اگر هزار به بخشند مهر دختر تاک

(3) A term employed in the game of *nard*.

آستین — — *āstīn*, a thousand sleeves. The sea—its waves being compared to the sleeves.

اسفند — — *asfand*, a thousand rue plants. The wild rue.

آواز — — *āwāz* (also آوا *āwā*), of a thousand notes. A nightingale.

بز — — *buzz*, a thousand goats. A fortress in *Khurāsān*.

بیشه — — *bīsha* (also پیشه *pīsha*), a thousand-folded. A large cup ; anything which contains many others inside it, such as a knife which has in its handle scissors, pen and such like. A vessel in which one can put other pots and take them out at the time of need. Salīm says (ChirH.) :—

کهی گل است و گهی آفتاب و گاهی آه
هزار بیشه بود جام می به مجلس شاه

and 'Abdu'l Razzāq Fayyād says (Bahār) :—

از يك نگهت زد دست رفتم
چشم تو هزار بیشه ماست

هزار

پا — — *pā*, a millipede. The scolopendra, a palmer-worm of a dangerous species. Kamāl Īsmā'īl says (ibid.):—

ترسم که چون دراز شد این شعر هیچ کس در گوش خود رهش نه دهد چون هزار پای
and Ashraf says (ibid.):—

طول امل که کرده به مغز استوار پای مارست نیست پای مکش از هزار پای

پسر — — *pisar*, a thousand sons. A medicinal grass.

پیرهن گوشت گرفتن — — *pīrahan gūsh̄t giriftan*, to take the flesh of a thousand bodies. To grow very fat. Mullā Shānī Takallū says (ARaj.):—

دو ش هزار پیرهن گوشت گرفته ام که گفت پاره استخوان شده شانی درد مند ما

تابه — — *tāba*, of a thousand beams. The sun. Sayf Asfirangī says (Jah.):—

تا می تابد هزار تابه از گنبد این کتانه طارم

تو — — *tū* (and *tūy*, also *khāna*), a thousand divisions ; a thousand folds. The second stomach of beasts. Salīm reviles a glutton (Bahār):—

پی کیپا چو او روانه شود آفت صد هزار خانه شود

جریب — — *jarīb*, a thousand chains. A garden, built by Shāh 'Abbās Mādī, covering an area of a thousand *jarībs*, in Iṣfahān ; very cool and beautiful. Muḥsin Tāthīr says (Bahār):—

چه حاجتست به گلگشت باغ اسیران را قفس هزار جریب است عندلیبان را

¹جشان — — *jashān*, a thousand yards. A creeper, like a vine, but thorny. It creeps along the trees nearby. Its fruit is red, as big as a vetch, called *ماردارو* (an antidote to snake-bite). Its fruit is called *عنب الحیه* 'Inabu'l Ḥayya (the grape of the serpent), and its root is known as *عود الحیه* 'Ūdu'l Ḥayya (the aloe of the serpent). In Shīrāzī it is called *Nakhūshī*.

1. Lexicographers give various readings of the epithet. They are (I) هزار کشان (ARaj.); (II) هزار جشان (BQ.); (III) هزار چشان (BQ., Bahār, ARaj., Rich., John.); (IV) هزار جان (MF.); (V) هزار خشان (BQ., Rsh., Jah., Kashf., ARaj., Rich., John.); and (VI) هزار افشان (almost all these and BAj.). It is interpreted by all these writers in different ways.

هزار

چشمه — — *chashma*, a thousand streams. A cancer, a mortal disease.

خانه — — *khāna*, a thousand houses. Same as هزار تو q. v.

خوابه — — *khwāba*, of a thousand slumbers. Very sleepy eyes. *Khusraw (Bahār)* :—

بعد از هزار شب هم اکنون شبی نخسید این دیده که شبها بودی هزار خوابه

داستان — — *dāstān*, (also *dastān*) of a thousand tales. The nightingale of *Khurāsān*, which is similar to the dove in colour. *Kamāl Ismā'il* says (*Rsh.*) :—

ازان همین نه زند سرو دست اندر باغ هزار داستان بر گل همی زند دستان

دانه — — *dāna*, a thousand grains. (1) The thousand leaf (flower). (2) A rosary of a thousand beads, for saying prayer, in counting which they repeat the praises, names or attributes of God. *Tāthir* says (*ChirH.*) :—

در چشم اهل بینش کم نیست شور عاشق یک دانه اشک بلبل باشد هزار دانه

and *Salmān* says (*ARaj.*) :—

نه چرخ هزار دانه گردان در حلقه ذکر خانقاهت

رنگ برآمدن — — *rang bar āmadan*, to bring forth a thousand colours. To decorate oneself in many ways. *Salīm (Bahār)* :—

هزار رنگ برآمد به پیش روی تو گل ولی نه شد که تو اند نمود رنگ ترا

سرداشتن — — *sar dāsh̄tan*, to have a thousand heads. To have a thousand desires. *Qubūl* says (*ARaj.*) :—

ترابه غیر هوای تو هیچ در سر نیست به غیر گر نگری او هزار سردارد

ستون — — *sutūn*, a thousand pillars. or columns. (1) A celebrated place in Persepolis. (2) A building founded by 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Muḥammad Tughlaq. *Badr Chāch* says :—

نه سقف بی ستون که به شش روز شد تمام در گوشه هزار ستون تو مضمر است

سفند — — *sifand*, same as هزار اسفند q. v.

هزار

میخ — — *mīkh* (also میخی *mīkhī*) (of) a thousand nails. (1) A *darwīsh's* habit closely stitched. Salmān says (Bahār) :—

دوتوی فقر جامه ایست کز عظمت هزار میخی افلاکش آستر یابی

Khusraw says (ibid.) :—

چو گشت نغمه مرغان صبح گاه بلند هزار میخی شب بر خود آسان بدرید

(2) The starry firmament. (3) A common strumpet.

نقش بر آوردن — — *naqsh bar āwurdan*, to bring forth a thousand impressions. To produce a thousand accidents and determinations.

هزاری *hazārī*, of a thousand. (1) The command of a thousand retainers. (2) One who performs a thousand 'sittings' in physical exercise. *Najāt* says (ibid.) :—

ای نه در هند جفا تیغ تو کاری باشد منصب تخته شلنگ تو هزاری باشد

یک هزاری *yak hazārī*, (1) a man who receives a thousand rupees per month salary. (2) A commander of gunmen.

پنج هزاری *panj hazārī*, of a five thousand. A very high rank in the army. One in command of five thousand men.

هفت هزاری *haft hazārī*, of seven thousand. A rank in the army— one in command of seven thousand soldiers.

ده هزار *dah hazār* (also ده هزاران *dah hazārān*), ten thousand. (2) The fourth of seven games of chess, also named خانه گیر (*Khāna-gīr*). These seven games are : فارد (*Fārd*, or *Fārid*), زیاده (*Ziyād*), ستاره (*Sitārah*), طویل (*Tawīl*), هزاران (*Hazārān*) and منصوبه (*Manṣūbah*).

صد هزار بیدق *ṣad hazār baydaq* (also بیدق *baydhaq*), a hundred thousand pawns. The stars.

AMINUDDIN KHAN.

(Concluded).

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

AFGHANISTAN

Faculty of Law and Political Science.

THE Faculty of Law and Political Science, recently founded by order of King Zāhir Shāh, has already to its credit the following publications, original compilations or translated from different languages such as Turkish, German, French, etc. :—

1.	دروس فقه	by	نصرالله خان	translated by	—
2.	تاریخ فلسفه	„	امیل فاکه	„	قدیرخان تره کی
3.	دروس ایستاتستیک	„	جلال آیبار و ثابت	„	حبیب الله خان
			ایکون		
4.	اجتماعات	„	ماکس بونافوس و	„	احمدعلی شاه خان
			نجم الدین صادق		
5.	جرمیات	„	شا کرطوردال	„	—
6.	حقوق اساسی بلژیک	„	هانری و انمول	„	میر محمد صدیق خان
7.	دروس معلومات عسکری	„	بای حلمی اربوغ	„	—
8.	دروس اقتصاد سیاسی	„	عبدالخلی خان عزیز	„	—
9.	اقتصاد اجتماعی	„	—	„	غلام صفدرخان
10.	تقلیات و تعرفه ها	„	احسان علی	„	امام الدین خان
11.	حقوق مدافعہ ملی	„	رفعت تاشکن	„	غلام حسن خان
12.	اداره و ایستاتستیک	„	گیشار	„	محمد ناصر خان
13.	نمایندگان سیاسی	„	پل فون تیل	„	عبدالرحمن خان
14.	کتاب سجل نفوس	„	لوسوار	„	محمد ناصر خان

A Turkish professor, Bay Muḥammad 'Alī Fu'ād is appointed Principal of the Faculty.

Progress of Pashtau.

The journal, *Kābul*, organ of the Afghān Academy, although much reduced in bulk, owing to war, is appearing regularly. Its famous annual

number has now appeared for the eighth time, with all its former features and readable matter on a variety of subjects, Afghān and general.

Articles in the Pashtau language are increasing in the monthly issues of the *Kābul*, and we now discern a tendency to Pashtawise the orthography of Pashtau proper names, even in articles written in Persian, for instance,

پښاور, instead of the former پشاور, the sound resembling rather German *ch* than English *sh*.

They have also evolved a movable type for the Pashtau alphabet which has many peculiarities of its own, and it is interesting to note how the same sounds have been represented in different ways in Pashtau and the Urdu orthography.

Journalism.

The Persian daily *Iṣlāḥ* has now completed its 11th year, the Pashtau *Tulū'-e-Afghān* its 17th and the magazine *Iqtisād* its 10th year of useful existence. An appreciation of a Kabul poet, Mahjūr, has appeared in the *Kābul* of June 1940.

Dr. Muḥammad Nāẓim, of the Indian Archæological Department, published some time ago his thesis on the life and time of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznah. The Persian translation of this, published by instalments in the *Kābul*, has now been completed and reissued in book form under the title حیات و اوقات سلطان محمود غزنوی.

EGYPT

Young Muslims.

THE *Shubbān'ul-Muslimīn* (Young Men's Muslim Association), first founded in Egypt and now, having branches all over the Muslim world, including India, has suffered the loss of its founder and President of the Egyptian headquarters. A former Minister of War in the Egyptian Government has succeeded to the post.

Arabic Script as decorative Art in Europe.

It is a commonplace that the Arabic script, especially its Cufic mode, has been used from very early days as artistic decoration. (And according to some, even the word *Cubic*¹ and its derivations are but a corruption of *Cufic*). This is true not only of the Islamic world but even of Europe. The influence of Arabic art was so great that even European artists copied some patterns of Arabic script without knowing what they meant. One

1. The English word *Cube* is generally traced to the classical Greek *Kubos*.

comes across such patterns on vases, plates, swords and buildings. A recent Indian tourist has written that he read in the Vatican in quite legible writing the formula لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله.

The subject is enchanting, but very little has so far been written on it. Reference to it has been made by a young artist, S. Reich, in a paper read in the Institut d'Égypte under the heading *Une Inscription Mamlouke sur un Dessin Italien du 15e siècle*, (published in the "*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*," Vol. xxii, 1939-40, pp. 123-131, with four plates). Therein he observes: No study has so far been made of the entire realm of inscriptions in Arabic characters on monuments of the Occident. One may, however, refer to the following:—

G. Soulier, *Les caractères coufiques dans la peinture toscane*, in : *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1924, I, pp. 347-58 ;

A. de Longperier, *De L'emploi des caractères arabes dans l'ornementation chez les peuples chrétiens de l'Occident*, in : *Revue archéologique*, 1846, Vol. II, pp. 406-411 ;

L. Coudarjod, *Notes sur les inscriptions arabes ou pseudo-arabes*, in : *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquités de France*, 1876.

A. Fikri, *L'art roman du Puy et les influences islamique*, Paris, 1934, ch. xii "Le décor coufique," pp. 255-67 ;

G. Marçais, on the reading of the inscriptions of Puy, cf. his communication in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1938, pp. 53-62 ;

H. Lavoix, *De l'ornementation arabe dans les œuvres des maîtres italiens*, in : *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1887, pp. 17-29 ;

J. von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im xv-xvi Jahrhundert*, in : *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschrift, Vol. 62, Abh. 1, pl. vi.

In the article to which we have referred, the author, S. Reich, has found that on an Italian incomplete painting in which there are certain figures such as a horseman, a door, two people talking to each other and the like, and in which there are instructions as to the colours for painting different parts of these figures, there is also a line in Arabic characters : عزلونا السلطان الملك المويدا * بوالنصر شيخ عز نصره (i.e., Glory be to our master the Sultān Al-Malik al-Mu'aiyad Bu'n-Naṣr Shaikh whose victory be glorified). The Italian must have copied some Egyptian pattern on which the above inscription relating to the famous Mamlūk Sultān was made, and the Italian artist unwittingly reproduced this inscription as a decoration of his own painting !

Muslim Schools in Abyssinia.

The *at-Tamaddun al-Islāmīy* of Damascus reports in its latest issue that in Maqādīshū, southern Abyssinia, a Muslim School, under the name

Madrasat'ul-Falāḥ has been opened, and another is proposed in the city of Markah.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

كتاب المقنع و النقط by Ad-Dānīy (d. 444 H.) has been edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān of Damascus, with a long introduction and seven indexes after collation of three manuscripts. It is printed at the Taraqqi Press, Damascus. It deals with the orthography of the Qur'ān.

The Nādi al-Qalam (P.E.N.) of 'Irāq has just published a collection of its weekly discourses for the year 1938. It is a bulky yet interesting volume of 315 pages. It may be had from the President of the Association, Shaikh Muḥammad Riḍa ash-Shubaiḥiy, at 4 drachmas.

شاعرات العرب by Bashīr Yamūt, published by the Ahaliyah Press, Beyrouth, deals with Arab poetesses, pre-Islamic and Islamic.

The 'Isā Babī Press, Cairo, has published التصوف عند العرب from the pen of Jabbūr 'Abd an-Nūr, on Arab mysticism.

DECCAN

The Qur'ān and Iqbāl.

THE political science quarterly سياست of Hyderabad has completed the first year of its useful existence, and has been able to establish itself through its unbiased and instructive discussions of topics of the day and questions of importance. In its fourth issue (of October last), there was a learned article by Dr. Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān on Iqbāl's conception of culture. It is continued by another lengthy instalment in the January number (of 1941) in which the writer has illustrated the abstract points discussed in the first instalment. The conclusion is that Iqbāl's conception of culture is fundamentally and exclusively the same as the one enunciated by the Qur'ān. The articles show wide reading and deep study of all that Iqbāl has written, and are a contribution to criticism. We hope it will ere long be made available to those who do not know Hindustani.

* * * *

The 'Ālamgīr Tahrik-e-Qur'ān (International Qur'ānic Movement) is a cultural society in Hyderabad which is continuing its manifold activities revolving round the Qur'ān. During the last decade and a half it has distributed no less than two hundred thousand books and tracts in at least half a dozen languages. The *Qur'ānic Commentary for Children* is one of its most popular series through which one can study the Qur'ān in the original Arabic even when one does not know the very alphabet of Arabic. Its first

and last parts are available in English. The commentary undergoes constant revision and reprinting, in an increasing number of languages.

One of the most recent publications of its energetic promoter, Mr. Abū-Muḥammad-Muṣliḥ, is قرآن اور إقبال, (the Qur'ān and Iqbāl). Here all that Iqbāl has ever said or written, in prose or verse, in Hindustani or Persian or English, has been judiciously collected, with brief remarks wherever necessary.

Mr. Šibghatullāh Bakhtiyārī, Professor of Tafsīr in the Jāmi'ah of 'Umarābād, North Arcot (Madras) is also working on the same subject. The history of Urdu Tafsīrs by the same author is fast approaching completion, and is expected to be published shortly. It is astonishing to learn that the commentaries in Hindustani written on the whole or parts of the Qur'ān are numbered not by tens or twenties but by hundreds. And Hindustani is not a particularly rich language as far as Islamic literature is concerned.

Important Articles in Periodicals.

The quarterly magazine of the Osmania Graduates' Association, the مجلة طيلسانين is one of the few learned magazines of India. Its latest issue contains a new instalment on the histories of India. The author, Mr. Muḥammad Ghawṭh, an Osmania M.A., LL.B., is one of the best qualified persons to write on the subject. The article gives the names of manuscripts, their whereabouts and brief accounts of contents and importance. Another article in the same issue is on the recent development of International Law, by Dr. Ḥamīdullāh, in which a variety of points have been given new orientation or new perspective, with illustrations from current history and explanations from the juristic point of view.

Lead of the Osmania University.

Under the caption "Osmania Students' Bold Lead," the weekly *Deccan Times* of Madras (of 3rd November 1940) writes :—

In December last, the biennial session of the International Fellowship was held at Aundh, near Poona. Representatives of different religions and nations took part in it for the purpose of better understanding each other's views and cultivating religiousness among the followers of respective creeds, together with harmony and tolerance between adherents of different religions.

In the last session they unanimously and enthusiastically approved of a resolution to the effect that people of one religion should invite, on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of its founder, followers of other religions, as visitors and speakers, as, it was pointed out, is done in the Osmania University. There the Prophet's birthday

and Sri Krishnaji's Janam Ashtami are regularly celebrated every year. It was suggested in a random amendment at the Aundh Conference, to substitute the words " birthday ceremonies of its founder " by the more comprehensive " religious festivals " in general, but it was clear how great are the difficulties which lie therein. In Dipavali, for instances, the goddess of wealth is worshipped, and to invite Muslims to such festivals would be repugnant to their sense of pure monotheism. The amendment was withdrawn.

Another Lead.

The Osmania students have taken another lead. This year a Professor Subba Rao Prize has been announced for an essay competition on " Why should we study the life of the Prophet Muḥammad "—reserved exclusively for non-Muslim students of the Osmania University. Probably in Janam Ashtami celebration similar inducements will be provided for Muslim students to acquaint themselves with the life and work of Sri Krishnaji. We congratulate Prof. Subba Rao and the Osmania students on this patriotic lead of theirs of an all-India importance !

We join the *Deccan Times* in its last sentence.

Baitul-Māl in Nizāmābād.

In the first week of Ramazān (October) last, the fourth annual Conference of the Nizāmābād Baitul-Māl was held at Nizāmābād under the presidency of His Holiness Saiyid Muḥammad Bādshah Qādrī of Hyderabad. The idea of a Baitul-Māl (Muslim Public Treasury) for Hyderabad was first scientifically dealt with, some years ago, by Dr. Saiyid 'Abdul-Laṭīf in a memorandum which he submitted to the Government urging the establishment of a department for not only collecting and disbursing *zakāt*, but also for receiving the properties of Muslims dying without heirs and intestate in the Nizam's Dominions, in accordance with the personal law of the Muslims. The bill provided for a retrospective effect regarding the *jagirs* (fiefs) of the Muslims made to lapse for the benefit of the general exchequer on the ground of lack of male issue, etc.

Nizāmābād is a small town which has now acquired great prominence on account of the *Nizām Sagar* and the newly erected sugar factory. This town has taken a lead by organizing, by private enterprise, a provincial Baitul-Māl, four years ago. In his address the President observed that the Qur'ān explicitly ruled out usurious transactions and at the same time provided for an institution to lend money without interest. In fact it is useless to forbid giving or taking money without making provision for meeting the requirements of those who need to borrow money. Hence in order to meet the needs of those who are forced, sometime or other, to

incur debt for emergency expenses, the Qur'ān provided that the State Income should in part be allotted for lending money without interest. The President quoted the verses, and further elucidated them from the orthodox practice of the time of the Caliphs Abu-Bakr and 'Umar. Pious Muslims may not take interest, yet even they are forced to pay interest, since there is no Baitul-Māl at present to relieve them of the necessity of falling into the hands of Shylocks. Modern economy is based on interest, and moral considerations have no value in the present materialistic world. The absence of a Baitul-Māl is perhaps the greatest factor responsible for the deterioration of the economic conditions of Muslims to-day. Paying tribute to the people of Nizāmābād, the President said that our multifarious requirements cannot be fully satisfied without a state-organised All-Hyderabad Baitul-Māl Department, the establishment of which would bring untold benefits to the Muslims of the country through exclusively their own resources. (*Deccan Times*, 20-10-1940).

H.E.H. the Nizam's Government budgeted two hundred thousand rupees last year for loans without interest, responding to the cry in the country.

War Studies in the Osmania University.

The Senate of the Osmania University has adopted a resolution to open a department of war studies with active collaboration of the faculties of science, engineering, medicine, etc. In furtherance of a resolution of the last year, the Government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 50,000 to extend facilities for training pilots and popularising aviation.

LL.D. and D. Litt. for Prince of Berar.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Berar, Heir-Apparent to the throne of Hyderabad, has been the recipient *honoris causa* of first an LL.D. from the Osmania University and then a D. Litt. from the University of Aligarh. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar are also the patrons of the *Hyderabad Academy*.

Yūnānī Medical College.

A year has passed since the opening of the Nizāmīyah Kulliyah Tibbiyah, and the occasion was observed in Hyderabad in the form of a medical conference with four sessions where learned lectures were arranged on medicine and public hygiene.

Reform of Hindustānī Script.

Principal Sajjād Mirzā of the Osmania Training College has published a study on the above subject. He has traced the history of the Arabic alphabet and more particularly its printing. The present movable type is technically defective since it consists of fraction type, and he has evolved a new full-body type which though not so beautiful as the ordinary Arabic script, yet from the point of view of printing technique far surpasses any yet proposed. The Bombay Government has already adopted it for its basic Urdu series.

Compilation of Ḥadīth.

Here is the outline of a very long article by Principal Manāzīr Aḥsan of the faculty of theology, Osmania University, appearing in the Journal of the Osmania University, Vol. VII, to which we referred in our last issue :—

For long it was believed by modern scholars, that the first attempts to compile Ḥadīth in written form from the mass of oral traditions were made two hundred years after the Prophet. In this article, the author has studied the question from the point of view of internal evidence.

First he emphasises the fact that Ḥadīth constitutes in fact the history of one of the epoch-making periods of human history. Again its bearings on the world were not merely political but social, economic and spiritual as well, since it concerns the life of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, whose followers number hundreds of millions in all parts of the world.

As regards histories of other peoples and other epochs, the ultimate sources of information are generally constituted by street gossip, stories, oral traditions, compiled from hearsay evidence and the like. Rarely are they based on the authority of eye-witnesses. Even in what little there is of this kind, no data are available as to the character, trustworthiness, memory or intelligence of the first transmitters. But the history of the life and time of the Prophet has been fortunate in more than one respect.

Firstly, the first informants of Ḥadīth were all eye-witnesses and participators in the acts narrated.

Secondly, Ḥadīth is a concentrated and compact history : not of one people or one country or one epoch but of one and only one person. Such vast data revolving round one sole object are unparalleled.

Thirdly, the first recorders of Ḥadīth were devoted to their subjects and not liable to distort facts. Further, they were imbued with the strictest scruples regarding accuracy and abstention from exaggeration. This has been copiously illustrated by the learned writer...

Again, not only is Ḥadīth the life and work of one sole person, but also eye-witnesses of the facts recorded exceed one hundred thousand. And the accumulated wealth from all these witnesses, regarding public life, private and even conjugal life, in fact every act of the Prophet, is a unique case in world history.

Apart from the circumstances which provided for the preservation of correct data of the life of the Prophet, two more facts are not to be neglected. Firstly, the fact that the Companions tried their best to become examples of the teaching of their Master, and secondly they paid special attention to writing down the facts regarding the life of their Master and Prophet. As to this last point, the author has proved conclusively and at length, with a wealth of data, that at least ten thousand traditions were put in writing by the very Companions of the Prophet.

The story of the generations of the transmitters of Ḥadīth after the Companions will be dealt with in a future article by the learned writer.

Golden Jubilee of the Āṣafīyah Library.

The State Library, in Hyderabad, completes in February next its 50 years of existence. A grand exhibition is announced for the occasion together with an essay competition on "the Libraries in the Deccan."

M. H.

Mr. P. R. Gode has contributed a learned article on the *Dates* of Udayaraja and Jagaddhara in the Journal of the University of Bombay, Part II, 40. The MS. of Rajavinodah, dealing with the life of Sultān Maḥmūd Bēgdah of Ahmadabad, Gujarat, contains 28 folios and each page has eight lines. This most important MS. in the Sanskrit language, dealing with a Muslim king is very important from many points of view. It opens with the genealogy of Gujarat Muslim kings. Udayaraja appears to have been a Court-Poet of Maḥmūd Bēgdah. This MS. was most probably composed between 1458 and 1511 which cover the entire period of 53 years of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Bēgdah. There are certain references in this MS. especially to the wars between Malwa, Gujarat and Rana Kumbha. Mr. Gode has also compared the purport of the MS. with that of the Sanskrit Inscription from Dohad already published by Dr. Sanklia in *Epigraphia Indica*, 1938. This MS. is preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. Khān Bahādur M. S. Commissariat has published a collection of Mughal Firmans in Gujarat, particularly issued in favour of Shantidas Jawahari of Ahmadabad by the Mughal Emperors. This learned article appears in the Journal of the University of Bombay, Part I, 40. There are twenty-five neat illustrations of these

Firmans. Prof. Commissariat says, "Of the twenty-one Firmans presented, two were granted by the Emperor Jahangir ; twelve more by Shāh Jahān or his sons, Dāra Shikoh, Aurangzēb and Murād Bakhsh, on behalf of their father ; two by Murād Bakhsh as Emperor or Bādshāh Ghāzī ; and five by Aurangzēb after his accession. Shantidas himself died probably during the first or second year of the reign of Aurangzēb and the series of documents, bearing his name, came to a close in 1659 or 1660."

NORTH INDIA

Hindi Translation of the Holy Qur'ān.

SHEIKH Muḥammad Yūsuf, editor of *Nūr*, Qāadian, has prepared and published a translation of the Holy Qur'ān in Hindī. Formerly he brought out a Gurmakhi translation of the Holy Book, which elicited high praise from Gurmakhi scholars and Sikh rulers of Indian States. Recently his Hindi translation has also been welcomed by both scholars and some of the rulers of the Indian states. It has helped many non-Muslims to acquaint themselves with the teachings of Islam.

The Spirit of Islamic Culture.

Kh. Abdul Waheed of Lahore has recently published a brochure dealing with the Spirit of Islamic Culture. He has tried to discuss tersely almost all necessary aspects of the subject. He concludes that Islam is not a religion in the ordinary sense of the word. It is much more than a religion in the sense in which one can speak of Christianity or Hinduism. It 'combines within itself the grandest and the most prominent features in all ethic and catholic religions compatible with the reason and moral intuition of man. It is not merely a system of positive moral rules, based on a true conception of human progress. But it is also the establishment of certain principles, the enforcement of certain dispositions, the cultivation of a certain temper of mind, which the conscience is to apply to the ever-varying exigencies of time and place. Islam is not a creed only ; it is a life to be lived in the present. It is a religion of right doing, right thinking, and right speaking, founded on Divine Law, universal charity and the equality of man in the light of the Lord.'

The Oriental College Magazine, Lahore.

Prof. Dr. M. Iqbal discusses the *Naurūz* as a great festival of the Iranians. No other community ever observed it with greater fervour than the Iranians

have celebrated their *Naurūz* from very ancient days. Firdousī has mentioned it in his *Shāhnāma*. Dr. Iqbāl takes the view that whole significance of *Nāurūz* lies in pleasure at the advent of Spring. But apart from this the Iranians used to celebrate it as a religious festival even from the days of the Sasanian kings of ancient Iran.

Āgha Abdus Sattār has continued his series of articles on the literary activities during the period of Sultān *Shams ud Dīn Iltutmish*. In this instalment he discusses the poet *Rūhānī*, tracing this unknown poet's life and works from various sources.

Mr. Sayyad Mukhtār Aḥmad's note on the *Languages of Irān* in the Urdu quarterly, *Urdu of Delhi* is very instructive specially as to the ancient languages, based on the study of Awista and other ancient sources on Irān.

The Burhān, Delhi.

Moulvi Say'id Aḥmad has written an authoritative article on the *Divine Revelation*. In reality this article is based on the verse of the Qur'ān that *It is naught save an inspiration that is inspired* (Sūrah, LIII, 4). Hidāyat ur Rahmān has contributed a long article on the *Relations of the Mughals with Gujarat*. The Deoband Madrasa of Theology contains a large collection of MSS., mostly of religious books, which has been lying in abeyance for many years and recently has received attention. Sayyād Mahbūb has begun to catalogue it. The October issue of *Burhān* contains the second instalment.

M. A. C.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

افتتاح الاندلس, by Jamil'ur-Rahmān of the Osmania University, pp. 164, price Rs. 1-8; publishers, Kitābistān, Allahabad.

THIS small booklet is a Hindustani translation of a work of the same name by Ibn-Qūṭīyah, on the Muslim conquest of Spain. The main translation runs only between pages 46 and 84. The rest of the book is occupied by a learned introduction in about 50 pages and by an appendix on noteworthy passages and proper names, etc., from the pen of the translator.

It is nicely printed in movable type, but has a few misprints, for instance, on page 163 :

وفيات — وفیات الاعیان
— المسالك والممالك .. كتاب المالك والمالك
— خلدون .. ابن الخلدون

The interest of Muslim Indians in their lost heritage in the Iberian Peninsula has been on the increase of late, and in recent years many books, original compilations as well as translations, have appeared on the subject. Nawāb Zul-qadr Jung's monograph, *Khalil ur-Rahmān's* translation of Scott's *Moorish Empire*, 'Ināyatullāh's *Geography*, and only recently the translation of Dozy's classical work, testify to this interest.

We have sought in vain, even in the volume under review, for a criticism of and an investigation into the allegation as to a conquest of part of Spain in as early as the year 27 H.

In his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Gibbon has made a passing remark

to it (cf. Vol. V, 555, Oxford University Press Ed.). Greater details are given first by Ṭabarīy, *Annales*, I, 2816-17, and followed by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 72, Abul-Fidā', I, 262, Daḥlān, *Futūḥāt*, I, 100, and Dhahabīy, *Ta'rikh Kabīr*, anno 27 H.

As nobody seems to have taken notice of it so far, and as this goes against the popular notion that it was Ṭāriq who first set foot on Spanish soil, I propose to translate the passage of Ṭabarīy for the benefit of our readers :

Anno 27 H./647. At the time of the death of 'Umar, the governor of Egypt was 'Amr-ibn-al-'Āṣ, and Khārījāh was the Chief Justice of the empire. When 'Uthmān succeeded, he retained them both for the first two years of his reign and then he appointed 'Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd-ibn-Abi-Sarḥ in place of 'Amr-ibn-al-'Āṣ.... And 'Uthmān never deposed anybody except on complaint or on resignation. 'Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd belonged to the army corps in Egypt. So he ordered him to proceed to North-West Africa and sent with him 'Abdallāh-ibn-Nāfi'-ibn-'Abdal-Qais and 'Abdallāh-ibn-Nāfi'-ibn-al-Ḥusain. The Caliph promised the governor a fifth part of the booty received as the government share. He put the two 'Abdallāhs at the head of the army and sent them to Andalus. The Caliph also ordered the governor and the two 'Abdallāhs to meet at Ajall whence the governor should return to his headquarters and the two generals to proceed to their destinations. Accordingly they set out and crossed the territory of Egypt and penetrated deep

into North-West Africa until they reached Ajall... Immediately afterwards 'Uthmān sent the two 'Abdallāhs from North-West Africa to Andalus. They reached there by way of sea. And the Caliph 'Uthmān addressed a message to the Andalusians who had promised help, adding that Constantinople would be conquered *via* Andalus, and that, if they conquered it, they would share in the credit of the conquest of the latter too; this with salutations on the part of the Caliph. (And Ka'b al-Aḥbār relates this tradition: A people would cross the sea to get to Andalus and would conquer it and they would be conspicuous on the Resurrection Day for the light enfolded them). The narrator continues: The Muslim army proceeded, and they had with them a contingent of Berbers also. And they came to the land and sea of Andalus, and God vouchsafed them the conquest of the country, as well as the conquest of Ifranjah (Frankish country) and they were added to the Muslim Empire just like North-West Africa. When 'Uthmān called off the governor of Egypt, ('Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd), he appointed instead 'Abdallāh-ibn-Nāfi'-ibn-'Abd-Qais, who remained there when 'Abdallāh-ibn-Sa'd-ibn-Abī-Sarḥ returned to Egypt. And the situation of Andalus remained the same as that of North-West Africa until the time of the Umayyad Caliph, Hishām, when Berbers revolted; yet Andalus remained calm.

We wish, that Prof. Jamil ur-Raḥmān had discussed this matter.

آزاد حیدر آباد, edited by Mīrzā Muẓaffar
Bēg of Maktaba Ibrahīmīyah, Hyderabad-
Deccan, pp. 180, price As. 12 only, octavo.

THIS work consists of twenty articles by different writers published during the last seventeen years and dispersed in various journals and reviews. There are two maps illustrating Hyderabad under Āṣaf Jāh I, and Āṣafjāhī territories

under British trust and administration, consisting of Berar, Northern Sarkars, Mufauwaza Districts, Karnātik, etc.

The book begins with the classical address of the Nizām which he pronounced in the grand durbar, seventeen years ago, to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the declaration of independence of Hyderabad.

Then follow learned articles on such subjects as :

1. The life and work of the present Nizām.
2. The Round Table Conference and Hyderabad.
3. The Status of Hyderabad in the light of treaties.
4. Analysis of sovereignty and its application to Hyderabad.
5. Is Hyderabad an Islamic State ?
6. Hyderabad and foreign relations.
7. " His Majesty " for the Nizām.
8. Need to abolish capitulations in Hyderabad.
9. British Post Offices in the Nizām's Dominions.
10. The Administrations of British India and Hyderabad, compared by William Digby.
11. Hyderabad's Faithful Alliance *versus* ?
12. The extent of the Nizām's Dominions, etc.

The book ends with the memorandum submitted by the Ittiḥādul-Muslimīn to the Nizām's Government for future State-policy *vis-à-vis* the British.

Most of the articles are learned pieces of research based on official documents, couched in simple and dignified language.

The book is essential for those who want to understand the spirit animating modern Hyderabad.

P.S.

We learn that the first large edition was completely exhausted within only two months, and hundreds of orders are booked for the second revised and enlarged edition, in press at the time of writing these lines.

مدینه کانفرنس ، *Hindustānī translation of*
 منتخب مختار الکونین , compiled by Abu'l-Faṭḥ
 (Abu-Fattāḥ) 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Bagh-
 dādīy, published by 'Abdar Raḥīm and
 'Abdar Raḥmān, Booksellers, Kutub-
 khānah Islāmīyah, Masjid Chiniyanwālī,
 Lahore, published in 1914.

THIS is an extremely interesting and important work. The fact is, there was an Arabic MS. in the library of Khwājah Ghulām Farīd, in Chācharān Sharīf, in Bahawalpur, under the name *Muntakhab Mukhtār al-Kawnain*. On careful examination, it proved to be the proceedings of a Muslim Conference, held in Medina in 973 H./1556, attended by 73 Muslim Ulema from all parts of the Muslim world, apart from the local savants of Medina who also attended the Conference. Unfortunately the Chācharān MS. is only an abridged copy (*muntakhab*), and so far no trace of the whole has been found in any other library of the world, not even in Medina itself. The object of the Conference was to find out the reasons for the decline of Muslim power and to propose remedies therefor.

The original work was planned under the following order :

1. To consist of seven parts (each called a *kawkab*=planet).
2. Each planet (or part) to consist of twelve constellations (*burj*).
3. Each constellation to consist of 30 stages (*manzils*).
4. Each stage to consist of an indetermined number of *najms*=celestial bodies.

The present consists of only the first planet, and the remaining six parts have not been taken notice of in this abridgment. And of the first planet, instead of all the twelve constellations, the first, second, third, tenth, and twelfth alone are given.

Out of the first constellation, 5 manzils

2nd	12
3rd	5
10th	2
12th	2

are given and the rest are wanting.

The author of the abridgment men-

tions that the seven planets (or parts) of the book dealt with the following subjects :

1. Politics.
2. Economics and means of livelihood.
3. Contractual relations, (such as trade, commerce, sale, agriculture, etc.).
4. Dogmas.
5. Religious rituals.
6. Eschatology and things of the Hereafter.

7. From the creation of the world to Muḥammad's commission with Prophet-hood.

And the first planet (or part), which consisted of twelve *burj* (or zodiacal constellations), dealt with the following topics :—

1. Tyranny and its remedy.
2. Justice, its nature and its administration.
3. Rights and duties of the ruler and how to fulfil them.
4. Militia.
5. Government and administration of the state.
6. Defence of the country and enforcement of law and order.
7. Advice and counsel to rulers, ministers and high officials.
8. *Tahaqquq* (?)
9. Penal Code.
10. Discretionary punishments.
11. War and international law, reading *siyar* and not *safar* as in the codex of the translation].
12. Public affairs (such as education, asylums, beggary, etc).

The original manuscript has not been edited. What we have before us is only a translation of it in Hindustani, along with an introduction giving an epitome of the work and biographical sketches of some of the 73 delegates who attended the Conference.

The compiler of this abridgment says : This is an abridgment of the work of Saiyid Abu'l-Faṭḥ alias Shaikh 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Baghdādīy called *Mukhtār al-Kawnain*. A body of Muslim savants of different countries collaborated in its compilation, and scrutinised and passed all that is contained in the work. As for the reason of its compilation, when 973 years had passed since the Hijrah, and the Islamic countries were filled with

tyranny of rulers and officials, and their insistence on tyranny and un-Islamic innovations were ruining the countries and demoralising the Muslims, and even refuge in non-Muslim countries by the sons of Islam was resorted to; and when tyranny and injustice were exceptionally rampant in Mecca, Medina, Yaman, Egypt, Syria, etc. and people began to emigrate and take refuge where they could, and a considerable number of savants settled in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina,—it was then that these savants and many of the local ulema met in conference. Saiyid Abū Fattāh [cf. above Abu'l-Fath] *alias* Shaiḫh 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Baghdādīy al-Mashriqīy was their leader. Some of those attending at the Conference had come to visit Medina after the ḥajj, others were those who had settled as refugees in that city.

Most of them were such as had travelled in many parts of the globe and knew Muslim as well as non-Muslim countries thoroughly. They conferred and set the task before them of finding means to relieve Muslims from the tyranny of rulers and to establish law and order and revive pure Islam. For that purpose, the Conference collected books like the *Siḥāḥ sittah*, *Muḥit*, *Durar ma'din*, *Mashāriq*, *Baḥr al-aḥkām*, *Ihya' al-'ulūm* and many books on history and *siyar* (international law). Then they abstracted from them all that was necessary for the temporal and spiritual well-being of the rulers and the ruled. All the savants present agreed that the rulers should base their policy on "justice" and "enforcement of the Islamic principles of *sharī'ah*."...

The book deals with inter-Muslim wars, despotism and irresponsible government, corruption of officials and how to remedy it, popularising of education by making it free and wide-spread in every village and town, by creating subventions and bursaries, by imparting technical education and introducing industries prospering in foreign countries, and by encouraging commerce and agriculture. The rights of women were specially dealt with, and the Conference suggested that women judges should be appointed for women's

cases, except in cases of murder; that lady-doctors and nurses be appointed, and that divorce and dowries be regularised. After discussing secret police, etc., they say: 'There ought to be four grades of jails according to comfort: *A class* for remand and for those who are under investigation; *B class* for those punished on account of the violation of religious injunctions; *C class* for adulterers, thieves, those accused of accidental and unintentional homicide; and *D class* for murderers, highwaymen, apostates and those who have thrice been punished. After discussing the needs for sarais and guest-houses for foreign visitors and detailed discussion of river transit charges, and other topics, the Conference emphasises the need for the ulema to keep abreast of the times and understand present requirements, otherwise their orations and preachings would have no effect on the audience.

M. H.

THE TAZKIRA-E-BĒNAẒĪR (Persian),
by Saiyid Abdul-Wahhāb Iftikḥār, edited
by S. Manzūr 'Alī, M.A., Publishers,
Kitābistān, Allahabad; price: Rs. 2.

THE author, who settled at Daulatābād (Deccan), lived during the 12th Century Hijra, but the dates of his birth and death are not reliably known. He completed the above-named work in the year 1172 A.H., compiling notices of some 136 poets who lived during the last 72 years of his Century, giving excellent selections from their Persian poems. The book may be studied as a supplement to "*Saru-i-Āzād*", by the author's master, Āzād Bilgrāmī, and, at any rate, helps to form a good idea as to that declining stage of Persian Poetry in India. The *Tazkirah* was so rare that only a single manuscript copy could be traced, and the Allahabad University deserves thanks for having it published as the First Volume of their Arabic-Persian Series.

S.



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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SIR EDWARD DENISON ROSS

WITH the death of Sir Denison Ross at Istanbul on the 20th of September Oriental Studies have sustained a further great loss. Born as the son of the Revd. Dr. A. J. Ross, vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney on the 6th of June 1871, he was educated at Marlborough and University College, London, and continued his studies of Oriental languages at Paris and under my old master, Nöldeke, at Strassburg. In 1901, he went to Calcutta as principal of the famous Madrasa, founded by Warren Hastings as the first institution of its kind in India. He held this post till 1911 having in 1906 been appointed to the additional post of Curator of Records of the Indian Government, a post which carried the rank of Assistant Secretary in the Department of Education. During this time, he published the Persian correspondence between Indian princes and the successive governors of Bengal, Clive, etc. Among other publications, was a polyglot dictionary of bird names in Turkish, Manchu and Chinese and an anonymous treatise on the names of ancient Arab horses which was printed privately. When he came back to England in 1914, he was made Assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum having the Oriental Section under his care, and he was at the same time professor of Persian at London University. Through the endeavours of Sir Charles Lyall and other prominent Oriental Scholars, the School for Oriental Studies in London was inaugurated, and Ross was appointed its first director, a post which he held till summer 1937. His charming manner and great gift for organisation proved a signal success and in spite of entirely insufficient Government financial support, he gathered round him a competent staff and brought together from practically nothing, a comprehensive library which was made available without the antiquated restrictions of other institutes, like the British Museum, also to scholars who were not immediately connected with the School for Oriental Studies and I for one take this opportunity to express my thanks publicly.

He had a remarkable gift for acquiring languages and though he never himself made such a claim, he was in the daily press often called the greatest living Orientalist as he not infrequently contributed popular articles on Eastern topics. He was an indefatigable worker, but present circumstances make it impossible for me to enumerate all his publications. In collaboration with the late Ney Elias, he translated the *Tārīkhī Rashīdī* by Mirzā Haidar Dughlāt who was a cousin of the first Moghul Emperor, Babur. The facsimile edition of the third volume of the *Jāhān Gushāy* of Juwainī published by him in 1931, is now superseded by the printed edition by Mirzā Muhammad Qazwīnī on the basis of several manuscripts. The small manual of Eastern Turkish, with dialogues suitable for travellers edited in conjunction with R. O. Whingate, was intended more for practical use than as a scientific study. In 1927, he published the *Tārīkhī Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārakshāh* which describes the adventures of the family of the Gujerat king, Behādur Shāh and throws light upon the Portuguese power at that period in India. Besides this, he wrote, as already mentioned, frequent articles on Oriental subjects which made him known to a wider circle of the general public. At the beginning of 1940, he was sent to Istanbul as head of the British Information Bureau in Turkey, a mission which proved fatal to both him and Lady Ross who died there on the 16th of April. She was a daughter of the late Mr. W. T. Robinson and their marriage took place in 1904. She was a very versatile lady and had kept a diary in which she made records of all prominent people whom they had met on their many journeys in foreign lands.

Ross was knighted in 1918 and many honours were bestowed upon him. His interest in scientific and political life will be greatly missed.

F. KRENKOW.

A MUSLIM POLITICAL THINKER OF THE NINTH CENTURY A.C.; IBNI ABI'R-RABĪ'

INTRODUCTION

IT is only recently that attention has been drawn to a scientific study of the political thought of the early Muslims and even they have been dealt with by the Moderns more as writers on ethics and philosophy than as political thinkers. This does not surprise us much. Political philosophy and the science of administration were not known as such in the West till comparatively recent years, and the Europeans of the XVI and XVII centuries, when a study of these sciences began to take shape, were either too ignorant of political thought among the Mussulmans or were too prejudiced against the Muslims to have any clear vision of the services rendered to humanity by their religion and specialised culture. As a matter of fact while the period between the fall of Rome in 476 and the rise of Charlemagne more than 300 years later was a dark spot in the history of the West, where civil wars, religious intolerance and almost utter lack of government were the order of the day, among Oriental peoples it was an era of enlightenment, orderly progress and the enjoyment of the best God had given to man. This progress steadily went on both in mundane and spiritual spheres for another five hundred years, and Alhazen, Rhazes, Avicenna and Averroes became household names in Europe as some of the foremost thinkers of the world. But it was only natural that such as had written on administration should not have much of a following here, as political science had not yet drawn their attention and learned men who ought to have known better, wrangled on the puerile concepts such as whether God had been crucified in the person of Christ by the legate of the Emperor of Rome!¹

No doubt a certain amount of incentive was given to Muslim thought by the translations of Greek authors into Syriac and Arabic in the time of the early Abbasids, but the immediate influence of these translations might easily be exaggerated. As has been said elsewhere, the Arab world

1. This was one of the arguments levelled against the upholders of the supremacy of the Papacy by the Imperialists and is found in Dante : *De Monarchia*, Bk. II.; see Pollock : *History of the Science of Politics*, ch. 2.

was not cognisant of Aristotle's work on "Politics" while the other political work ascribed to him, namely "*The Constitution of Athens*," has been unearthed only in our own time, and the only Greek thought on political matters consisted of Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*.¹ The early Muslim writers on politics no doubt drew a certain amount of inspiration from the translations; but we must remember that the thought itself, with its multitude of illustrations from Persian, Arabic and Indian sources, was purely Oriental in essence, and the time had not yet arrived for the westernization of thought at the hands of Muslim thinkers of the West such as Ibn-i-Bājjah, Ibn-i-Ṭufail and Ibn-i Rushd.²

There is a third point which we have to bear in mind. The divorce of ethics from politics with such disastrous effects for the world did not become the fashion till after Macchiavelli had made politics the purely mundane, material science that it now is. The early Muslim writers could not even think that a study of political science was at all possible without setting a strong ethical background for the action of the rulers or that any country could be successfully administered without the salutary effect of the interaction of administrative with ethical principles.

THE BACKGROUND

HERE we will deal with "the earliest philosophical treatise" by a Muslim, in which are couched the principles of politics and administration.³ The work in question is called *Sulūku'l-Mālik fī tadbīrī'l-Mamālik* and is by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī'r-Rabī', surnamed *Shihābu'd-dīn*, compiled, it appears, by the order of the eighth Abbasid Caliph, Mu'taṣim, the son of the great Hārūn-r-Rashīd and the successor of his own brother Māmūn.⁴ This was perhaps the most resplendent period of the Abbasid Caliphate, and the lustre of Hārūn's epoch coupled with the progressive and highly erudite atmosphere of Māmūn's reign, that had made Baghdād the centre "not only of the Muslim world but of the world at large."⁵ The State was then the home of such intellectual giants as the traditionist Bukhārī, the historian Wāqidī, the legist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, one of the four great Imāms of Sunnī jurisprudence, the Shiite Imām 'Alī-ar Ridā

1. See Shērwanī: *Al-Fārābī's Political Theories*, Islamic Culture, 1938, p. 292; Rosenthal: *Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic World*, I. C., 1940, p. 411.

2. Ibn-i Bājjah ('Avenpace') of Saragossa, died 1138; Ibn-i Ṭufail of Guadix, died 1185; Ibn-i Rushd ('Averroes') of Cordova, died 1193.

3. Thus in Brockelmann: *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, I, 209.

4. Hārūn, 786-808; Māmūn, 813-833; Mu'taṣim, 833-842. Name of the work, *Way of the Ruler and the Government of the State*. The book has been lithographed at Cairo, 1286 H. and 1329 H. Ref. Brockelmann I, 209; Ḥāji Khalfah: *Kaṣḥfu'z-ẓunūn*, No. 7239; *Cat. of the Bibl. Nation.*, No. 2448; Goldziher: *Abh.*, I, 66.

5. Weil: *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, II, ch. on Mu'taṣim, pp. 295-336, Urdu tr. by Prof. J. Rehman, "An-Nāẓir," Lucknow, Jan. and Febr. 1937.

and the poet Abū Tammām, besides such non-Muslims as Ḥunain b. Ishāq el-'Ibādī and Jurjīs b. Bakhtishū', both of whom were prominent in making the Greek system of medicine known to the Oriental world. Just before Māmūn's death in 217/833, was founded the Baitu'l-Hikmat or 'the House of Wisdom,' and it was under its roof that most of Plato's and Aristotle's ethical and philosophical works were done into Arabic. It was thus six hundred years before the Classics became a source of inspiration to Europe that the first rays of their revived form became visible in the East, rays which were to illumine the West by the Latin translations of Arabic renderings of the Greek and Alexandrine writers.¹

ADMINISTRATION

THE system of government in Mu'taṣim's time had not been elaborated to the extent reached some years later, still it was already fairly complicated. The ministry or Dīwānu'l-'Azīz was divided into a number of departments such as the Dīwānu'l-Kharāj, (Revenue Department), Dīwānu'l-Jund, (Army Department), Dīwānu'sh-Shurṭah (Police Department), etc., while the Caliph al-Mahdī inaugurated the appointment of a Ḥājib or Lord Chamberlain, whose chief function consisted in introducing foreign ambassadors and other representatives to the Caliph and performing other duties of a like nature. As regards the judiciary, there was a Qāḍi'u'l-Qudāt or Chief Justice at the capital, with Qāḍīs and 'Ādils interspersed throughout the State, and it was regarded as of the utmost importance that these should be entirely independent of the Executive in all their actions and judgments. It was a matter of principle that the 'zimmī' or protected non-Muslim sects were entitled to have their own civil suits adjudged by their own judges without any governmental interference, while criminal cases in which any citizen of the State, Muslim, or non-Muslim, was arraigned, went to the Sāhibu'l-Maẓālim functioning under the Department of Criminal Justice, which was presided over by the Caliph himself.²

In the Islamic State, as had already developed, there was to be seen an almost perfect religious and racial toleration such as was not to be met with in the Western world for a millennium to come. Mu'taṣim was himself a man of a strong character, and it was no doubt his aptitude for ruling a vast empire that made Māmūn appoint him his successor to the exclusion of his own son 'Abbās, a feature rarely to be met with in history. Although at constant war with the Christian Byzantine Emperor, Theophilus, Mu'taṣim's court was open to men belonging to all races and professing all religions alike. His first Prime Minister was a Christian Faḍl b. Marwān and he kept the Nestorian Christians more or less in charge of the

1. For a general discussion of the translations see O' Leary : *Arabic Thought*, London, 1922, ch. IV.

2. See Shērwanī : *Some Precursors of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Tūsī*, I.C., 1934, p. 15.

Academy of the Baitu'l-Hikmat. He was the upholder of perfect equality of the races inhabiting his vast empire and promoted those belonging to the Turkish race, such as Afshīn, Itākḥ and Ashnās, with the result that he came to be hated by those of his own kith and kin, and he left Baghdād, the centre of Arabic culture, for a new capital at Sāmarrā rather than bow to the racial communalists of the capital. We can well realise the extent of the toleration shown by him when we know that his next-door neighbour, the Emperor Theophilus, the upholder of a theology which "made him a stern bigot," and a religious maniac and who did not allow anyone in his dominions to worship images, even to the extent that his own wife, the Empress Theodora, an image worshipper herself, had to pretend to her husband that the images in one of her rooms were only dolls, when he once chanced to see them! Theophilus was so intolerant that he had a famous painter of religious subjects imprisoned and flogged, and put under the rack monks who dared to act against his edict prohibiting any display of public worship.¹

In spite of his broadmindedness, however, Mu'tasim could not tolerate any attempt at insubordination or revolt, and laid his heavy hand on any recalcitrant however influential and powerful he might be. He put down without much concern, the rising of Babek Khurramī who wanted to upset the prevalent social system and establish a king of nihilist communism, and later, when he knew that his own military commander, for whom he had done so much, the Turk Afshīn, was in league with his enemies and was really a hypocrite at heart, he forgot all the services he had rendered to him, and had him forthwith imprisoned.

WHEN DID IBNI ABI'R-RABI' WRITE ?

BEFORE dealing with the work proper it is better to discuss in short compass the question of the period in which the author wrote. This is necessary as some doubt has been cast whether such a compendious work, complete in all its details, could have been composed as early as Mu'tasim's reign. While the German Arabist, Brockelmann, is not able to specify the exact period of the author and only says that "it is really a much later work" than Mu'tasim's reign.² Jurjī Zaidān, the well-known Christian author of modern Egypt, is more explicit in assigning the work to Musta'sim's period. He gives the following reasons for his surmise:³

(1) The whole work is compiled in the form of columns and tables much after the fashion of genealogical trees and is perfect to a fault, showing a completeness not possible for one who preceded the philosophers al-Kindī and al-Fārābī.⁴

1. Theophilus, Emperor of Byzantium, 829-842. For these and other curiosities see Finlay : *History of Greece*, II, 142-160.

2. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*

3. Jurjī Zaidān : *History of Arabic Literature* (in Arabic), Cairo, 1911, II, 214.

4. Al-Kindī, died about 873. Fārābī, 870-950.

(2) The name *Shihābu'd-dīn* is not found in histories and encyclopædias of the Abbasid period before Ibni Nadīm's *Fihrist* which was completed in 338/950.

(3) It is probable that the name of the Caliph was mixed up and the work was compiled not in Mu'taṣim's but in Musta'sim's reign, so that it was antedated by a careless scribe by more than 400 years.

Taking the first point first, it has already been mentioned that a large number of the ethical and philosophical writings of the Greeks had been rendered into Arabic both by independent agencies and under the ægis of the Baitu'l-Ḥikmat under Hārūn and Māmūn, and an impetus had been given to independent thought thereby. Moreover we know that al-Kindī was old enough in Mu'taṣim's reign to be the tutor to the Caliph's son, and our author must have breathed in the same erudite atmosphere as the one surrounding the better known philosopher. It is almost an insult to the period following 'the Augustan age of Arabic thought' such as the reign of Māmūn has been dubbed to say that it could not produce the compendium which has been attributed to it. As far as the epithet '*Shihābu'd-dīn*' is concerned, Jurjī Zaidān rightly says that such names are not met with in the early years of the Abbasid dynasty, but we should remember that our author's name was Muḥammad, and *Shihābu'd-dīn* and cognate phrases were originally not names at all but were rather meant as laudatory epithets which might have been added later by a scribe who knew the worth of the writer. This epithet means 'the Meteor of the Faith,' and it is just possible that as our author's fame was eclipsed by thinkers who came after him, a well-meaning friend might have likened him to a meteorite. We should not conclude in any case that there was no such person as Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, son of Abi'r-Rabi' in Mu'taṣim's reign simply because a certain laudatory epithet appears along with his name.

We now come to the last point in Zaidān's argument, that it is possible that the name Mu'taṣim might have been mixed up with Musta'sim, as in Musta'sim's reign names like *Shihāb-ud-dīn* had begun to appear.¹ Now, as we are aware, while Mu'taṣim's reign was the azimuth of Abbasid glory, that of Musta'sim was its nadir, the dynasty—and the Caliphate—disappearing entirely through the lethargy and indolence of the Court, the machinations of the traitors and power of the Hulāgū. Musta'sim's was hardly the time for the analysis and construction of ethical, military and political principles by a distinguished thinker like our author. Then we have the very definite internal evidence that the author was commanded to compile the work,² and while describing the command the author says that it was his good fortune that his master, Mu'taṣim had the qualities of an ideal monarch and knew how to utilise these qualities to the best advantage. That was, says the author, why many nations and countries had bowed down to him, wars had ceased, ignorance had disappeared,

1. Musta'sim, 1226-1242.

2. *Sulūk*, Preface, p. 3.

giving place to knowledge, and no one dared to tyrannise over others.¹ This could hardly be a description of Musta'shim's reign, while it was a very apt description of conditions prevalent in Mu'tašim's time. More than that, when dealing with the necessary requisite of a good wazīr, he says that it was God's Grace that a man had been made their wazīr whose language led the linguists of the Arabic speaking world by the nose-strings.² Now we are fully aware that Mu'tašim's last wazīr, Ibni Zayyāt was distinguished for his great learning in the language and literature of the Arabs and that he had risen from the ranks by dint of sheer ability and hard work, remaining wazīr right up to the accession of Mutawakkil. There can thus be no doubt that the work with which we are dealing belongs to Mu'tašim's reign, i.e., to the early part of the 3rd century A.H. and not to the 7th century A.H. where Zaidān puts it.

We now come to Brockelmann. In the first volume of his great History of Arabic Literature, he definitely says that "the work is the first Islamic political writing that we possess," but later he is startled to find a close parallel with a number of later works such as the Neo-Pythagorean Oikonomikos, Ibni Butlān's *Taqwīmu's-Sihha* and the *Akhlāq-i Mushajjar* (written in 655/1256), coming to the conclusion that the *Sulūk* is a much later work.³ He gives a list of manuscripts of the work found in Leiden, Naples and Istanbul, and it seems that all these agree with the script in the two printed editions of the book in ascribing the period to Mu'tašim's reign. Against this definiteness, the mere fact of their being certain later "parallels," should not lead us to the conclusion that the work was a copy of these "parallels," for, equally well they might easily have been copied from portions of the *Sulūk*. It is perhaps these considerations which make Brockelmann undecided about his conclusion, for even in his supplement he does not contradict his earlier assertion that the work is definitely "the first Islamic political writing that we possess."

Taking all these points into fullest consideration, along with the internal evidence produced above, one is bound to come to the conclusion that at least the politico-ethical parts of the work were compiled in Mu'tašim's reign, and thus it takes precedence over Fārābī's works on political theory by many decades.

SUBJECT-MATTER

Man among other creatures

TO quote Zaidān, the Compendium "is of great utilitarian value, dealing with politics, sociology, philosophy, physics, mathematics and

1. *Sulūk*, 22.

2. *Ibid.*, 124.

3. Brockelmann : *Gesch., d. arab. Litt.*, erster Suppl., 1927 ; p. 372.

music, and is divided into four parts namely, (i) Introduction ; (ii) Principles of Ethics and its subdivisions ; (iii) The significance of human wisdom and its regulation ; (iv) Politics, its divisions and its organization. All these topics are further subdivided into chapters, and their enunciation and rules are described in columnar form or tables in the best of style."¹ A fourth of the work deals directly with political principles and nearly another fourth with the principles of human organization.

Our author begins his work with the position of Man among other living creatures. He says that every being that God has created, falls into one or other of two groups, the higher and the lower, and it needs no demonstration to show that the existing has preference over the non-existent, the living over the non-living and those who know over those who do not know, while those endowed with the power of movement, intention and will are definitely superior to those who are not. Of all creatures, Man is the only one who is possessed of all the superior complexes here enumerated, along with a faculty which is not shared by any other creature, and that is the faculty of the keen perception of probable consequences. He is endowed with thought and judicious discretion and chooses what he feels is best. He tries to attain the highest station in life possible and succeeds in his attempt whenever he does not deviate from this sense of judicious discretion and perception of consequences, and whenever he is not overpowered by his evil desires.²

THE SOCIAL NATURE OF MAN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

MAN being a thinking animal, has naturally two chief faculties, the thinking faculty and the animal faculty, and his whole being is in a way suspended between the two, sometimes swaying towards one and sometimes towards the other. As an animal, he prefers a quick satisfaction of his desires, while his thinking faculty leans towards the best possible consequences of his actions. It is obvious that, when the *differentia* between Man and other living creatures is just this thinking faculty based on human commonsense, Man without it would be no better than an animal.³

Now, this thinking, foreseeing animal called Man is so created that he cannot fulfil his wants by himself and needs others' help for the purpose. A carpenter wants certain of his necessities to be made by the blacksmith, the blacksmith needs help from workers in mines, the latter from labourers and so on, so that every industry is a complement of the other. If man had been able to satisfy all his wants by himself there would have been no need for mutual help and co-operation, and it is really this action

1. Zaidān, II, 215.

2. *Sul.*, 7.

3. *Ibid.*, 24. Compare this idea of Man being a *thinking* animal with Aristotle's definition of his being a *Political* animal in his *Politics*, I, 8.

and interaction of wants which fixes wages, prices, profit and loss and all other economic phenomena.¹ Moreover, from the nature of things, besides manufacturers and wage-earners, no one can lead a self-sufficient life, and apart from marital relations² every individual is dependent on a host of other individuals. It is, therefore, necessary for them to gather together in groups so that mutual help and intercourse should be facilitated. God has, therefore, created in Man a sense of liking for his fellow-man as well as strong leaning towards collective action.³

Gatherings of the population of a country are of two kinds, rural or agricultural and urban. The importance of the rural units is said to be that they provide food for the whole population of the country, and are, therefore, its mainstay. Agriculture, according to our author, predicates three important rights of those who are engaged in it, namely that they should be provided with plenty of water, they should be free to carry on their work without let or hindrance and should be taxed lightly according to the scale laid down by the Law. The rest of the population lives in towns or cities, and is thereby assured of a peaceful life, safety of their property and the honour of their womanhood. Moreover by living together their needs are easily satisfied, while they have a chance of increasing their earnings by mutual co-operation. Just as plenty of water and low taxation are the desiderata of the rural population, so a good locality, plenty of air, water and fuel, a city wall and a sense of safety from a possible external foe are all necessary for the upkeep of the urban section of the population, and if any of these conditions were missing, the town or city would be in a great danger of devastation.⁴

THE PLACE OF POLITICS IN THE SCHEME OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

WE have now come to the threshold of Politics proper. Our author deals at some length with the division and subdivision of human knowledge covering practically all the sciences and arts that were known in his day, demonstrating his great power of analysis. He begins by dividing the scope of human wisdom into theoretical knowledge and practical application. He then redivides theoretical knowledge into (i) higher, which has its basis in the brain and deals with purely metaphysical subjects; (ii) middle, centered in memory and dealing with mathematics, literature

1. *Sul.*, 75. Compare this analysis of Man's rise to the citizenship of the State with Ghazzālī's analysis as given in the *Ihyā'u'l-'Ulūm*, III, 6, v; see also Shērwanī: *Al-Ghazzālī on the Theory and Practice of Politics*, I.C., 1935, p. 450; Shērwanī: *Islamic Political Thought*, a paper read at the VIII International Congress of Historical Sciences, Zurich, 1938, *Communications présentées*, II, 445; Ghazzālī, 1058-1111.

2. A complete analysis of human marital relations is sketched in *Sul.*, 80 & 81.

3. *Ibid.*, 75.

4. *Ibid.*, 118. Aristotle fails to make this distinction between the urban and the rural, which is the essential condition of the life in a State, ancient or modern.

and linguistics and (iii) lower, relating to the Natural Sciences and based on feeling. It is under the heading of Middle Knowledge that he puts the knowledge of facts and happenings in bye-gone days, of the deeds of kings and their policy and of the states and their evolution, which is connoted by the term, History. When we pass on to the application of theoretical knowledge to practical needs, or actions as opposed to sciences proper, we see that these are subdivided into (i) control over one's self and one's body, (ii) control over the household, (iii) control over other persons. This third division of Actions connotes what we mean by Politics, and this is said to be the need of Man so long as he is alive.¹

It will thus be seen that to our author, History is to knowledge in general what Politics are to application and action, and the former is treated as a necessary complement to the latter, for the great officers of the State, the ruler, ministers, royal chamberlains and judges are all admonished to study History in order that they may know their position, their rights and duties in the light of the action of their predecessors in title in the past.²

SOVEREIGNTY AND THE IDEAL SOVEREIGN

ONCE granted the need for a corporate life and action, one great difficulty is bound to arise, and it would be produced by each individual having his own particular way of doing justice and exercising oppressive behaviour in certain cases according to his own whims and fancies. It is, therefore, the Will of the Divine Providence that Heads of Society should be appointed to see that the Divine Laws for organization of the people and their unity of action are properly enforced.³ In course of time larger political entities are organized and evolved and a number of these headships are united into one large headship, the head of which unites in himself some of the highest human qualities, through the exercise of which he manages to control these smaller political entities.⁴

It is absolutely necessary that the ruler of a State should be the best among the people and he should be supreme in the land, for, if there are more than one supreme ruler in the land, it is bound to entail constant quarrels between the pseudo-sovereigns, and the whole State would be in a great turmoil.⁵ In order to ensure peace and prosperity in the land,

1. *Sul.*, 61. This is in advance of *Ghazzālī* who divides all sciences into those connected and those unconnected with religion; *Ghazzālī*; *Munqidh*, 15. It is rather strange that Pollock divides 'Moral Sciences' under 'Knowledge' and 'Action' much after the fashion of the *Sulūk*; see his *Hist. of the Sc. of Pol.*, I, 4.

2. *Ibid.*, 105, 126, 129.

3. *Ibid.*, 102. Compare, Locke: *Treatises on Civil Government*, II, ch. 2, where the pre-statal man is supposed to have the right to punish the transgressors of the Law of Nature.

4. *Ibid.*, 10. Compare *Ibni-Khaldūn's* theory of a number of group-minds merging into a single group-mind. *Proleg.*, II, 1.

5. *Ibid.*, 103. Whatever may be the origin of the modern theory of a mono-sovereign state, there is little doubt that the early Muslim thinkers followed the idea of the Divine Oneness and the Qur'ānic dictum: "Had there been other deities therein besides the one God, then verily both (the heaven and the earth) would have been utterly disordered." (*Qur'ān*, xxi, 22).

it is, therefore, of the utmost importance that all the citizens should obey the sovereign's orders and be helpers, not antagonists in his effort at national unity and the organization of the material resources of the country.¹

Our author is not content with saying that the ruler should be the best among the people but he actually recounts thirteen perquisites which should be native to the ideal ruler, and among these are to be found physical and mental superiority, love of knowledge and truth, and the ruler should at the same time be a lover of justice and hater of tyranny and oppression, while he should consider this life only a passing phase and live for the sole desire of doing good to his people.²

Naturally such a superior and benevolent sovereign would be different to the autocrats who govern their subjects with the sole desire of making their own lot happy at the expense of their subjects. The work recounts the ways in which the ruler should deal with his subjects, and the first and foremost thing is that he should make the citizens love and not merely fear him, so that obedience to him should be based on natural inclination and with the sincere belief that obedience to the Law is good for them all.³ This is only possible if the ruler holds himself aloof from such qualities as greed, pride, vice, unscrupulousness in the fulfilment of his desired laziness, etc., and has the power to face difficulties and hardships, practise forgiveness and do justice at all costs.⁴

JUSTICE

THIS book deals with the principles of justice in all its aspects. Justice is defined as the condition of the correctness of the locus of all actions and is based on the happy means between the thinking faculty and the animal nature in Man. It is a function of government which is on a higher plane than other functions for, says our author, there is a consensus of the opinion of men belonging to entirely different ways of thought about it, and there is not one who doubts the need of its efficacy and integrity.⁵ It

1. *Sul.*, 104.

2. *Ibid.*, 11. Although our author says that in order to ensure orderly succession, the Headship might be made hereditary, still this is only a secondary consideration, the primary being the qualities necessary to make a good Head.

3. *Ibid.*, 107.

4. *Ibid.*, 109.

5. *Ibid.*, 116. We should remember that Plato's whole burden of argument in the *Republic* is the foundation of the ideal City on the basis of Justice. See Chance: *Until Philosophers are Kings*, London, 1938. But the course of European History has been towards a minimization of the importance of Justice owing to the increased importance attached to the continuous quarrels between the ruler and the people till justice began to be influenced by the one or the other. That is why we see on the one side the scene of judges being dictated by Kings, on the other being 'protected' by Parliaments. Ibni Abi'r-Rabi' is fully conscious of the importance of an absolutely impartial and independent judiciary.

consists in placing everything in its proper place and giving everyone his due. Justice entails a system of rights which are threefold, i.e., rights due to God, those due to living and those due to the dead. So far as the rights due to the living are concerned, they consist in such duties as returning the amount of debt due, handing back to the owner things put into some-one's safe custody giving correct and proper evidence, and doing good deeds.¹ The ruler is equally bound to do what is just, and justice in his case consists in keeping of promises, being merciful, and giving everyone his share according to the Laws which have been made for the country under his sway.²

We all know the qualities which are deemed necessary for a judge in the modern world, but we also know fully well that in spite of the very salutary premonitions our judges sometimes lack the integrity and freedom from outside pressure which ought to be their chief merit, and we are forced to surmise that there is something lacking in the standard set for the appointment of our judges that they should go so astray. We might compare this standard with that set by our author more than a thousand years ago, and one feels on reading what he has to say that if the standard of justice in force during the early Abbasid period was even half of that set down in the *Sulūk*, it must have been of a very high order indeed. Our author says that :

(1) A Judge should be God-fearing and at the same time should have a dignified demeanour ;

(2) he should have sound commonsense and be conversant with the best of judicial literature ;

(3) He should bear an absolutely irreproachable character ;

(4) he should not deliver judgments before he is satisfied that full proof has been laid before him, nor tarry in his judgment when sufficient evidence has been produced ;

(5) he should be fearless in awarding what is right and due ;

(6) he should not accept any presents nor hear any recommendations ;

(7) he should never see any party in private ;

(8) he should rarely smile, and speak little ;

(9) he should never ask any party to do him any favour ; and

(10) he should take great care to protect the property of the orphans.³

1. *Sul.*, 116.

2. *Ibid.*, 117. It is clear from a number of passages in the book that the author has in his mind a system whereby the ruler does not possess the power to frame the laws but where the laws reach him readymade. He is therefore not an autocrat in the present sense but his powers are limited by those superimposed laws.

3. *Ibid.*, 130.

REVOLUTIONS

SO much for the perquisites of an efficient and lasting administration. But of course government is an institution run by human beings and as such is liable to inefficiency and decay, leading to revolutions. The book deals with this aspect of the case and analyses the causes of internal turmoil as well as the conditions of a return to peace. He says that sedition is committed when a man turns his back on the principles which formed the basis of his loyalty to the ruler,¹ and this is regarded as a perversion of the thinking faculty of Man.² He quotes the supposed reply of a philosopher to the question put to him by a Persian King, why internal disorders took place and how they are to be ended. The philosopher said that the causes of internal turmoil were five, namely: (i) Carelessness of those who had power coupled with the realisation of powerlessness by those who had not got it. (ii) Sheer love of disturbance on the part of some subjects. (iii) Love of power on the part of the ambitious. (iv) Courage of those who considered themselves deserving of honour. (v) Expression by word of mouth of what is hidden in the recesses of the heart. The condition under which this condition of revolt ends are: (i) When the possessor of power subdues him who would wrest power from him. (ii) When rebels give up rebellion for some reason or other. (iii) When the ruler becomes fearless and begins to disdain those at the bottom of the rebellion. (iv) When the prestige of the revolutionaries begins to wane. (v) When the ruler manages to inculcate fear in the minds of the enemy.³

WEALTH AND EMPIRE

AS is well known most revolutions are caused by economic upheavals, and we now pass to the question of wealth. The book before us rightly distinguishes between the reasons why Man needs wealth and the need for sound State finances, and this is in consonance with his whole outlook viewing the ruler only as a servant of the State. He says that the reason why an individual wishes to acquire wealth for himself is the wish for power to take peaceful possession of animal and vegetable products in order to make himself comfortable in life. He wants to possess animals both for his safety and his food, as well as for providing himself with their skins as defence against atmospheric extremes, while vegetable produce is

1. *Sul.*, 35.

2. *Ibid.*, 33. When we remember that the ruler is the best available in the land as our author envisages him, we might ourselves come to the same conclusion.

3. *Ibid.*, 177. Aristotle's analysis of the causes, course and suppression of Revolutions is far more detailed and explicit, while our author is very general in his treatment. This itself shows that he was independent in his judgement. See *Aris. : Pol.*, ii, v, vi, etc.

needed for his food, clothing and for the manufacture of finished articles.¹ He scores a right and a very modern point when he says that it is in the field for the acquisition of these products for the individual that a ruler tries to extend the sway of his State and found Empires.² But we must remember that the need for State wealth is quite distinct from the need for individual wealth, for money is needed by the ruler not to fulfil his personal greed, but rather to keep the frontiers secure against a possible enemy, to uproot evil and increase the power of the lowly and the down-trodden, to free those imprisoned for non-payment of debts, and so organize government that everything should be done to better the condition of the people.³ He gives some very salutary principles concerning the budget and visually demonstrates that the only proper budget is that under which income exceeds expenditure.⁴

SLAVERY

THE last thing we would mention here is the discussion of the question of slavery. Our author says that slavery is either natural or artificial, and reminds us in rather a taunting way that there is a third kind of slavery, that of one's desires. As regards natural slaves, they are men strong of physique but weak in intellect. The slaves of other kind are those who are bound to be in that station in life according to Law either for household purposes, for further acquisition of wealth, or else for other duties.⁵ As regards the way in which slaves should be treated, our author follows the explicit precepts of the Apostle of Islam and says that the owner should take care that he gives them sufficient leisure during the week, should deal with them kindly and should treat them as carefully as he would the limbs of his own body.⁶ One need hardly mention that slaves were in those days what servants are in ours, and were as necessary for the household, progress in arts and crafts and other walks of life as hired labour nowadays. While social reformers at present are always making proposals for the betterment of the social condition of the workers, Islam by one stroke set the noble standard of equality between the condition of the lives of the slaves and their masters, and Abi'r-Rabi' simply reflects the injunction and likens the slaves to the very limbs of the master.

1. *Sul.*, 74.

2. *Ibid.*, 75.

3. *Ibid.*, 133.

4. *Ibid.*, 119.

5. *Ibid.*, 83, 84.

6. With Aristotle, 'the relation between the master and the slave does not exclude kindness' (*Pol.*, vi, o), while our author says that kindness is the *sine qua non* of this relationship.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ¹

ON a perusal of the political ideas couched in Ibni Abi'r-Rabī's work, one feels the extremely ethical atmosphere prevalent in his political principles. Although there is little of pure religion pervading his politics, there is no doubt that he is a great believer in providing an ethical basis for the ruler, his ministers and his judges. He stands midway between the purely Greek thought with its annihilation of the individual in the State, a thought which has reached us through Hegel in the extreme form of German Nazism, and the purely individualist theory under which the State is only the handmaid of the individual. No doubt Kingship is accepted without demur, and there is no place for the Republic in the *Sulūk* ; still, as has been mentioned, the King is not necessarily an hereditary despot, but the best among the people, coming very near the Platonic ideal, but not so near as to be made a practical impossibility. His rule, again, is not to be an irresponsible unmitigated despotism, but is to be limited by two principles—a system of Law which would be above him, and the practical idealism of his own personality.

One thing is most noticeable in the work before us, and it is that there is not one word which might be taken to mean the slightest religious or racial prejudice or the exclusion of any sect from any office of State. We have before us a whole vista of religious persecution in Europe coming right up to our very day, and perhaps extending to the unknown future, and here is a political scientist writing a book in the 9th century A.C. containing admonitions to the King under his express orders, tacitly telling him that the good of the State lies in a sense of equality between the races and religions of the Empire. This was, of course, entirely in accordance with the principles of government actually in vogue in the Caliphate of his own day.

Lastly, as to his method, Ibni Abi'r-Rabī' does not take his stand on history at all, and apart from giving the solitary instance of Moses appointing his son Aaron his wazīr and arguing thereby the so-called appointment of 'Alī to his wazirate by the Apostle of Islam, there is not a single argument based on any past happening. As has been mentioned before, history and politics are made mutually complementary and high officers of State advised to study history ; yet the author himself ignores history and rather takes his stand on what is inherently good and ethically correct, making morality the great bedrock of a successful life and a successful statehood.

H. K. SHERWANI.

1. We have dealt with only the most important ideas sketched in the work before us, as the compass of the paper did not allow the discussion of such topics as Statecraft, ministers, classes of State subjects and their mutual relations and a host of other matters.

MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

(Continued)

PART II.—PEACE

CHAPTER I.—*Preliminary Survey*

PEACEFUL or non-hostile relations of states—in which cessation of belligerents from fighting without treaty or settlement is *not* included—and their rights and duties may be described under the following heads :—

1. Independence,
2. Property,
3. Jurisdiction,
4. Equality,
5. Diplomatic and Commercial Relations.

CHAPTER II

Independence

STATES, whether small or big, are either sovereign and independent or part-sovereign, or non-sovereign. In international law no notice is taken of the last of these kinds. The real criterion of independence, as far as international law is concerned, is the right to foreign relations. If this right is absolute, we call it sovereignty and independence ; if the right is qualified and restricted, but not abnegated and extinguished, we have a case of part-sovereign state ; and if the right does not exist, it will be a non-sovereign state. Apart from this real test, there are other requisites of independence which we shall describe presently.

It is, however, to be noted that the form of government has nothing to do with independence. A state may be a republic with elected heads, or a monarchy with hereditary succession. Even in the hereditary succession, the Islamic institution of *بيعة* (oath of allegiance), which has been in vogue ever since the time of the Prophet, some sort of social contract and expression of popular will is present. The Prophet assumed authority through Divine commission, nevertheless every adherent to his authority had to pay him homage and allegiance either personally or through representatives.¹ When the Prophet died, and the Divine con-

1. Cf. Wensinck, مفتاح كنوز السنة s. v. بيعة

nexion, through revelation, ceased to exist, the question of succession arose. Three propositions were made, viz., hereditary succession, popular election, diarchy. The Prophet left no male issue, and his nearest kin were a step-uncle and a cousin who was also his son-in-law. As for diarchy it was the proposal of some of the original inhabitants of Madīnah, called the Anṣār, who said: Let there be one ruler from amongst us and another from amongst you, the Meccans (منا أمير ومنكم أمير)¹; and apparently both the rulers had to rule conjointly since it was not possible to divide the territory; or at best it implied the division of jurisdiction of the two rulers according to persons concerned, not places.²

Strict hereditary succession, in the form of the right of the eldest son, does not seem to have ever taken deep root in Islamic polity. The Orthodox Caliphate was not hereditary. Among the Umayyads and Abbasids frequently brothers or cousins succeeded even in the presence of sons. The Ottoman Turks had the curious rule of presuming the eldest member of the royal family as heir. In the Mughal empire of India, more often than not, the sword and capability decided the issue. The case of Radiyah Sultānah of India is almost unique, a case of the succession of the daughter in the presence of several sons.

We may conclude from this and the Orthodox Opinion that either the nomination by the reigning person of his successor, or, failing this a general election by the Pillars of the State (أهل الحل والعقد) is the rule Islam has accepted, whether the nomination is that of the eldest son or not.

In short, form of government and succession to power are immaterial for an independent state. It remains, however, to see what is *independence* and what is *state*?

Independence.

Independence is defined by Ibn Khaldūn³ as ولا تكون فوق يده يد قاهرة

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 1016; Ṭabariy, *History*, I, 1823.

2. The two-rulers theory was rejected by the Muslims of that time not only on the ground of expediency but also because of the rivalries of the Awsites and Khazrajites in the Anṣār clans (cf. Ṭabariy, *History*, I 1843). Yet Muslim history has left at least one instance of it in Ghaznah, in the dynasty of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī:—

چو مودود خونهاى شان بر نشاند	بنه سال جای پدر ملک رانند
وزان پس ازین کاروان رخت برد	کاید جهان دیگران را سپرد
پس ازوی علی و محمد به تخت	بشرکت نشستند از زور و تخت
علی بود فرزند مسعود را	محمد پسر بود مودود را
علی و محمد دران تختگاه	بشرکت چوراندند ملکی دو ماه
شنیدم یکی روز سر لشکران	ز شاهی بکردند معزول شان

Futūḥus-Salāṭīn by 'Iṣāmī, couplets Nos. 1220-25 (ed. Agra, 1938). For another, cf. *infra*, § "Regular parts of dominions and Condominiums."

3. *Prelegomena*, ch. 23 حقیقة الملك.

(the non-existence of any [external] power to enforce its will upon him i.e., an independent sovereign). In other words, it is the right of a state to administer all its internal and external affairs in such a way that it is neither controlled nor interfered with by any foreign power.

The right of a state to freedom of action is but a reflection of the original freedom of every man (الأصل في الناس الحرية).¹ This freedom to conduct state-affairs is only relatively complete. Absolute independence has never existed and is nowhere found in human society. There are natural impediments testifying to the omnipotence of God and weakness of man; there are correlative and reciprocal restrictions such as the respect of equal rights of others; there are contractual limitations of one's liberty, no matter whether accepted originally under force or with mutual will; and there are tacit acquiescences of unilateral declarations if there is no power to resist.

International law cannot apply without the existence of more independent states than one at the same time. As a fact several independent states have simultaneously existed since time immemorial yet the right of this co-existence was not easily conceded in civilisations of by-gone days. The Greeks were told by their national philosophers that nature intended the non-Greeks to be slaves of the Greeks.² The Romans, although they never ruled even one thirtieth of the world, believed that they were the lords of the earth. The world was regarded by them as *orbis Romanus*, and the Romans were designed as the *princeps orbis terrarum populus*.³ Obviously, so long as religions were national, there was no possibility of conceding equality to others, even when they capitulated. The Jewish law, for instance, insisted:—

When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and *they shall serve thee*. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: And when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword: But the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies,⁴ which the Lord thy God hath given thee.⁵

1. Sarakhsiy, شرح السير الكبير IV, 71.

2. Aristotle, *Politics*, bk. 1, ch. 7.

3. Phillipson, *International Law and Custom*, I, 104.

4. Cf. on the contrary, the saying of the Prophet, that spoils were legalised to him for the first time, whereas in former religions they were burnt (Bukhāriy, bk. *Jihād*, ch. legalisation of booty; Tirmidhiy, bk. *Siyar*, ch. booty; شرح السير الكبير, I, 15; Tabariy, *Tafsīr*, under verses 8: 68-69—Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1710).

5. Deuteronomy, xx, 10-14. For a contrast in Muslim law, see the Prophet's instructions in صحيح مسلم V, 139-40.

Islam believed, on the other hand, in the universality of the Divine call with which Muḥammad was commissioned.¹ It was this conviction which led the Muslims to aspire at a world order, but we must distinguish between the domination of a nation based on race or language and between the nation aspiring to establish on earth the kingdom of God,² where His word alone (the Qur'ān, in this case) should reign supreme.³ Obviously for Islam it makes not the slightest difference whether the ruler is an Arab or a Negro⁴ provided he is a Muslim.⁵ The Muslims considered as their own enemies only the enemies of God: the Polytheists, the Associates or the Atheists. They wanted to conquer the world not to plunder it, but peacefully to subjugate it to the religion of "Submission to the Will of God," religion of which they were not the monopolisers but which was open to all the nations to embrace and become equals.⁶ In a word, the Muslim aim was to spread Islamic civilisation and to realise a universal Polity based on the equality of the Faithful and a system which provided the basic necessities of all the needy in the country, irrespective of religion, without in the least impairing private enterprise. (cf. Qur'ān, 9 : 60, 8 : 41).

Yet this did not mean that in the meanwhile they acknowledged no rights to people outside their jurisdiction. The Qur'ān enjoins peace with those who do not want to fight;⁷ the scrupulous respect of treaties concluded with non-Muslims,⁸ and is emphatic on the point that the world belongs to God and He gives His vicegerency to whomever He wills.⁹

State.

States have existed in human society since time immemorial, and not much has changed in the essentials of their functions; and the state officials, from the head to the lowest, have proportionately exercised more or less authority over the commoners and even the lower state-officials in their private capacity. The question of the origin of authority, however, is a disputed question in different schools of thought. Some trace it to the collective will of the political group, some claim Divine descent or even Divine incarnation.

1. Cf. *supra*, part I, ch. viii, c.

2. Qur'ān, 8 : 39.

3. Tirmidhiy bk. *Fadā'il al-jihād*, ch. —: من يقاتل رياءً وللدنيا

"سئل رسول الله عن الرجل يقاتل شجاعة و يقاتل حمية و يقاتل

رياءً فأى ذلك فى سبيل الله ؟ قال من قاتل لتكون كلمة الله هي العليا

4. Al-Kāsānīy, VII 99, Cf. also Bukhari, etc. : ولو أمر عليكم حبشى أ جدد

5. Cf. Qur'ān, 4 : 59. "و أولى الأمر منكم"

6. Qur'ān, 4 : 123, 49 : 10, 3 : 103 ; etc. Cf. also the oration of the Prophet at the Last Pilgrimage in the year 10 H. in Ibn-Hishām, p. 968-70 ; Ya'qūbiy, II, 122-23 ; Jāhiz والبيان, II, 24 f.

7. Qur'ān, 8 : 61.

8. Idem, 4 : 90, 4 : 92, 8 : 72, 17 : 34, 23 : 8, 70 : 32, 2 : 177, 3 : 76, 5 : 1, 9 : 7.

9. Idem, 3 : 26, 6 : 134, 11 : 57, 24 : 55 ; etc.

So far as Islam is concerned, the classical authors have been unanimous that it is a delegation of Divine authority, through the intermediary link of the Messengers or Prophets who receive Divine revelation. It may be called a theocracy. A few typical quotations from the Qur'ān will elucidate the point :—

(a) Lo ! the earth is God's. He giveth it for an inheritance to whom He will. (7 : 128).

(b) And when thy Lord said unto the angels : Lo ! I am about to place a viceroy in the earth. (2 : 30).

(c) [And God said unto him :] O David ! Lo ! We have set thee as a viceroy in the earth ; therefore judge aright between mankind and follow not desire that it beguile thee from the way of God. (38 : 27).

(d) Say : O God ! Owner of Sovereignty (*mulk*) ! Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou withdrawest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is the good. Lo ! Thou art Able to do all things. (3 : 26).

And scores of other verses, supported by the sayings of the Prophet and Orthodox Practice, all tend to the fact that God is the King of the earth and beyond, and He delegates authority, for administration in trust, to man ; and man wields power at His will.

As already remarked, states have existed before the philosophers and political scientists. I need not dilate on the minute discussions of what is a state, according to Muslim scholars, what are the essentials of the *Khilāfat* or the vicegerency of God, and allied questions which might more appropriately be discussed in the history of Muslim political thought. Here it suffices to emphasise two points, (1) acknowledgement of more than one independent state at a time and (2) acknowledgement of more Muslim states than one.

Radīyud-Dīn as-Sarakhsī records the opinion of Abū-Yūsūf and ash-Shaibānī in the following words :—

لهما : -- الدار إنما تنسب
 الى اهلها لثبوت يدهم القاهرة
 عليها وقيام ولايتهم الحافظة فيها
 (المحيط لرضي الدين السرخسي ،
 خطية الى الدين في استنبول ورق ٦٠٥ ب)

They both maintain : a territory is related to its people on account of their controlling hand over it and their establishing protective authority therein.

Regarding the second point, the diversity even of Muslim states, it is to be pointed out that, though essentially Muslims constitute but one "nation,"¹ still not all the Muslims ever lived in Islamic territory, strictly speaking. Even the Qur'ān refers to it several times :—

(a) "It is not for a believer to kill a believer unless it be by mistake.

1. Cf. (Ibn Hishām, p. 341), constitution of the Muslim State in the time of the Prophet, § 2 :

(انهم امة واحدة من دون الناس)

He who hath killed a believer by mistake, must set free a believing slave, and pay the blood-money to the family of the slain, unless they remit it as a charity. *If he (the victim) be of a people hostile unto you, and he is a believer, then the penance is to set free a believing slave. And, if he cometh forth of a folk between whom and you there is a covenant, then the blood-money must be paid unto his folk and also a believing slave must be set free. And whoso hath not the wherewithal, must fast two consecutive months. A penance from God. God is Knower, Wise.*" (4 : 92).

(b) "How should ye not fight for the cause of God and the feeble among men and women and the children who are crying : Our Lord ! bring us forth from out this town of which the people are oppressors ! Oh, give us from Thy presence some protecting friend ! Oh, give us from Thy presence some defender ! . . . They will ask : In what were ye engaged ? They will say : We were oppressed in the land. They will retort : Was not God's earth spacious that ye could have migrated therein ?" (4 : 75, 97).

This question of minorities is so very old.¹ Apart from the Muslim minority in foreign countries, there was, however, in the beginning no possibility of having more than one Muslim state. When Islam spread far and wide, and the Muslims did not form a compact whole with continuous and contiguous frontiers, the division of Islamic territory into many states was inevitable. As a matter of fact, we have also to admit the division caused by civil wars and successful rebellions. So much so that even classical jurists had to acknowledge this fact. Ad-Dabūsīy (d. 430 H.), for instance, is very explicit on the point :—

The distinguishing factor between the Muslim and non-Muslim territories, is the difference of authority and administration. *The same is true of the different principalities even within the Islamic territory which are distinguished from one another by the domination and the execution of authority (i.e. Jurisdiction)*².

لأن الدارين في الأصل ما امتازا
باجراء الاحكام وتنفيذ الولايات و
كذلك الولايات المختلفة في
دار الاسلام بين ملوك الاسلام لا تمتاز
الا بالغلبة و اجراء الاحكام

With the downfall of the Umayyads, Spain became independent of the East. Later, during the decadence of the Abbasid Empire, its provincial governors became hereditary and virtually independent. They could wage war, make peace or conclude other treaties, without reference to the Caliph, and administer all their internal as well as external affairs at their

1. See my article on Muslim colonisation, migration, repatriation and allied topics, in the time of the Prophet and his two successors, in the Hindustani quarterly, سیاست, of Hyderabad, July 1940, under the heading *Hijrat*.

2. Ad-Dabūsīy, كتاب الامرار, fol. 151b, (MS. Waliuddin, Istanbul, No. 1402).

own will. Their nominal allegiance to the Caliph will be dealt with in a later chapter. We shall conclude with one more instance of a curious kind. It is recorded that the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd created a buffer-state in North Africa, in a country where three realms met, the Abbasid Empire, the Idrisite Kingdom and the Umayyad Dominions of Spain ; and handed, it over to the family of Aghlabites who exercised full independence with this exception that they recited the name of the Caliph of Baghdād in the Friday Sermons in cathedral mosques.¹

We have seen that an independent state must be immune from foreign intervention. It may briefly be dealt with.

Intervention.

Independence gives the *right* of immunity from external interference. But rights and obligations are correlated to each other. Immunity requires abstention also from intervening in others' affairs. Yet there are times when intervention is justified :

1. In self-defence.
2. In preventing an evil worse than meddling into others' affairs.

To intervene in self-defence may amount to retaliation or repudiation of the existing treaty for which sanction is forthcoming both in the Qur'ān² and the practice of the Prophet.³ It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a punitive act and an intervention. Coercion or threat of coercion, naked or veiled, lies at the root of intervention ; and an unwilling submission on the part of the subject of intervention is necessary. Once some Christian subjects had fled from Muslim territory and taken refuge in a Byzantine region. The Caliph 'Umar's intervention was the reason of their repatriation by the Byzantine Emperor.⁴

Intervention on the ground of humanity, or *in the path of God*, as the Muslim authors call it, is not unknown ; it is even upheld as the very first duty of a Muslim :—

Ye are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct, and forbid indecency ; and ye believe in God.⁵

And let there be a people from among you who invite to do goodness, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful.⁶

1. Farid Rifā'iy, عصر المأمون , 1, 128 ff.

2. Cf. for instance, 8 : 56-58.

3. I refer to the conquest of Mecca as a direct sequence of Meccans' maltreatment of the allies of the Muslims. (Ibn-Hishām, pp. 802 ff. ; Tabariy, *History*, I. 1621 ff. ; and other biographies of the Prophet).

4. Tabariy, I, 3508.

5. Qur'ān, 3 : 110.

6. Idem 3 : 104.

And several other verses. Of the sayings of the Prophet, I shall quote but one :—

Whoever from among you sees an indecency (*munkar*), let him change it by his hand ; if he cannot, let him do that by his tongue ; if he cannot, let him do that by his heart (through disapproval, prayer to God, etc.) but this last would testify to the extreme weakness of Faith.¹

The basis of intervention, however, has been provided in the Quranic dictum, " discord is worse than slaughter " ² and in the legal maxim *يختار أهون الشرين* (the lesser of two evils should be preferred).³

Muslim juriconsults maintain that intervention by a Muslim state even in another Muslim state is necessary if the latter sets aside some significant command of the *Shari'ah*.⁴ Public despising of the Orthodox Caliphs by some of the *Shi'ites*, was also one of the authorised grounds to the *Sunnīs* for intervention ; it was considered to amount to apostasy.⁵

We must distinguish between intervention on the one hand and protest, advice, good offices, mediation and arbitration on the other. Mere protest,⁶ falling short of any active interference to rectify the act done, is but an expression of feeling. In advice,⁷ friendly suggestion is tendered in all good faith without any sanction behind it to carry it out. By good offices and mediation,⁸ we understand the act of maintaining contact with both the conflicting parties and providing them both with a means of negotiation and pacific settlement. In arbitration,⁹ both the conflicting parties place their case in the hands of a referee whose award they previously agree to execute. In none of them is there coercion or forceful carrying out of one's will which is so essential to intervention.

CHAPTER III

Property

LIKE private individuals, states, too, may and do own property.

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, I, 50.

2. *Qur'ān*, 2 : 191.

3. *مَجْلَةُ الْأَحْكَامِ الْعَدْلِيَّةِ* ch. I, maxims ; *سِرَ الْكَبِيرِ* Sarakhsiy, iv, 46 ; iii, 332, etc.

4. See any law compendium, ch. Authorised grounds for waging war.

5. *فَتَاوَى الْعَلَكَبَرِيَّةِ* , § Apostates.

6. The attitude of the Prophet (Ṭabariy, *History* I, 1572) at the reception accorded to his letter and his envoy by the Emperor of Persia, may not amount to more than a mere protest and expression of disgust at the violation of international comity.

7. In modern times, there are more cases of this kind than in classical times.

8. For a case in the time of the Prophet, see Ṭabariy, *anno* 1, p. 1265 ; Ibn Hishām, p. 419.

9. Ibn-Hishām, p. 669-70, 673 (Case of Quraizah) ;—Dinawariy, p. 196-99 ;—Ṭabariy, *History*, I, 3336-38 (case of 'Aily and Mu'āwiyah).

The first thing a state owns is territory. The relation of state with territory is so close that a state without definite territory is even inconceivable. Even the *de jure* rulers in exile possess defined territories to which they lay claim.

By territory is here meant not only the surface of the part of the earth over which a state exercises its jurisdiction, but what is below it and what is above it, comprising thus land, water and air. Obviously, in ancient times, when science had not developed so much, states laid claim over only so much of the creation of God as they could directly dominate. By the time Islam made its appearance, man had already conquered water as well as the subterranean treasures of nature such as minerals. Regarding air, there were neither aeroplanes nor radio broadcasts. Nevertheless the Arab jurists believed that everything above or below a territory belonged to it. It was thus that they prohibited the construction of private buildings over or below public bequests such as mosques, schools, etc.¹ With water we shall have to deal later on.

No doubt, the theocratic basis of Muslim polity denies a state absolute ownership—as distinguished from relative ownership or trusteeship for God—in territory; nevertheless, for all practical purposes, there is no difference between the powers of a Muslim state and those of a state which does not believe in God, regarding its territory. In view of the ultimate ownership of God, it not only implies that the human ownership of a Muslim state should be a mere trusteeship and administratorship, but also Divine origin of the rights of a sovereign. A sovereign authority is declared in the words of the Prophet as the "shadow of God," and whoever despises it, despises, so to say, God himself.² It is to be noted, however, that in spite of this Divine appointment, the Muslim ruler is not a despot: he is, first of all, as much subject to the laws of the country, (the *Shari'at* itself having a Divine origin, and not vaguely but in concrete form of Qur'ān and Sunnah), as any other commoner from among his subjects; further, the ruler is maintained in power by the collective might of the community; he may even be deposed³ by the community on the

1. See any law compendium, ch. waqf.

2. Cf. Ṭayālīsīy, No. 887; Ibn Ḥanbal, V. 42, 48 and especially 165.

3. Sarakhṣīy, المبسوط, X, 93; Kāsānīy: ولاي حنيفة... تحت يدا مام المسلمين و يده يد جماعة المسلمين; Ibn-Khaldūn, Proleg. VII, 16: وكل ما يخرج الوكيل عن الوكالة... فهو الفرق بين العزل والموت; cf. al-Ḥuṭai'ah (d. 30 H.) mourning on the murder of 'Umar: راجعة الى اختيار اهل القدر والحل ch. 26: —cf. the curious opinion of

انت الامام الذى من بعد صاحبه
ألقى اليك مقاليد النهى البشر
لم يوثروك بها اذا قد موك لها
لكن لا تفهم كانت بك الأثر

—cf. 'Alīy 'Abd ar-Rāziq, الاسلام واصول الحكم (Cairo, 1343 H.)—cf. the curious opinion of Dirār-ibn-'Amr on the preference of non-Quraishites for the Caliphate, in: فرق الشيعة, p. 10.

principle that the Hand of God is on the community (يدالله على الجماعة) and that the community cannot agree to a wrong (لايجمع امتى على الضلالة) or *vox populi vox dei*.

Unlike other systems of jurisprudence where the individual owns property in lands as a delegated authority or trustee, all land of a territory being vested in the state, Islamic jurists have opined that every individual owner has the same Divine authority, and the supervising authority of the state is only a symbol or a manifestation of the collective authority of the community. Abū-Ḥanīfah, for instance, is reported to have said :

All parts of the Muslim territory are under the authority of the *Imām* (Ruler) of the Muslims, and his authority is the authority of the community of the Muslims.³

We have seen that a state always owns territory⁴—details of which will be given presently—yet that is not all. A state may and always does own things other than territory, such as buildings, means of transport, money, stores, books, etc. International law applies to them in so far as their acquisition by one from another, through pacific or hostile methods, and their disposal, are concerned.

But territory, that essence and cream of a state's property, requires further elucidation.

Boundaries.

Boundaries have always been a very difficult question to settle in international intercourse. They are defined through prescription as well as express treaties between the neighbouring states. If there is a river or lake on the frontier, the boundaries of the states will extend to meet each other in the middle of the water unless otherwise settled by prescription or express treaty.⁵

It is a general and admitted principle of Muslim law that water will be an appurtenant to adjoining land and not *vice versa*.⁶ That is, a state which possesses a tract of land bounded by water, will *prima facie* be presumed to possess also the adjoining water—a lake for example ; and not that the state which possesses water, is entitled to the proprietary rights of the adjoining land.

1. Tirmidhiy, ch. في الامام

2. *Ibid.*

3. as-Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 93.

4. The derelict and unowned land also belongs to the state (*Amwāl* of Abū-'ubaid, § 674, 690.)

5. Muslim Jurists recognise this regarding private property (cf. any compendium under *ch. كتاب الشرب*)

The same must apply to international cases.

6. Cf. Kāsānīy, بدائع, VI, 189-90 ; and others in *loco*.

Open Sea.

Obviously open sea cannot be treated as ordinary watercourse or lake. Early writers scarcely mention it in this connexion. Post-classical jurists have a difference of opinion whether it should be considered as no-man's property or non-Muslim territory. In either case, they argue on the basis of control that could be exercised. Ibn-'Ābidīn, while describing the capture of Muslim property by the enemy and rendering it safe through taking it to their territory, analyses the opinions of different jurists on the subject :—

"...if they (i.e., enemy) take it to the safety of their territory. The enemy territory includes the Salt Sea (Open Sea) and the like, for instance a desert beyond which there is no Islamic territory. This opinion has been attributed to al-Ḥamawīy (d. 1098). Abus-Su'ūd, writing notes on the commentary of al-Ḥamīlīy's in verse, says that the surface of sea will be considered as non-Muslim territory. Ash-Sharanbilālīy (born 1069 H. author of *غنية ذوى الأحكام فى بغية درالحكام*) records in his chapter on tithes that Sirāj ad-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Alīy al-Kinānīy, known as the *Reader of Hidāyah*, was asked whether the Salt Sea would be considered as part of Muslim territory or non-Muslim territory? He replied : It belongs to neither category since, none has control over it. Al-Ḥaskafīy in his *الدر المنتقى* (compiled in 1080 as a commentary of *ملتى الأبحر* by Ibrahīm al-Ḥalabīy) opines that the salt sea should be included in non-Muslim territory."¹

The same author mentions in another place² :—

"The author of *النور* says that all that appertains neither to Muslim territory nor to non-Muslim territory should be included in non-Muslim territory, for instance the Salt Sea over which no one has control. . . . Apart from this, the Salt Sea will be treated as non-Muslim territory. So, if a non-Muslim subject of Muslim state goes thereto without permission, will become a subject of non-Muslim state and his allegiance will be cut off. Again, if a subject of a non-Muslim state goes thereto and returns to Islamic territory before reaching home, the old permit will no longer be valid ; his belongings will again be taxed."

It is clear from this discussion that the opinion of these jurists was based on the difficulty of exercising power over it with their small sailing boats. They admit implicitly that Muslim jurisdiction extends to what they can control. In later times the Turks, for instance, have exercised their jurisdiction over the Black Sea, and no Muslim jurists have denied the validity of it

1. Ibn 'Ābidīn, *رد المحتار شرح الدر المختار*, III, 266-67.

2. *Idem*, II, 423-24.

In connexion with territorial waters, a saying of the Prophet, in quite general and all-embracing terms, may be referred to. He is reported to have laid down that "every land has its appurtenance forbidden [to other than the proprietor]" (انه صلى الله عليه وسلم جعل لكل أرض حرماً).¹ The rule has been developed regarding municipal law so as to apply to wells, roads, waterways, canals, houses, etc.,² yet it does not seem to have been developed and worked out so as to apply to international law, more particularly to open sea. And probably there was then no need even. According to Muslim jurisprudence even the sea has been put into man's control:—

And He it is Who hath constrained the sea to be of service that ye eat fresh meat from thence, and bring forth from thence ornaments which ye wear. And thou seest the ships ploughing it that ye may seek of His bounty and ye may give [Him] thanks.³

And if the Muslim state can snatch control over part of it from anybody else, it will become part of Muslim territory. However, it is to be noted that Muslim jurists have always made a distinction between what they consider of public utility and private utility. A thing of public utility cannot be given in monopoly to private individuals:—

All the Muslims join in the utilisation of Tigris and Euphrates and any other big river like them or valley from which they water the soil or use for drinking purposes of man and beast. . . . The maintenance of such big rivers and repairing their banks is on the public treasury. The big rivers are not like particular rivulets belonging to private persons where others cannot enter. . . . Tigris and Euphrates are not like that, and anybody who likes to water his soil from them can do that at will; boats pass in them; right of pre-emption does not arise on account of mere joining in the utilisation of their water.⁴

The Prophet himself prohibited more than once the giving in jagir (fief) of things in which there is common interest.⁵

International waterways and canals were contemplated in classical times, one even to join the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, though never undertaken for fear of strategic complications. I do not hesitate to maintain, that had they been projected and achieved, they would not have been different from ordinary canals and rivers, with full exercise of jurisdiction and proprietary rights and complete control over traffic. The famous canal from Cairo to the Red Sea constructed in the time of Caliph 'Umar, suggests to us the treatment that would have been

1. Abū-Yūsuf, *الخراج*, p. 57; al-Kāsānīy, *بدائع الصنائع*, VI, 195.

2. Abū-Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, p., 57.

3. Qur'ān, 16: 14.

4. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 55-56.

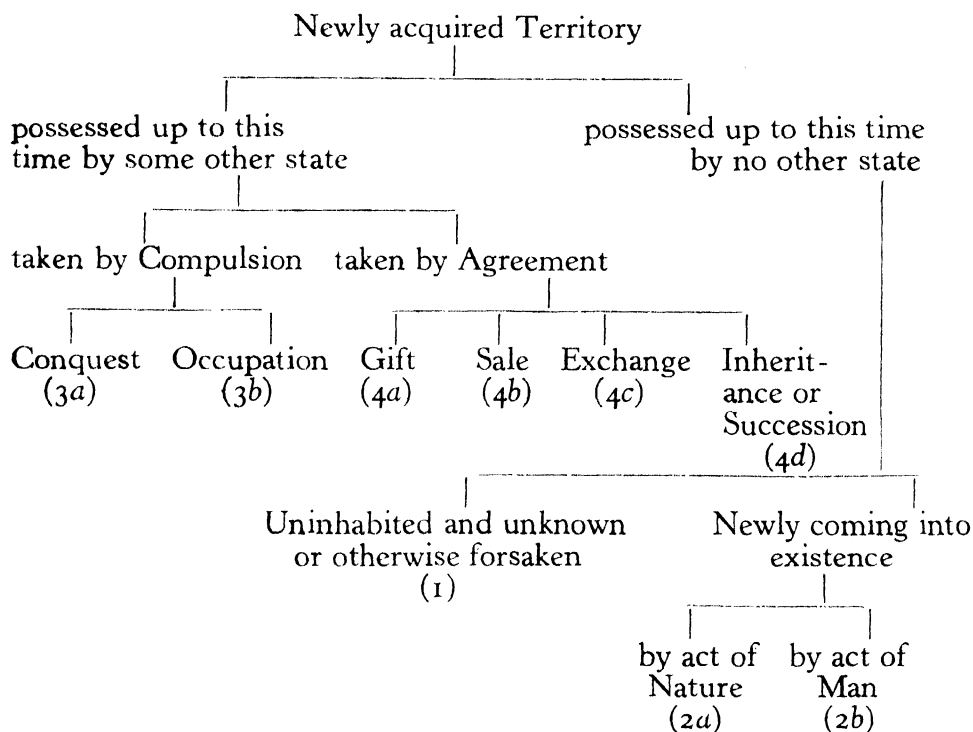
5. For one case cf. Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 58 and Ibn-'Abd-al-Barr, *استيعاب* No. 3431; for another.

Abū-'Ubaid, *كتاب الاموال*, § 683, 693.

meted out to it if it¹ had been extended down to Farama² near Port Sa'id. The canals and rivers and other waterways in Muslim territories were open to all peaceful traffic, and if foreigners brought anything from their country through waterways, they were taxed with the usual dues.³

Modes of acquiring Territory.

Modes of acquiring new territory by a Muslim state may be divided as follow :—



(1) Territory not yet occupied by any state owing either to new discovery or for want of being cared for on account of its remoteness or some other reason, may be acquired by occupation. There is no case of this kind in early Muslim history except one when some Arabs reached a new and unknown island by stress of weather and afterwards related wonderful stories to the Prophet.⁴ Annexation could obviously not be expected. In later travel literature, there are frequent references to discovery of new islands by those hardy Muslim sailors who dared undertake

1. Tabariy, *History*, I, 2577; Suyutiyy, *Husn al-nuḥāḍarah*, ch. *Khaliḥ* amir al-mu'minin.

2. Cf. Mas'ūdiyy, *الذهب*, (ed. Egypt), I, 270; Abu'l-Fidā' *تقويم* p. 106.

3. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharrāj*, p. 78.

4. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, 52 : 119-22.

voyages from Persia and Egypt to China in tiny boats to the envy of modern navigators, but no instance of occupation is known to me. Even the discovery of America by the Arabs¹ has not left anything of interest from the point of view of international law except that colonisation had just begun. The history of Muslim occupation of the South Seas and the thousands of islands in Oceania is yet to be written to provide us with necessary data.

(2) Lands coming newly into existence may be of two kinds : those which came into being by act of nature, and those by act and art of man. In the former, we may include islands raised up by convulsion of earth or alluvial deposits of a river or even by the change of a river's course. Artificial reclamations of water-covered areas are old enough to be mentioned by Abū-Yūsuf.²

If natural accretion happens within the territorial limits of one state—the nearer half of a boundary river included—and has caused no damage to any other state, it requires no formal occupation in an international sense. If an island comes up in a place where the imaginary boundary line crosses through it, it must be proportionately divided and distributed between the neighbouring states concerned or otherwise the matters should be settled through treaty stipulations.

But if the natural accretion has happened at the expense of another state—as, for instance, through change of a river's course—Muslim municipal law says³ that the accretion must go to the one in whose possessions it has happened, yet he must pay compensation to the sufferer in proportion to his gain. This is based on the principle expressed in the maxims that “gain is with sufferance” (الغنى مع الغرم) and “injury must be removed” (الضرر يزال).⁴ The Muslim jurists will apply the same rule to international disputes.

Yet if the changing of a river's course is so great that it has become a territorial river instead of a boundary river, the line of boundary must lie in its old bed, for :—

Thy Lord bringeth to pass what He willeth and chooseth. They (i.e., human beings) have never any choice. Glorified be God and exalted above all that they associate (with Him).⁵

And it becometh not a believing man or a believing woman, when God and His Messenger have decided an affair (for them), that they should after that claim anything in their affair ; and

1. Sulaimān Nadwī, *عرب اور امریکہ* (cf. the Hindustānī monthly *Ma'ārif*, A'zamgarh, March and April 1939 ; *Islamic Culture*, July, 1939, pp. 382-383).

2. *Kharāj*, p. 52-53 (ch. Islands in Tigris and Euphrates) ; Yahyā-ibn-Ādam al-Qurashīy, *Kharāj*, p. 15.

3. *نشر مجلة الاحكام العدلية*, Vol. I, in loco.

4. *مجلة الاحكام العدلية*, ch. I, Maxims.

5. *Qur'ān*, 28 : 68.

whoso is rebellious to God and His Messenger, he verily goeth astray in error manifest.¹

There are many cases in Muslim history of a river's changing its course,² 'Amūdaryā (Oxus) for example, but whether these events ever produced interstatal complications I am unaware.

Artificial reclamation has nearly the same bearing. If it can be achieved without others' suffering in any way, no right of interference accrues to anybody. Otherwise, it will require previous settlement through express stipulation.

(3) Forcefully acquiring a territory possessed by some other state may be either through war and conquest or even mere occupation without encountering any resistance on the part of the occupied. Mere conquest does not amount to annexation : it requires intention to annex. For it is possible that conquest and occupation was carried out on behalf of some allied and friendly state, or merely temporarily to compel the opponent state to mend some wrong. Secondly, it requires continuous and uninterrupted governance and the exercise of sovereign rights combined with firm possession.

(4) Territorial acquisition through mutual consent may either be through gift, exchange, sale or inheritance. Gifts, especially as dowries, have left many instances, at least in the history of Muslim India.³ Exchange of territories has also occurred many a time⁴ mostly for strengthening boundaries. An instance of sale is recorded during the reign of Caliph 'Umar II of the Umayyad dynasty, who purchased Malaṭīyah from the Byzantines, giving in exchange a hundred-thousand prisoners of war.⁵ A case of inheritance was provided for in the treaty of cession concluded between al-Ḥasan and Mu'āwīyah, by which the former handed over to the latter all his possessions on the condition that he should be declared heir-apparent to the whole dominions of the latter.⁶

Various Kinds of Territories under Power of a State.

A state does not always exercise similar powers over all parts of its territory. A few instances will illustrate the point :

1. Qur'ān, 33 : 36.

2. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s. v. Amu-Darya ; Barthold, *Turkistan*, in loco, (vide index thereto).

3. In the year 1564 the fort of Shōlāpūr was handed over by Nizāmshāh to 'Adilshāh.

4. Abul-Fidā, *History*, (ed. Europe), III, 264, 464, 608 ; IV, 36, 56.

5. Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad-ibn-Salāmah-ibn-Ja'far, *عيون المعارف و فنون أخبار الخلائف*

(MS. Topkapusarai, Istanbul, No. 2791, copied in 748 from a MS. written in 422 H.), fol. 77a :—

”عمر بن عبد العزيز . . . واشترى ملطية من الروم بمائة ألف أسير و بناها ،“

6. This clause of the treaty is recorded by few , Tabariy not included.

(a) *Regular parts of Dominions and Condominiums.*

Every such part of the territory of a state is under its direct control, no matter whether possessed since antiquity or newly added, whether populated or waste, civilised or nomadic and even barbarous. A state may consist at the same time of all or several of these kinds of lands.

Abul-Fida records a case of condominium which lasted for a long time (فملکوا معاً مدیدة).¹

(b) *Tributary Independent States.*

For want of a better term, we mean by this the non-Muslim states from which a Muslim state received tribute, by the exercise of compulsion. This does not involve protection by the Muslim state of the tributary state against aggression of third powers, but it secures itself from attack on the part of the Muslim state. Apart from this obligation of tribute, the non-Muslim state remains completely independent, the tribute symbolising only a sort of inferiority and weakness. Thus, for instance, Theodimir agreed to pay yearly tribute to the Arab conquerors of the first century of Hijrah while at the same time retained his independence.² So also under the Abbasid al-Manşūr and all his successors down to al-Mu'tasim, the Emperors of Constantinople paid tribute more or less regularly to Baghdād. Caliph al-Mahdī received tribute from the Empress Irene, and Hārūn ar-Rashīd not only received tribute but also capitation tax (*jizyah*) from the Emperor Nicephorus and his family.³ Yet in all such cases the internal and external autonomy of the tributary state did not suffer.

There is even a case of dual subjection to tribute. Caliph Mu'āwiyah subjugated Cyprus and concluded peace on the condition that Cyprus should yearly pay a certain tribute notwithstanding the fact that it also paid tribute to the Byzantine emperor. It was further stipulated that the people of Cyprus should remain sincere and well-wishers of the Muslims and should keep them informed of the movements of the Byzantine.⁴

(c) *Nominally Dependent.*

By this we mean the Muslim independent states which came into being when the authority of the Abbasid Caliphs could not exert itself.

1. Abul-Fidā', *History*, under the year § 588 A.H. Cf. also *supra*, § "Independence."

2. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, V, 566; S. P. Scot, *Moorish Empire in Europe*, Urdu trans., I, 263.

3. Do do VI, 39-40; Farid Rifā'iy, *عصر المأمون*, I, 129; Shibli, *المأمون*, ch. Contemporary States.

4. Abū-'Ubaid, *كتاب الاموال*, § 467; Balādhurīy, *فتوح*, § Cyprus; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, III, 74-75, 107.

We may include in this category even the Spanish states until 'Abdar-Rahmān an-Nāṣir assumed the title of the "Commander of the Faithful,"¹ reserved for only one person at a time for the whole of the Muslim world. More pre-eminently this is true of the states in the East. They were originally provinces of the empire of the Caliph, and had gradually become independent, so much so that they gave birth to dynasties of rulers. In spite of full independence that they enjoyed, they publicly acknowledged their allegiance to the Caliph of Baghdād in the weekly Friday sermons in the cathedral mosques and also at the two yearly 'Id festivals.² Often the name of the Caliph was struck on the coins of these states.³ The succession was for long considered incomplete without the charter or letter patent of the Caliph.⁴ The titles of honour were jealously and eagerly sought after.⁵ This is true not only of the provinces of the Caliphate which became independent but also of the Muslim states founded and conquered by private individuals at their own initiative, and nevertheless they believed themselves bound to pay homage to the Caliph, such as the states in India. To this list we may add the name of states whose sovereigns embraced Islam and paid homage to the Caliph, for instance the King of Bulgars in the year 310 H.⁶ In all these cases the dependence, if at all we may term it so, was more personal and institutional than political and actual. It cannot, however, be denied that the Caliph did at times exercise a moral influence over the policies of these independent states, as for instance, in the year 757 H. the influence of the Caliph was sufficient to prevent Fērōz Shāh, in such a far off country as India, from attacking Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī who had obtained intercession of the Caliph in his favour somehow or other.⁷

History has recorded the curious and even paradoxical cases when some of these provincial, independent governors sometimes even Shī'ahs, captured Baghdād, the very seat of the Caliphate, ruled over it as part of their territory and yet paid homage to the Caliph.⁸ The Aiyūbid Salāḥud-

1. "In the beginning they were styled as خلفاء and not خلايف" cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, (ed. Egypt), I, 70.

2. Ibn Ḥawqal, *المسالك والممالك*, pp. 227-28; Ibn-Jubair, *رحلة*, pp. 50-51.

3. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1885, pp. 215-27 coins of the dynasties of Ghulāmān, Tughlaq, Khiljī, Lūdhī, Jōnpūr, Mālwah, Bengal (بهمنی محمد), II, of 924). Cf. also *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II, published 1907, pp. 20 ff; *Catalogue of Indian Coins in British Museum*, Part "Muslim Countries," 1885; etc.

4. Muḥammad Ḥabīb, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī*, pp. 3-4.

5. Even by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, as recorded by his biographers.

6. Yāqūt, *معجم البلدان*, s. v. Bulghār. Even Ibn-Faḍlallāh gives in 764 H. the name of the ruler of Bulghār in the list of Muslim kings (cf. his *التعريف بالمصطلح الشريف*, in *loco*).

7. 'Abdal-Jabbār, *محبوب الوطن*, p. 239. (It is a history of South India).

8. I refer to the Shī'ah Būhids and Sunni Saljucids.

dīn the Great was rightly and meritoriously given the proud title of The Reviver of the Kingdom of the Commander of the Faithful (محي دولة).¹ (أمير المؤمنين)

(d) *Protected States.*

By this we mean those part-sovereign or non-sovereign states which obey the dictates of their protector in many matters of policy, being in return entitled to protection from the suzerain and protecting state. The protecting state exercises a certain amount of control, yet does not govern directly the protected country where the local prince continues to rule. The Prophet had addressed missionary letters to many a foreign prince in which this characteristic phrase occurred: "If you submit, I shall leave intact the power you exercise."² Of those who were addressed in this way, the rulers of Bahrain and 'Umān accepted the Call, and the Prophet sent to their Courts *Residents* who exercised certain functions, had exclusive jurisdiction over the Muslims in those countries, and at the same time the local rulers retained their power in the residuary matters. In later history of Islam, however, there are innumerable instances of protectorates with varying grades of power exercised by the suzerain power, in India as well as elsewhere.

(e) *Sphere of Influence.*

By this we understand a country which is marked by a state for future domination but, which it does not consider ripe enough for immediate annexation. In such cases, generally there are either express or tacit agreements with other possible rivals who first disclaim any interest of theirs in the country concerned, and gradually all connexions are severed between the sphere of influence and the rest of the world except the dominant state which at last occupies it at a proper time.

There is an instance of this kind in the history of India, probably not the only one of its kind:—

In the year 939 H. they (i.e., Nizām Shāh درمئة تسع و ثلاثين و تسع and 'Ādil Shāh) met together on the frontier, and after much negotiation so decided مائة در سرحد ملاقات دادند و بعد از گفت و شنید بسیار

1. Ibn-Jubair, رحلته, pp. 50-51; also an epigraphic monument on the Southern side of the Dome of the Rock (نبة الصخرة) in Jerusalem, inscribed by Ṣalāḥuddīn the Great, visited by me in 1932.

2. With slight difference in the way of expression the same phrase was addressed to Mundhir-ibn-Sāwā of Bahrain, Hawdhah-ibn-'Alī of Yamāmah and Jaifar and 'Abd, both of 'Umān. The phrase "Submit and you will be safe," was also addressed to the Emperors Negus, Heracleus and Chosroes. For texts see my Arabic or French Corpus or Ibn-Ṭūlūn, Ibn-Sa'd, Qalqashandī, Ibn-Kathīr, etc. The expression "submit" (أسلم) may also mean "embrace Islam."

that Nizām Shāh should subdue and annex چنان مقرر کردند که نظام شاه
the country of Berar, and 'Ādil Shāh the مملکت برار و عادل شاه
dominion of Telenganah, thus dividing مملکت تلنگانه را مسخر ساخته
Southern India equally between each other.¹ دکن را میان یکدیگر
متساوی بخش کنند

The chief point agreed upon, in this treaty, was that one would not interfere if the other conquered the territory allotted to him and would recognise as the sphere of his influence and his interest.

Neutralisation and No-Man's-Land.

That there exist tracts of land, especially on the frontiers, where neither of the neighbouring states exercises authority has been known to classical Muslim jurists. Thus, Raḍīy-ud-Dīn as-Sarakhsīy writes that a Muslim subject, temporarily residing in a belligerent state, may bring under his protection an enemy person to Muslim territory; and such a person will be considered as a bona fide resident alien, because, although the protection given by a Muslim, residing in belligerent country, is void, yet,

as soon as they have arrived at a place ... انهما لما وصلوا الى موضع
between the two territories, *where no one* فاصل بين الدارين لا يد لأحد
has authority, they are relieved of the juris- عليه فقد خرجا من منعة أهل
diction of the belligerent state, and the الحرب وصح أمان المسلم فيه
protection given her by the Muslim be- اياها وهي لاتصير مأخوذة
comes valid and she cannot be taken pris- بدار الاسلام ما لم تصل الى موضع
oner under Muslim authority unless she had يأمن فيه المسلمون
reached a place where the Muslims find
themselves safe (i.e., Muslim territory).²

CHAPTER IV

Jurisdiction

IN time of peace many things as well as persons come under the jurisdiction of a state :

1. Things :

(a) Property of the Government as well as of its subjects situated within the territory of a state,

1. تاریخ فرشته , (printed at Poona, 1247 H.) II, 212.

2. المحيط , Vol. I, fol. 603b (MS. Waliuddin, No. 1356, Istanbul).

- (b) Property within territorial waters,
- (c) Ships, etc., belonging to the state or its subjects on open sea or in the air,
- (d) Embassies in foreign countries ;
- 2. Persons :
 - (a) Muslim subjects residing within the state,
 - (b) Non-Muslim subjects within the state,
 - (c) Subjects residing temporarily in a foreign country,
 - (d) Citizens of one Muslim State in another,
 - (e) Muslim citizens of a non-Muslim State,
 - (f) Resident aliens in Muslim territory.

The jurisdiction is not alike regarding each and every of them.

Things.

There is not much to say regarding *Things*. Cases arising regarding these *things* will be adjudicated by judges of the Muslim State according to Muslim law. We have dealt with the abnormal no man's land in the previous chapter. More on the non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim State will be discussed in the following section, under *Persons*. Contracts, mortgages, etc., will also be dealt with there.

Persons.

(a) *Muslim subjects at home.*

The first category of persons does not belong to our subject except in so far as the naturalisation of foreigners is concerned. According to the Qur'ānic principle that "The believers are naught else than brothers,"¹ it implies that as soon as a Muslim migrates from his non-Muslim home and comes to Islamic territory, with the intention of residing there, he at once becomes a full-fledged Muslim citizen of the Muslim State ; he has the same rights as the other Muslim citizens and the same obligations as they. We may refer in this connexion to the oft-quoted instructions of the Prophet in which he commanded : " Ask them to embrace Islam. If they comply, molest them no more but ask them to migrate to the Territory of Migration. If they do that, they will have the same rights as the migrants (i.e., Muslims) and same obligations as they. If they refuse to migrate, inform them that they will be considered like the wandering or non-resident Muslims (كأعراب المسلمين). They will have, however, to observe the Divine laws even as all the believers ; they will not share the booty

1. Qur'ān, 49 : 10.

and spoils captured by the Muslim armies except when they come and join in fight along with them."¹

I may refer to a rule which has some bearing on the question. If a Muslim travels abroad, he gets a concession regarding the length of his five daily services, yet if he decides to stay in a place for fifteen days, he becomes a settled resident and the concession is withdrawn. This rule, called the rule of *qaṣr aṣ-ṣalāt*, is based on a Qur'ānic verse² with many amplifications on the authority of the Prophet. I mean to emphasise that a foreign Muslim required originally only the intention of at least a fortnight's stay to become a settled and regular citizen. In quite recent times, however, geographic nationalities are making certain discriminations, and even the orthodox Sa'ūdian Arabia has promulgated laws as to how a foreign Muslim may acquire citizenship in her dominions. Prevalent international conditions have necessitated that.

(b) *Non-Muslim subjects at home.*

Muslim law has maintained a considerable distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. In many respects the latter are better off. They are exempt from the surplus property tax (*zakāt*)³ which all the Muslims, male or female, young or old, pay every year at the rate of 2½ per cent. on their cash, commercial goods, herds of cattle, etc., above the minimum of about O.S. Rs. 40 (£ 2-10). They are also exempt from conscription,⁴ whereas all Muslims are subject to compulsory military service. They enjoy a sort of autonomy: their cases are adjudicated by their co-religionists in accordance with their personal law.⁵ Their life and property is protected by the Muslim State even as those of the Muslim subjects.⁶ In return for all this, they are required to pay annually from 12 to 48 drachmas (about two to eight rupees) per head, with several exceptions as under:

"The capitation tax is exacted only from males. Women and minors are exempted. The rich have to pay 48 drachmas, the man with average means 24, and the one practising handicraft for livelihood, like the peasant, 12 only, which will be collected from them

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, V, 139-40.

2. Qur'ān, 4: 101. Cf. also Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, regarding the same verse.

3. *Aṣh-Shaibānī*, كتاب الأصل, ch. الصلح, (MS. Ayā Sōfiā No. 1076, Istanbul); 'Abdal-'Aziz-ibn-Muḥammad ar-Raḥabīy, شرح كتاب الخراج لأبي يوسف, fol. 247b (MS. Lālēlī No. 1609, Istanbul); Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 70.

4. Cf. Ṭabarī, *History*, I, 2497, 2665.

5. Qur'ān, 5: 44-48. For practice in the time of Caliph 'Umar, see *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie Écclésiastique*, s. v. Antioche, Col. 594. For rights and duties of such communal chiefs of a later time see Ibn-Faḍlallāh al-'Umarīy, التعليل بالمصطلح الشريف, pp. 142-46.

6. Commands of the Prophet cited by Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 71.

once a year. Instead of cash, they may pay the value. . . Further the capitation tax is not exacted from the indigent (محتاج) who receive charities, nor from the blind who have no profession and do not work, nor from the chronically sick receiving charities, nor from the crippled—except those chronically sick and crippled and blind who are rich—nor from the monks in convents. . . , nor from the very old who can neither work nor have wealth, nor from the lunatic . . . And O Commander of the Faithful ! May God help thee ! It is necessary that thou shouldst treat the *people who were protected* by thy Prophet and thy cousin Muḥammad (i.e., the non-Muslim subjects) with leniency, and inquirest about their conditions so that they are neither oppressed nor given trouble nor taxed beyond their capacity, nor any thing of theirs is taken from them except with a duty encumbering them. For it is reported from the Messenger of God who said : Whoever oppresseth a non-Muslim subject or taxeth him beyond his capacity, then I shall be a party to him. And the last words which the Caliph 'Umar-ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb uttered at his death-bed, included the following : I exhort my successor regarding the treatment to be meted out to the *people protected* by the Messenger of God (i.e., non-Muslim subjects) : They should receive the fullest execution of their covenant, and their life and property should be defended even by going to war, and they should not be taxed beyond their capacity. . . . Once 'Umar passed along a street where somebody was asking for charity. He was old and blind. 'Umar tapped his shoulder from behind and said : From which community art thou ? He replied : A Jew. He said : And what hath constrained thee to what I see thee in ? He replied : I have to pay the capitation tax ; I am poor ; and I am old. At this 'Umar took him by the hand and led him to his own house and gave him something from his private coffers. Then he sent word to the cashier of the *Baitul-Māl* (State Treasury) : Look at him and his like. By God ! We should never be doing justice if we eat out his youth and leave him deserted in the old age. 'The government taxes are meant for the poor and the indigent' (Qur'ān, 9 : 60)—the *poor* are the Muslims, and this one is an *indigent* from among the Scripturaries. And 'Umar remitted the capitation tax from him and his like.'¹

Again, slaves are also exempted for this tax.² If the non-Muslim subjects render military service, at their will, they are exempted from it during the years of active service.³ There are instances when this tax was remitted during a whole lifetime for meritorious public service, as for

1. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, pp. 69-72.

2. Ibn-Rushd, *بدایة المجتهد*, I, 371.

3. Tabariy, *History*, I, 2497, 2665.

instance the Caliph 'Umar did when a non-Muslim subject helped in selecting the site for digging a canal from Cairo to Red Sea.¹

According to a will of the Prophet, non-Muslims are not to be permitted to settle in Arabia proper,² otherwise there are no restrictions on their movements and domiciles. If non-Muslim foreigners want to settle in Muslim territory permanently or for more than a year, they have to pay this "protection tax."

The law of the capitation tax was originally laid down by the Qur'ān³ regarding the Scriptuaries (أهل الذمة or أهل الكتاب). This term is interpreted as applying to the Jews and the Christians. The Qur'ān is silent in this connexion regarding other non-Islamic creeds. The practice of the Prophet⁴ and that of the Orthodox Caliphs⁴ has, however, decided that all non-Muslims may be tolerated as subjects. So 'Uthmān accepted capitation tax from Berbers and 'Abdulmalik from Brahmins of India. Abū-Hanīfah opines⁵: أهل الشرك كلهم ملة واحدة (all non-Muslims will be considered as one category). Ash-Shaibānī⁶ also remarked in similar terms الكفر ملة واحدة —although these remarks were made on occasions other than the discussion of capitation tax. As-Sarakhsīy, after a prolonged and scholarly discussion, concludes:

"It is clear from this that the mention of the Scriptuaries in the Qur'ān is not to restrict the rule but only to show that capitation tax may be accepted from the Scriptuaries."⁷

More explicit is Abū-Yūsuf:

"The capitation tax is accepted from all non-Muslims, whether the Magians, the worshippers of idols or fire or stones, the Sabeans, the Samaritans, except the apostates from Islam and the idolaters of Arab origin."⁸

Naturalisation through Application.—If some foreigners come to Islamic territory and apply for naturalisation, the authorities may grant the request. In the time of Badr-ud-Dīn Ibn-Jumā'ah, when non-Muslims

1. As-Suyūṭīy, *حسب المحاضرة في اخبار مصر والقاهرة*, ch. خليج امير المؤمنين.

2. Cf. *supra*, part I, ch. vi, § 9.

3. Qur'ān, 9: 29.

4. As-Sarakhsīy, *المبسوط*, X, 119; Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 74ff; Ibn-Mājah, 17: 41 Tirmidhiy

19: 31; Shāfi'iy, *الأم*, IV, 96. (Order regarding the Majus, i.e., Parsis and Barbars).

5. Cited by ash-Shaibānīy, *الأصل*, II, 141-42, (MSS. Nos. 741-46 in Wafā-Ātif, Istanbul).

6. Ibid.

7. *المبسوط*, X, 119.

8. *المخراج*, p. 73.

were granted naturalisation, there was a special register in which entries were made as to their names, distinguishing features, age, and religion ; monitors (عريف) were appointed from among them to control their affairs and take notice of deaths, travels, returns from abroad, reaching the age of majority, and also to attend them at the time of the annual capitation tax.¹

There does not seem to be any probation period suggested by jurists, yet obviously it lay with the government to decide whether to grant the request for naturalisation or to reject it just in the same way as it lay with the government to grant temporary permits of sojourn.

Naturalisation through Marriage.—According to Islam, a wife acquires the citizenship of the country of her husband.² Thus, if a non-Muslim alien girl marries a Muslim or even a non-Muslim *subject* of the Islamic state, she becomes a subject of the Muslim state. The same is the case if an alien couple come to Islamic territory and the husband acquires citizenship of the Muslim state, his wife also becomes a subject of the same state.³ Obviously, if a non-Muslim alien marries a girl who is a subject of the Muslim state, he does not automatically become a Muslim subject.⁴ His wife, however, would lose Muslim citizenship.

(c) Muslims in Foreign Territories.

Muslim law is intensely personal, and embraces all the acts of life no matter where. We have seen in Section (a) of this Chapter that the Prophet ordered the non-resident Muslims to observe Muslim law wherever they might be. Hence the *dictum* of Abū-Yūsuf⁵ المسلم ملتزم المسلم ملتزم (a Muslim is to regulate his conduct according to laws of Islam wherever he may be). It goes without saying that this depends upon the liberty enjoyed in foreign countries.⁶ We shall return to this question presently. Yet it is to be said that although Muslim jurists insist so much on the personal character of their law, they make a sharp distinction between jurisdiction of a Muslim court and that of a foreign court over a Muslim, on the one hand, and moral obligations on the other ; and they do not hold him responsible in a Muslim court for acts

1. Badr-ud-Dīn Ibn Jumā'ah, تحرير الاحكام في تدبير اهل الاسلام, fol. 55a, ch. 17 (MS. Lālēli, Istanbul, The work has since been edited in the German Magazine, *Islamica* Vol. VI.).

2. As-Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 115ff.; al-Kāsānīy, بدائع الصنائع VII, 110.

3. As-Sarakhsīy, *ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Cited by as-Sarakhsīy, المبسوط, X, 95.

6. According to the Qur'ān (cf. 12 : 75), Egypt, of the time of Joseph the Patriarch, administered justice to foreigners, even in criminal cases, according to their own personal laws (and hence the enslaving of Benjamin on the authority of (من وجد في رحله فهو جزاءه كذا) كذا الجزى الظالمين).

done in a foreign territory. And on the same basis, they acquit a foreign non-Muslim from all his acts committed in foreign territory even against a Muslim subject, such as murder or theft).¹ Dealing with the question, as-Sarakhsiy says :

If a Muslim enters the territory of non-Muslims by their permission, and lends, or borrows from them money, or usurps their property or his property is usurped there, his case will not be heard (in the court of the Muslim territory), because they did that in a place outside Muslim jurisdiction. As for the Muslim who usurped their property after guaranteeing them not to do that, we hold this because he violated *his* pledge, not the pledge of the Muslim ruler. Nevertheless, jurisconsults will advise him to return the property though the Muslim court will not compel him to do that. And as for the foreigners in their homes who usurped the property of the Muslim, we hold this because they violated their pledge in a place where they were not under the Muslim jurisdiction. So, if they kill him, they will not be held responsible. If they destroy his property or usurp it, the same holds good in a pre-eminent degree. All this because the Muslim took the risk and exposed himself to that when he quitted the Muslim *resisting power* *منعة*, (i.e., jurisdiction). The same is true of monetary loans, if they come to Muslim territory.... If a Muslim has gone by permission to non-Muslim territory and destroyed there life or property, he will not be held responsible in the Muslim court if the other party comes to the Muslim territory. This is because had they committed the same against him, they would not have been held responsible in the Muslim court, on the principle that they were there not under Muslim jurisdiction. So he when he did that with them ; yet it is improper (*مكروه*) for the Muslim under his religion to violate his pledge with them, for the violation of a pledge is forbidden (*حرام*), and the Prophet has said : Whoever violates a pledge, a flag will be hoisted over him on the Day of Judgment in order to point out that he was a traitor. It is on account of this that, when he violated with them his pledge and thus acquired some property and brought it over to Muslim territory, it would not be desirable for another Muslim to purchase it if he knew the fact. For the acquisition was through evil means, and the purchase would be a persuasion to do the like again, and that is not proper for a Muslim. This is based on the tradition that al-Mughirah-ibn-Shu'bah killed his companions and plundered them and brought their belongings to Madinah, where he embraced Islam and asked the Prophet to treat the plunder as war booty and tax the fifth of it in favour of the public treasury. The Prophet said : As for thy conversion to Islam, we accept it ; but as for thy property, it was

1. *Mabsūṭ* of as-Sarakhsiy, X, 95.

acquired by treachery, and we do not require that.—This prohibition to purchase is not absolute but only the purchase is improper.”¹

In spite of the insistence of Muslim jurists on Muslims being bound by their own laws wherever they may find themselves, it cannot be denied that Muslims in foreign territories live there on sufferance and they are subject to twofold restrictions. Firstly, Muslim law itself reduces their legal capacity; for instance, such a Muslim cannot give quarter, during his stay abroad, to a non-Muslim so as to bind the Muslim State, which he could do had he done that in the Muslim territory.² Secondly, such Muslims have to accommodate themselves to the laws of the country where they are living. This requires some discussion.

During the time of the Prophet, the Muslims had taken refuge for some years in Abyssinia. This was at a time when a Muslim state was not in existence, though at the time of their return from exile one such had been established in Madinah. The historians inform us that the Muslims enjoyed in Abyssinia perfect freedom of conscience. The Prophet had recommended that refuge saying that a just ruler governed there. The refugees testify to the fact that they worshipped there according to their rites, and celebrated daily services, and nobody maltreated them nor abused them by unpleasant words. The Negus refused the demand of the Meccan delegates for their extradition, and after hearing both sides assured the Muslims that they were safe in his territory.³

On the other hand, during the same time of the Prophet the Byzantine governor of Ma‘ān embraced Islam whereupon the Emperor ordered him to abjure his religion, and on his refusal beheaded him.⁴ Muslim historians mention another case of a high church-dignitary who was lynched by the Byzantine mob on his declaration of embracing Islam.⁵

Cases of good or bad treatment of Muslim minorities in later epochs are innumerable, some of which we shall presently mention. From all these we come to the conclusion that it depended more on the whim of the rulers, in those days, than on any fixed rules based on reciprocity and consistency.

The question of Muslims in foreign countries had given rise to capitulations which require some description. But for want of precise data at present, we shall quote some passages of interest rather than deduce rules from them:

(1) In the year 31 H., a pact was concluded between the Muslims and the king of Nubia in which it was stipulated that no objection would be raised if Muslims visited his country or celebrated their

1. As-Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūt*, X, 95-97.

2. Idem, p. 70.

3. Ibn-Sa‘d, I/1, p. 136; Ibn Hishām, p. 217ff., 716ff.; Tabariy, *History*, I, 1603; Ibn-Hanbal, IV, 198; *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. X (1923), pp. 90-98.

4. Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 1/2, p. 31— Ibn Hishām, p. 958. For texts see my *Corpus* or *الروايات السبائية*

5. Tabariy, *History*, I, 1567.

services in the mosque in Dongola, his capital. Some provision for extraditing criminals was also made in the treaty.¹

(2) In the time of al-Hajjāj-ibn-Yūsuf, when many Muslims fled from 'Irāq and wanted to take refuge in Malabar (India), the local chiefs required of them to wear local dress and observe local customs. Here is what we know about it :²

باعانت باد موافق و مخالف مختلف بنادر میں پہنچے ۔ ہنود اس نئی قوم کو دیکھ کر اترنے میں مانع ہوئے ۔ آخر میں نہایت عاجزی و التجا کرنے کے بعد عہد و پیمان لے کر اترے کی اجازت ملی ۔ اولاً انہیں بنادر میں قول و قرار نامہ دے کے فروکش ہوئے ۔ اقرار نامہ اس بات کا تھا کہ ہنود کی طرز و روش میں رہیں اور لباس بھی اس دیس کا اختیار کریں ۔ غربائے اسلام نے بامر لاجاری ، بمصداق ضرب المثل ”جیسا دیس ویسا بھیس“ ہنود کا لباس اختیار کیا اور اہل اصنام کے ساتھ مل جل کر شیر و شکر کی طرح رہنے لگے اور مقتضائے حال کے موافق ہر ایک نے پیشہ و حرفہ اختیار کیا اور کمال ہوشیاری سے زندگی بسر کرتے تھے ۔ اور اسلامی شعار نہایت احتیاط سے ادا کرتے تھے ۔ اذان و قرأت و قرآن اس طرح پڑھتے تھے کہ کوئی فرد ہنود نہ سنے ۔

That is :—

[The persecuted Muslims] somehow or other, reached different ports [of South India]. The Hindus, seeing them of a different nationality, prevented them from landing. After long solicitude and humble petition, however, they let them settle in those ports. This was on the condition that they (the Muslims) would follow Hindu customs and would wear the costume of the country. The poor Muslims were constrained to accept the terms ; and “as the country, so the dress,” they took to wearing Hindu costume. They took to different professions according to their conditions. They had to be very careful, and they observed extreme scruples [lest they be detected]. So they performed the *azān* (call to the religious service) and the recitation of the Qur'ān in a way that no Hindu could hear them.

(3) Muslims had penetrated in the very time of Caliph 'Umar into the seacoast of Bombay and Sindh.³ When the Hindus recaptured Sindh, they left the mosque in the possession of the Muslim population which did not evacuate the region, where it could hold its Friday service and even pray for the Caliph.⁴

(4) Mas'ūdīy visited India in the first decade of the fourth century of Hijra. He writes : In the year 304, I visited Saimūr (modern Chaul) which is part of Lār (Gujrāt) and is ruled by Balharā. The name of the prince who ruled at that time was Chancha. There were about ten

1. Maqrīziy, *Khīṭat*, ed. Bulaq I, 200, or my *Corpus*.

2. *محبوب الوطن* by 'Abdul-Jabbār Khān, p. 40.

3. Al-Balādhuriy, *فتوح البلدان*, ch. “Conquest of Sindh” ; Qudāmah-ibn-Ja'far, *کتاب الخراج* ch. “Conquest of Sindh” (MS. No. 1076, Köprülü, Istanbul).

4. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, last page of the Istanbul manuscript, ch. VII, section 19.

thousand Muslims, including the *Bayāsirah*, natives of Sīrāf, 'Umān, Baṣrah, Baghdād and other regions who had married there and settled there permanently. Among them were rich merchants like Mūsā-ibn-Ishāq as-Sandalūnīy who occupied at that time the post of *Hunermah*. . . Hunermah signifies the post of the chief of the Muslims, for in this country the king appoints the most distinguished Muslim as the chief of the Muslim community, to whom he delegates all their affairs. By the term *Bayāsirah*, singular *baisar*, they mean those who were born in India of Muslim parents.¹

The same author says : In the whole of Sindh and Hind, there is no king who respects Muslims more than the Balharā. Islam is strong and protected in his kingdom. There are petty mosques as well as cathedral mosques full of Muslims. Its rulers rule for forty and fifty years and even more, and the people of his country pretend that the length of the age of their kings was due to their justice and benevolence to Muslims.²

(5) Another very old author, the navigator Buzurg-ibn-Shahriyār (of the middle of the fourth century of Hijrah) mentions : Theft is generally punished in India by death. If the thief be a Muslim, he is adjudicated by the *Hunarman* of the Muslims who judges according to Muslim law. The *Hunarman* is like the Qāḍī in Muslim countries. He is selected from among the Muslims.³

The same author tells us that once a newcomer, a Muslim sailor, violated the sanctity of a temple in Ṣaimūr. One of the priests caught hold of his hand and took him before the king of Ṣaimūr and related to him the whole affair. The sailor confessed that he had done that. The king asked the people around him : What should we do with him ? Some said : Let him be trampled by elephants. Others said : Vivisect him. No, said the king, this is not permissible, since he is an Arab, and there are pacts between us and them. So one of you should go to al-'Abbās-ibn-Māhān, the *Hunarman* of the Muslims and ask him : What would you do if you found a man in similar conditions in a mosque ? And see what he says⁴. . .

(6) Ibn-Hawqal, too, testifies to the same custom in India as well as in many other countries. He says : Nowadays it is a Muslim who governs them (*i.e.*, the Muslim colony) on behalf of the Balharā, who delegates to him the authority over them. This custom I have found in many other countries now under non-Muslim occupation, like *Khazar*, *Sarīr*, *Lān*, *Ghānah* and *Kūghah*. In all these countries the Muslim community does not accept that its chief, its judge and the witnesses in its disputes be anyone except Muslims, this even when their number is very small. In some of these countries I found Muslims who presented

1. *Murūj adh-Dhahab* (European ed.), II, 86.

2. *Idem*, (Egyptian ed.), I, 74.

3. *Merveilles de l'Inde* (عجائب الهند), p. 160-61.

4. *Idem*, p. 143.

sometimes trustworthy non-Muslim witnesses. If the other party agrees to it, their evidence is relied upon ; if not, they are replaced by Muslim witnesses.¹

(7) Malabar had had contact with Arabs of even pre-Islamic days. Muslim colonies of the South Indian seacoast date back to the days of the Companions of the Prophet.² Malabar did not change much during the long centuries. A comparatively late author, of the time of Portuguese attacks, Zain-ud-Dīn al-Ma'barīy, states : In the whole country of Malabar, there is no ruler for the Muslims of their own who should rule over them, but it is non-Muslims who rule over them, administer their affairs, and fine them when they commit some delict. In spite of that, the Muslims enjoy among the people of this country great respect and power, for it is mostly on account of them that their cities flourish. The Muslims can hold Friday and 'Id services. They (the local chiefs) pay the salaries of the Qādīs and the Mu'azzins, help in the enforcement of the rules of the *sharī'ah* among the Muslims, and do not allow that Friday service be suspended ; and if anybody tries to suspend it, they punish him and fine him,³ in most cities. If any Muslim commits a crime which must be punished with death according to their laws, they behead him with the permission of the Muslim chiefs. Then the Muslims take possession of the dead body, bathe it in the ritual manner, clothe it with shrouds, celebrate the death-service over it and bury it in the graveyard of the Muslims. . . . They do not tax the Muslim merchants except the usual tithes, or the fines when they commit delict punishable with fines according to their laws. The agriculturists and horticulturists are not at all taxed even when they own big properties. They do not enter the houses of the Muslims without their permission, even to arrest a murderer, but surround his house and force him to surrender through constant vigilance and hunger and the like. They do not put obstacles in the way of conversion to Islam ; on the other hand, they pay the same respect to the new convert as to the other Muslims, even when the convert belonged to the lowest caste among them. In olden times, Muslim merchants used to subscribe for the help of such a one.⁴

(8) Regarding China, Mas'ūdīy mentions that once a Chinese official in *Khānfū* oppressed a Muslim merchant, who trusting in the justice of the ruler of the country, went at once to the capital, put on the red uniform of complainants and attended the court. In due course he was presented before the monarch who, having ascertained the story

1. Ibn-Hawqal, *المسالك والممالك*, pp. 227-28.

2. *Revue des Études Islamiques* (1938), p. 104.

3. The writer of these lines witnessed similar conditions in 1939 in Aundh, a tiny Hindu (non-Muslim) State on the Western Ghats. There the Rāja functioned as the chief Qāḍī, and Muslims were fined by him if they neglected the congregational Friday service. For conditions in Cochin, etc., see Qāḍir Ḥusain Khān's article, in the *Christian College Magazine*, Madras Nov. & Dec. 1912, Jan. & Feb. 1913.

4. تحفة المجاهدين في بعض اخبار البرتگالين (ed. Lisbon), pp. ٣٥-٣٦/32-33. (end of part iii).

from several of his secret service officers, punished the official, and, bestowing on the Muslim merchant right royal gifts, told him : If thou likest, sell thy goods to us at bargain price ; otherwise thou hast the right of final decision regarding thy goods. So, stay if thou likest, sell as thou pleasest, and return in safety wherever thou intendest to go.¹

(9) Another author (of as early as the third century of Hijrah) is more explicit : The merchant Sulaimān reports that at Khānfū which is the rendezvous of merchants, a Muslim is charged by the ruler of the country to adjudicate the disputes that arise between the members of the Muslim community arriving in the country. Such was the desire of the king of China. On days of festival, this chief of the Muslims conducts the service of the Muslims, pronounces the sermon and prays for the Caliph (سلطان المسلمين) therein. The merchants of 'Irāq cannot rise against his decisions. And in fact he acts with justice in conformity with the Qur'ān and the precepts of Muslim law.²

(10) Regarding people near the Caspian Sea, Mas'ūdī records : In the country of Khazar, the Muslims are the elite because they constitute the army of the king. They are known there as Larshiah. They were immigrants from Khwarizm. Long ago, after their embracing Islam, a famine attacked their country and they migrated to Khazar. They are very fine soldiers and the king of Khazar trusts in their prowess in his wars. They have settled in his country on conditions they have contracted, viz., firstly, open profession of their religion and mosques and the service calls (*adhān*) ; secondly, selection of the minister from among them. . . ; thirdly, if the king of Khazar has to fight some Muslim power, they would not be employed ; else they would fight against any other nation. They provide the bodyguard of the king. . . They have Muslim Qādis. In the capital of Khazar the custom is that there are seven judges, two Muslims, two Khazarites, two Christians, one for Slaves and Russians and all the rest of the Ignorant People. . . If any difficult question arises, they all refer it to the Muslim judges and agree to what the Muslim law provides for it. . . They have mosques in which there are Qur'ānic schools for children.³

In general, Muslims temporarily residing in a foreign country are recommended very strongly, in Muslim literature of law and morals, to behave in an exemplary and law-abiding manner : to observe fully the conditions of their permit or passport and to refrain from any act of treachery. So much so that even if war has broken out between their local government and their home government, the Muslim subject must refrain, as long as he is staying in the enemy country, from warlike activities and treacherous deeds.⁴ They must observe in all details the condi-

1. Murūj (ed. Egypt), I, 60. .

2. Relations des Voyages du marchand Soleyman, (سلسلة التواريخ) ed. Reinaud, pp. 13-14.

3. Murūj (ed. Egypt), I, 78.

4. As-Sarakhsī, Mabsūt, X, 98.

tions of their passport ; and avoiding treachery and violation of pledge alone they may, if possible and practicable, remove the wrong done to their co-citizens.¹ In one particular case, however, Muslim law is emphatic and urges the Muslims abroad to leave no stone unturned. It provides that if women and children of the subjects of the Muslim state, no matter whether Muslims or non-Muslims or even rebels, are captured by the state in whose territory the Muslim now resides, and these captives are brought into the country where he is living, he is entitled, if he likes, to renounce, first, the protection of the local government and then fight in order to relieve women and children of his compatriots.² The greater importance of women and children lay obviously in the fact that slavery was rampant in those days and their apostatising was more greatly feared than that of grown-up soldiers. Still two points are to be reminded. Without previous notice of renouncing the protection of the permitting state, the act contemplated is not permissible. Secondly, the obligation to protect women and children is not confined to those of Muslims only ; it applies as emphatically to all the citizens of the Muslim state irrespective of creed and status.

Muslims abroad are not allowed to join forces with the local government against its foe, except in self-defence or when it is feared that the enemies of their protector state would not respect the neutrality of the resident Muslims.³ In case of self-defence, there is no difference whether the state warring against the local government is non-Muslim or rebel-Muslim.⁴

(d) *Citizens of one Muslim State in another.*

We have seen above, under section (a), that all Muslims belong to one and the same nation. We have also seen that the division of Islam into several states, hostile at times, had to be admitted by jurists by force of facts. Very little is known, in classical times, of the special treatment reserved for such Muslims as go from one Muslim state to another. Therefore I quote the following interesting passage of Ibn-Jubair which is the only one I have come across so far :

Between the old and new Cairo there is a mosque attributed to Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad-ibn-Ṭūlūn. It is an old mosque, with fine workmanship and grand structure. Sultān Salāḥuddīn has allotted it as the boarding house for the poor Maghāribah (i.e., people of Western North Africa) who live and study there. He has also sanctioned for them monthly bursaries. The most curious thing which I was told by one of them was that the Sultān has delegated the adjudication of their cases to them and nobody is to govern them. So, they have elected one of themselves and

1. As-Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 98.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 97-98.

4. Ash-Shaibānīy, *الأصل*, in loco.

obey him and make him arbitrate in the disputes that may arise between them. They live in comfort and at ease.¹

There are, however, instances of individuals migrating from the Abbasid Empire, for instance, to Spain, and *vice versa*, scholars, traders and others, without any hardship and restriction or any privileges. The close watch on suspected spies is beyond our scope here. There are instances also of rulers sending special commissions to purchase goods, manuscripts and the like. But they do not seem to have given rise to any legal arrangements for their treatment.

In our own times, owing to Europeanised conceptions of the policies of the Muslim states, there are provisions how to treat foreigners, and they apply to Muslims as well. We need not take notice of them, as they are not rules of Muslim law. In spite of all such rules, it cannot be denied, and my own personal experience testifies to it, that a foreign Muslim feels quite at home in any and every Muslim country of the world, and in private he is treated with the affection reserved for the nearest kin. Even government officials help him, in their private capacity, as much as they can.

(e) *Muslim Citizens of a non-Muslim State.*

So far as the practical implications of law are concerned, there is scarcely any difference between this category of foreign Muslims and the one just preceding. We have already seen in chapter 2 of this part, under *State*, that Muslim law recognises the existence of independent non-Muslim states in peaceful relations with the Muslim state, having a Muslim minority as their citizens. We have also seen there, in the Qur'ānic quotations given, how such a non-Muslim state is free to make laws for its Muslim citizens as it pleases, and the Muslim state has no right to interfere on behalf of its co-religionists. Accordingly, it will be the terms of passport which will apply if they come, for temporary purposes, to Islamic territory.

In the time of the Prophet, a treaty of peace and extradition was concluded between the Islamic state and the city-state of Mecca, and the Prophet returned all the Muslims who came to him to seek refuge, this in spite of the fact that he was fully convinced of the fact that the Muslim minority was subjected to unbearable hardships and persecution in Mecca.²

(f) *Resident Aliens in Muslim Territory.*

Before we begin to discuss the general rules applicable to them, some preliminary remarks may be helpful in understanding the background against which they were originally set.

1. Ibn-Jubair رحمة الله عليه, p. 52 (Gibb Memorial Series, 2nd ed.).

2. Tabarī, *History*, I, 1547ff., 1551ff.

In the classical times of Islam, the law of passports seems to have been that the subjects of a state with which treaty relations existed (دارالعهدة), needed no extra permission from the Muslim state to enter its territory (دارالاسلام) for a sojourn.¹ Again, those foreigners of third countries who were allowed to enter a state which was in treaty relations with the Muslims, could, further, safely enter Muslim territory.² In other words, friends of friends were also considered friends. Obviously this could not apply if the third state was at actual war (دارالحرب) with the Muslim state. In the absence of treaty relations, and non-existence of hostilities between his state and the Muslim state, the practice of the Prophet was to spare them unmolested if their bona fides was established, and a sort of posterior permit was granted. So, al-Bukhārīy mentions that once a foreign non-Muslim came to Madīnah with a herd of sheep and goats, apparently without any previous permit. Not only that he was not molested, but even the Prophet bought a goat of him.³ There is mention of the arrival of Nabatean caravans to Madīnah in the time of the Prophet and afterwards,⁴ and obviously they came from beyond Muslim territory, either from Syria or Mesopotamia. If, however, a subject of a belligerent state entered Muslim territory without previous permit, he could be killed or enslaved or treated otherwise at the option of the authorities. The last also applied to his belongings. Needless to add that ambassadors have always been excepted from these rules. But this last category, the subjects of a belligerent state entering Muslim territory, will be dealt with more properly in Part iii of this monograph.

Moreover, to classical Muslim jurists, status of belligerency or friendliness is personal not local. Thus, a subject of a friendly state found in a belligerent place on its conquest by the Muslims, provided that he did not take part in the hostilities against the Muslims and did not act contrary to his obligations of neutrality, was still safe "just like a non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state found in a belligerent territory when the Muslims conquered it."⁵ And he must be allowed safe return.⁶ If, however, such a friendly alien was brought there lawfully by the belligerent state, for instance in the capacity of prisoner of war and was duly enslaved, he was to remain such.⁷

1. As-Sarakhsīy, شرح السيرة الكبرى, IV, 133. Idem الميسوط, X, 89, referring to the classical case of Abū-Sufyān's journey to Madīnah during the truce of Hudaibiyah. But he came more as an envoy than in his private capacity.

2. Al-Kāsānīy, بدائع الصنائع, VII, 109.

3. Bukhārīy, bk. الثرى والبيع مع المشرکین ch. يوع bk. اطعمة ch. من أكل حتى شبع.

4. Mas'ūdiy, تنبيه, p. 248. Abū-'Ubaid, كتاب الاموال, § 1397—al-Qasṭallānīy, المواهب اللدنية, I, 223.

5. Sarakhsīy, الميسوط, X., 89.

6. Kāsānīy, بدائع الصنائع, VII, 110.

7. Sarakhsīy, الميسوط, X, 88; Kāsānīy, VII, 109; Fatāwī 'Ālamgīriyah, p. 222.

A passport could be annulled in the following cases :—

1. Expiration of the prescribed period.¹
2. Breach of conditions expressly mentioned therein as annulling the permit,² or implied as such in every permit.
3. Forged passport on discovery.³
4. Transmitting secrets of the Muslim state to the enemy.⁴

But the mere committing of criminal acts, even of murder, did not automatically bring the passport to an end. In such cases the criminal was to be tried and punished by a court of law.⁵

Generally speaking, non-Muslim resident aliens and other visitors have been accorded by Muslim law the same status as non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim state. Ash-Shaibānī explicitly says :

“It is a principle (of Muslim law) that the sovereign of the Muslims has the obligation to protect foreigners coming with permission, as long as they are in our (Muslim) territory, and to do justice to them—this in the same way as he has an obligation regarding non-Muslim subjects.”⁶

A foreign visitor is under the jurisdiction of Muslim courts during his stay in Muslim territory,⁷ yet he is free to indulge in certain acts penalised specially for the Muslims, such as intoxication. In this respect, however, there is some difference of opinion between Abū-Yūsuf and ash-Shaibānī : the former maintaining that a foreigner would be subject to the whole of Muslim penal code with the one exception of wine-drinking, and the latter making a distinction between the infringement of what are called Rights of God (حقوق الله) and Rights of Man (حقوق العباد), holds that a foreign non-Muslim will not be punished except for what is against the rights of man such as defamation, murder and the like.⁸

Ash-Shaibānī records :

“Atīyah-ibn-Qais al-Kilābī reports, the Prophet has said : Whoever commits murder or fornication or theft (in our territory) and escapes, and then returns with permission, shall be tried and punished for what he wanted to escape from. Yet if he has committed murder, or fornication or theft in the territory of the enemy and came with permission, he will not be tried for what he committed in enemy territory.”⁸

1. Kāsānī, VII, 110.

2. Sarakhsī, السير الكبير, IV, 226-27.

3. Cf. Sarakhsī, المبسوط, X, 93.

4. Abū-Yūsuf, Kharāj, p. 117, cf. Raḍiyud-Dīn as-Sarakhsī, المحيط, fol. 361b, (MS. Hyderabad State-Library).

5. Sarakhsī, السير الكبير, IV, 226, محيط لرضي الدين السير خمس, fol. 361b (MS. Hyderabad).

6. Do do , IV, 108, cf. p. 133 also.

7. Sarakhsī, ibid.

8. Cited ibid.

Sarakhṣīy adds : " This is the basis for the savants of our school of thought to rely upon."

On this basis, not only a delict or crime against a subject of the Muslim state, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, but even against a subject of his own state falls under the juridical competency of the Muslim court.¹ Whether for certain such acts he should be tried according to local laws or according to the laws of his own country depends upon treaty stipulations. In short, a foreign visitor will be responsible to the Muslim court for all his acts during his stay in the Islamic territory, and not for acts committed outside the boundaries of the Muslim state, even if against a Muslim subject.²

A foreign visitor will have the right to bring a suit even against a local Muslim, in the Muslim court.³ According to classical Muslim jurists, this right is not forfeited by the outbreak of war between his country and the Muslim state where he is residing.⁴ This is valid even when Muslim residents are deprived of this right. For, one's burden cannot be borne by others (Qur'ān, 6 : 165) and the Muslims must fulfil their promises.⁵

Litigations between foreign visitors and Muslim subjects regarding debts, securities, pledges and mortgages, inheritance, wills and the like, belong perhaps more appropriately to Private Law or special treaties rather than to our subject.

Import customs and other taxes levied on foreigners or foreign goods may be governed by Municipal law as well as express treaties. Ash-Shaibānīy, for instance, says, if the property of minors or women of Muslim citizenship are exempt in a foreign country from customs duties, the subjects of that state will be similarly privileged in Muslim territory.⁶

There is an aspect of the jurisdiction of non-Muslims, subjects as well as foreigners, which we shall describe in the following section, under " Special Privileges. "

Extraordinary Cases in Jurisdiction.

As a general rule, a territory falls under the judicial competency of the state under whose dominions it lies. But there are exceptions and extraordinary cases which will be described immediately :

1. Sarakhṣīy, شرح السير الكبير, IV, 109 ; Raḍiyud-Dīn as-Sarakhṣīy, *op. cit.*, ch. *Hukm'ul-musta'min*, fol. 601a (MS. Waliuddīn, Istanbul).

2. Sarakhṣīy, المبسوط, X, 93.

3. Ibid.

4. Kāsānīy, VII, 107, ll., 15-16.

5. More on this in part III, War.

6. Ash-Shaibānīy, الاصل, I, 150b, ch. *Zakāt* (MS. Wafā-'Āṭif, Istanbul).

(1) *Head of the State.*

It cannot be denied that heads of states occupy a unique position within the realm, yet unlike many systems of law which declare that the king can do no wrong, Muslim law does not give this extreme immunity. Whatever the Muslim ruler does in his capacity of ruler, such as in the administration of justice, no suit may be instituted against him. On the other hand, if the ruler does a thing in his private capacity, he is as liable to be tried before an ordinary Muslim court as any other Muslim subject, for the rulers are as much subject to law as the citizens of a state. Thus it was that the Prophet heard cases against his proper person. In the time of the Caliphs, complaints were made in the court of the Qāḍī of the metropolis, and Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Alīy and many an Umayyad and 'Abbasid Caliph attended the court at the summons of the judges. On the same basis, if the rulers had any private claim, they instituted a suit in the court and did not assume the position of judge as well as party to the case. Cases of the latter kind, however, are met with during the early classical times, the Orthodox Caliphate; I have not come across cases in later history of Islam.

As the subject is rather of unusual importance, I should like to give the details of the cases, in order that the reader may have a better perspective :

The Time of the Prophet.—All the following cases have been taken from the biography of the Prophet by ash-Sha'mīy,¹ chapter "His giving retaliation against his own person," if not otherwise stated :—

(a) Ibn 'Asākir records on the authority of Ḥabīb-ibn-Maslamah : Once the Prophet unintentionally injured the skin of a Bedouin, who claimed retaliation. Then the angel Gabriel came to him and said : O Muḥammad ! Lo ! God hath not sent thee as either a tyrant or an arrogant. Whereupon the Prophet called upon the Bedouin and said : Take retaliation from me.

(b) Ibn-Ishāq records the following on the authority of a certain Companion of the Prophet who said : I pressed my way through on the day of Hunain, and on my feet were heavy sandals with which I trampled on the leg of the Prophet. He whipped me with a whip in his hand. . . . The next morning he caused me to come and gave me eighty goats and said : Take this for that.

(c) Ibn-Hibbān records : On the day of Badr, the Prophet was inspecting his army, drawn up in files, and dressing the formation if anybody was not in his proper place. He had a baton in his hand with which he struck a soldier on the belly who had pushed a bit forward. The soldier complained and demanded retaliation. The Prophet raised his shirt and offered his belly for treatment in a like manner. (The story is also mentioned by Ibn-Hishām, p. 444).

1. I have consulted the manuscript in the Qarawīyīn Mosque, Fās.

(d) Ad-Dārimīy, Ibn-Ḥumaid and 'Abd-ar-Razzāq record on the authority of Abū-Hurairah and Abū-Sa'īd (al-Khudrīy) : Once there was an old man among the Meccan Muslims who wanted to have a private talk with the Prophet. The Prophet was about to start on an expedition. On the morning of the start, he mounted on his camel and wanted to go to the camp to lead the morning service before departure, when the old man stopped him and would not let him proceed before attending to him. The Prophet whipped him away and went. After the service, he turned to the assembly with a grave face and said : Where is the man whom I have just whipped?—and repeated it several times. The man was terrified and began to apologize but the Prophet said : Let him approach ; and when he did so, he said : Take this same whip and take your revenge. He said : Impossible that I whip the Prophet of God ! The Prophet said : Except that you forgive !

(e) Ibn-Ḥanbal, Abū-Dāwūd, and an-Nasa'īy record on the authority of Abū-Sa'īd al-Khudrīy who said : Once when the Prophet was distributing some booty, a man came and leaned upon him. He struck him with a baton in his hand and hurt his face. Whereupon the Messenger of God said : Stand up and take thy *talion* !

(f) Ibn-Qānī' records on the authority of 'Abdallāh-ibn-Abī (? Abī-Umāmah) al-Bāhilīy who said : I came to the Prophet during his last pilgrimage and saw him on his camel. I clasped and folded his leg with my arms. He whipped me. I said : Talion ! O Messenger of God. He handed me the whip whereupon I kissed his leg and foot.

(g) Muḥammad-ibn-'Umar al-Aslamīy records : When the Prophet was proceeding from Ṭā'if to al-Ja'irānah, Abū-Dahm was riding on his camel beside the Prophet and his sandal rubbed the leg of the Prophet and pained him. The Prophet said : " Thou hast hurt my leg. Withdraw thy foot." And he whipped my leg. Abū-Dahm says : I was terrified lest something should come in the Qur'ān regarding me and I should be scandalised. Although it was not my turn, I went to graze my camels that day, fearing lest he should call upon me. In the evening when I collected the beasts and went to the camp, people told me that the Prophet was inquiring after me. Trembling I went to him. He said : Thou didst pain me with thy leg and I whipped thee. So take these goats as a recompense for my blow. Abū-Dahm says : The pleasure of the Prophet was dearer to me than all the world and that therein is.

(h) In the closing days of his life the Prophet addressed a public gathering and said :

Gentlemen ! You may have had claims against me. If I have whipped anybody's back, let him retaliate on this my back. If I have condemned or censured anybody's honour, so here is my honour to take revenge upon. If I have taken anybody's property, here is my property ; let him take it, and let him not fear higgling on my part, as it is not my habit. In fact, dearest to me is the one who takes his claim from me if he has a right thereto, or forgives me.

Thus I shall meet my Lord with clear conscience.—A man rose and claimed that the Prophet had borrowed some money from him. This was at once paid to him.¹

(j) Al-Baihaqī, Ibn-Ḥibbān, aṭ-Ṭabarānī and Abū-Nuʿaim record: Once Zaid-ibn-Saʿnah, a Jew, came to the Prophet and claimed the immediate repayment of what the Prophet had borrowed from him, and came to strong words. ʿUmar, who was present, could not tolerate it. But on his interference the Prophet remarked: ʿUmar, you would better have advised him to claim in a proper way, and advised me to repay in a proper way.²—This has the germs of a reference by the Prophet of his own affairs to a third arbiter. However, the position of the Prophet was unique, and to Muslims he was utterly incapable of committing injustice even when he himself was a party to the case. The Qurʾānic verses (such as 8: 68, 80: 1ff., etc.) which record Divine reprimand to the Prophet, testify to the same effect, signifying that God would correct him at once and not let him persist in error.

The Time of the Caliphs.—In the time of the Caliphs, immediately after the Prophet, however, the principle was acted upon that party and judge cannot be in one and the same person, not even the Caliph (ان الامام لا يكون قاضيا في حق نفسه).³ Hence, whenever the Caliphs had any suit to file, or one was filed against them in their private capacity, the judge of the local court heard the case. Cases of this kind have been recorded concerning Abū-Bakr,⁴ ʿUmar,⁵ Uthmān,⁶ ʿAlī,⁷ the ʿAbbasid al-Manṣūr,⁸ the Spanish al-Ḥakam-ibn-Hishām-ibn-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān-ad-Dākhil,⁹ and others up to modern times, all testifying to the same effect. Their details fall out of our scope here. For certain cases and discussion see also al-Māwardī in loco.

There is, of course, not the slightest doubt that when a person is a sovereign in his dominions and at the same time a citizen in others, he is subject to ordinary jurisdiction in the latter. The case of Jabalah-ibn-al-Aiham, the ruler of Ghassān, may be mentioned in this

1. Not quoted by aṣh-Shaʿmīy. Cf. Ibn-al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, II, 241; Ibn-Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 317, III, 33; Ṭabariy, *History*, I, 1801-02.

2. Not in aṣh-Shaʿmīy. I have quoted from Shiblī, *سيرت النبي*, II, 355-56 (2nd ed.).

3. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, XVI, 73.

4. Ibn-Saʿd, I/2, p. 97.

5. Ibid. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, XVI, 73-74; Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 65.

6. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, XVI, 74.

7. Idem p. 22.

8. Al-Kindīy, *Wulāt Miṣr*, pp. 374ff.

9. Al-Maqqariy, *نفع الطيب*, I, 557ff. (ed. Europe).

connexion as a classical example. He was ordered by Caliph 'Umar in Mecca to conciliate a Bedouin whom he had hurt, otherwise retaliation would be taken upon him in the ordinary process.¹ There are, it is to be noted, some obscurities in this story, yet the principle holds good and is admitted without question.

(2) *Envoys and Ambassadors.*

These will be dealt with later in a separate chapter.

(3) *International Judges and Arbitrators.*

During the civil wars of the time of 'Alīy and Mu'āwiyah, two arbitrators were appointed, one by each party. These arbiters were granted special privileges by both the belligerents, the least of which was protection of life and property. We shall revert to it in a later chapter.

(4) *Public Armed Forces.*

When armed forces enter a foreign country in hostility, obviously they are not under the local jurisdiction. But the question whether camps of such armies become for the time being a part of the territory of the state to which the army belonged, has been answered by Muslim jurists in the affirmative :—

i. Muslim Army :

(a) "If the Caliph or the governor of Syria undertakes an expedition...his camp will be considered as Muslim territory."²

(b) "If the Muslim army enters belligerent territory, the Muslim camp will be treated as Muslim territory."³

(d) "If they retort : Is it not that the slave embracing Islam and taking refuge in a Muslim camp becomes emancipated ? And according to you the emancipation can take effect only in Islamic territory. We would reply : If the slave comes to that place when there is no Muslim camp, he will not get freed. He gets freed only when he takes refuge with the army. And the army possesses the requisite resisting power."⁴

(e) The Muslims are bound to protect the resident aliens in their territory. Hence, if some belligerents attack Muslim territory

1. Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 20 ; *Shibli*, الفاروق, II, 179 (*Life of 'Umar*).

2. Kāsānīy, VII, 132.

3. Dabbūsīy, الاسرار, fol. 151b (MS. Waliuddin, Istanbul).

4. Idem fol. 143a.

and take the resident aliens prisoners, "and pass by a place where the Muslims have a 'resistence' in enemy territory, it will be incumbent upon such Muslims to help the resident aliens and relieve them just in the same way as they would do had the prisoners been non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state."¹

(f) "Army affords the same protection as Territory."²

ii. *Enemy Army.*

(a) "If an army of enemy infidels entered Muslim territory, and a Muslim should go to them by permission and contract with them for some transaction, his case would be on the same footing as if he entered their territory. For a military camp possesses a resisting power. And Islamic jurisdiction does not run in their camp just as in their territory . . . Don't you see that if the Muslim army had entered enemy territory and the transaction had taken place there, it would have been treated as if it had taken place in the Muslim territory?"³

But whether the entry into allied lands, with the permission of the allied state, will bring the army under local jurisdiction, is a question the definite answer of which cannot be given on the basis of classical evidence. In any case it would depend largely upon the terms of stipulation by which such armed forces are allowed to enter one's territory, whether they should be treated as ordinary resident aliens and visitors or should enjoy autonomous jurisdiction.

(5) *Neutralised Land and No Man's Land.*

This has been dealt with to a certain extent under the chapter on *Property*; and we shall further discuss it under part IV, *Neutrality*.

(6) *Special Privileges, Capitulations, Ex-territoriality.*

For commercial and other purposes of mutual benefit, foreigners have, for time immemorial, been attracted and given special privileges and inducements. It is said that as early as the sixth century before Christ, Pharaoh Amases of Egypt granted to Greeks settling in the Nile Delta the right of adjudicating their disputes by their own judges according to their own laws without interference on the part of the local authorities.⁴

1. Sarakhsiy, *شرح السير الكبير*, IV, 112.

2. Sarakhsiy, *المبسوط*, X, 94.

3. Sarakhsiy, *شرح السير الكبير*, IV, 132.

4. Cf. *Zeitschrift der Akademie für Deutsches Recht*, Munich, (October, 1936), p. 944, "Die Fremdengerichtbarkeit in Ägypten," by Dr. Walter Simon.

The Qur'ān commanded the same to Muslim rulers regarding non-Muslims.¹ When the city-state of Madīnah was established with the Meccan Immigrants, Madīnite Arabs and Jews constituting its confederal units, and with Muḥammad as the supreme chief, the Jews retained their judicial autonomy except that Muḥammad was recognised as the final judge if and when they referred their cases to him at their option.² History records that in cases where the parties were Jewish and they appealed to the arbitration of the Prophet, he administered them their personal law.³ A passage of the Qur'ān may be read with interest in this connexion :

If then they have recourse unto thee (Muḥammad), judge between them or disclaim jurisdiction. If thou disclaimest jurisdiction, then they cannot harm thee at all. But, if thou judgest, judge between them with equity. Lo ! God loveth the equitable. How come they unto thee for judgement when they have the Torah, wherein God hath prescribed for them commands ? Yet even after that they turn away. Such folk are not believers . . . Say : O People of the Scripture ! Ye have naught (of guidance) till ye observe the Torah and the Gospel and that which was revealed unto you from your Lord (5 : 42-43, 68).

When the Christians of Najrān (Yaman) and Ailah ('Aqabah) and the Jews of Khaibar, Maqnā, etc., submitted to the Muslim state, the Prophet conceded to them judicial autonomy where the parties were of the same community. Of course when one of the parties to the litigation was Muslim, the case was tried by state courts and not by communal tribunals.

During the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, the system was further developed, and we read for instance :

The most important innovation of the Muslims which the Jacobites most heartily welcomed, was that each religious community was recognised as an autonomous unit, and spiritual leaders of such communities were accorded temporal and judicial powers in considerable numbers.⁴

Another contemporary evidence of the time when only 15 years had passed since the conquest of Syria, in the time of the Caliph 'Umar, is given by a Nestorian priest who wrote to a friend of his in the following terms :

These Tayites (i.e., Arabs) whom God has accorded domination in these days, have also become our masters ; but they do not combat the Christian religion at all ; on the other hand they protect our faith,

1. Qur'ān, 5 : 43, 50, 66-69.

2. For text of the constitution see Ibn-Hishām and my *Corpus*, No. 1, § 42, 25.

3. For one case see Ibn-Hishām, pp. 393-95; Abū-Dāwūd, II, 152; Bukhārī, 61 : 26, 97 : 51; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 247, etc. For another case see Abū-Dāwūd, II, 161; Ṭabariy, *Tafsīr*, V, 127; Muslim, 28 : 15ff.; Bukhārī, 44 : 1; Wensinck, *فتاوح كنوز السنة*, s. v. *قصاص*.

4. Karalevski, in : *Dictionnaire d' Histoire et Géographie Écclésiastiques*, s. v. Antioche, col. 594.

respect our priests and saints, and make donations to our churches and our convents.¹

We possess greater details of the conditions prevailing during the 'Abbasid Caliphate.² It was the same Qur'ānic principle acted upon all along, even when Sultān Muḥammad II conceded some privileges when he conquered Constantinople, privileges later developed into the much abused capitulations in Turkey and elsewhere in Islamic countries.

(7) *Extradition.*

In spite of insistence by each state on its right to exercise jurisdiction over all that is situated within its territory, mutual interest often leads the conclusion of treaties with other states for extraditing criminals. The extradition is sometimes mutual and rarely one-sided. The earliest example of this latter kind is the pact of Ḥudaibīyah concluded by the Prophet with the city-state of Mecca in the year 6 H. whereby: "Whoever from among the Quraishites went to Muḥammad without permission of his superior (*mawlā*), Muḥammad shall extradite him to them; yet whoever from among the partisans of Muḥammad went to the Quraishites, they will not extradite him."³ Another classical example is that of the year 31 H., when a pact was concluded whereby the King of Nubians (Sūdān) accepted the condition that: "It will also be incumbent upon you to repulse towards the territory of Islam all fugitive slaves who come to you but who belong to Muslims. Further, you will repulse every Muslim combating Muslims and taking refuge with you. You shall return him from your territory towards the territory of the Muslims. You shall not incline to him nor protect him."⁴

For treaties of mutual extradition see al-Qalqashandīy.⁵

CHAPTER V

Equality of Status

AS far as the rights of action accruing to and duties of performance binding upon states are concerned, Muslim jurisprudence recognises equality between the various states. But apart from this rather theoretical equality of status, real equality between states has as much been

1. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient*, III, 2, p. xcvi; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, p. 106 (2nd ed.).

2. See for instance the instructions issued to such communal chiefs at the time of their investiture, in Ibn-Faḍlallāh, *التعريف بالمصطلح الشريف* and in al-Qalqashandīy, *صبح الاغنى* in loco.

3. For full text, Ibn-Hishām, pp. 747-48 or my *Corpus*.

4. For full text, al-Maqrizīy, *Khīṭaṭ* (ed. Wiet), tome 3, partie 2, pp. 290-92 or my *Corpus*.

5. *صبح الاغنى*, XIV, 8, on the authority of al-Ghazzālīy.

wanting in states as in individual citizens. Titles in addressing different rulers, lavishness or frugality of hospitality and general treatment meted out to them, the power and influence exercised by them—in these and a host of other matters, equality cannot be observed.

For modes of addressing foreign rulers in the time of the Prophet see collections of his letters.¹ For later times, Ibn-Faḍlallāh's work *التعريف بالمصطلح الشريف* (764 H.), and later still the classical compendium of al-Qalqashandī, *صيح الأعشى*, may be consulted with profit.

CHAPTER VI

Diplomacy

INSTANCES of envoys temporarily sent to foreign Courts, and of secret agents posted in foreign countries, exist from time immemorial in human annals. Thus, no wonder if both these kinds of persons are found in Muslim history as early as the time of the Prophet. Apart from spies and scouts sent for military purposes, it is recorded that al-'Abbās was the secret agent of the Prophet in Mecca,² that Anas-ibn-Abi-Murthid-al-Ghanawī was his agent in Awṭās³ (near Ṭā'if), and that al-Mundhir-ibn-'Amr-as-Sā'idīy *alias* "A'naq liyamūt" (اعنق ليموت) was his agent in Nejd,⁴ keeping him informed of all that passed in those countries.

As self-sufficiency and self-dependence grew less and less, giving place to inter-dependence regarding necessities and luxuries of life, states were prompted to have greater international intercourse, commercial as well as political.

I have not yet made any profound study of the commercial agents in foreign countries. My tentative conclusion is that intrepid traders have been used to go to foreign countries before their own state had any diplomatic relations with them. In olden times, trade caravans used to stay in a country for longer periods than now. The local chiefs appointed what are known as the *Hunarman*, *Shahbandar* and *Malik-at-tujjār* in order to regulate the affairs and disputes of foreign traders. These developed into European consuls, during the Crusades. And thus permanent commercial agents came into existence long before permanent political agents and envoys.

The Prophet himself took the initiative of giving impetus to trade and commerce even at the expense of state income. Thus it was that he abolished all inter-Provincial customs duties within the realm, and the many

1. *My Corpus des Traités* or *الوثائق السياسية* (Cairo, 1940-41).

2. Ibn-'Abdal-Barr, *الاستيعاب*, No. 2034; Kattānīy, I, 363.

3. Ibn-'Abdal-Barr, No. 20 (s.v. Unais); Kattānīy, *ibid.*; Ibn-Hajar, *الإصايه*, under *Anas*.

4. Mūsā-ibn-'Uqbah, *كتاب المغازي* (Fragment, *Staatsbibliothek*, Berlin, MS. 1554 PM30).

treaties concluded by him with tribes submitting to his authority expressly stipulate that.¹ Foreign trade, however, remained subject to the usual tithe or whatever percentage was stipulated for by express treaties and conventions between states.² The treaty for levying a tithe on the traders of Manbij (Hierapolis) is said to be the first of its kind in the time of 'Umar.³ The words *tariff* and *douane* or cognate words in European languages, barrowed from Arabic, have a history in themselves. There is an implied reference in the writings of ash-Shaibānīy that sometimes the goods for trade belonging to minors or women were exempt in Islamic territories from customs duties.⁴ Again, goods of less value than 200 drachmas belonging to a person were customs-free.⁵ Abū-Yūsuf records an interesting correspondence exchanged between 'Umar and his governor, Abū-Mūsā-al-Ash'ariy :

Al-Ash'ariy wrote : Some traders of ours go to non-Muslim territory where they are subjected to tithes. 'Umar replied : Levy thou also on theirs as they levy on Muslim traders.⁶

Although Abū-Yūsuf has known dumping and "famine on account of the excess of goods,"⁷ he still believes in free trade, and quotes the injunctions of the Prophet not to interfere with prices.⁸

As for diplomatic relations and representations, we have mentioned that at first they were not maintained on a permanent basis. In his *A Short History of the Saracens*, Ameer 'Alī says however :

"When the provincial governors became the feudatories of the empire, and the sovereignty of the Caliph dwindled into more or less effective suzerainty, the confidential messengers were turned into legates of the Pontiffs, and acted as his resident agents in the Courts of Nishāpūr, Merv, Mosul, Damascus, etc. Like the Papal legates, in the later mediæval times in Europe, they accompanied the sovereigns to whom they were accredited in their military marches. We find them not only in the camps of Alp Arsalān and Malik Shāh, but also in those of Nūr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd and Saladin, ever active and sometimes meddlesome ; occasionally as under the later Ayūbids, reconciling contending princes, and settling fratricidal strifes.... (Cf. Abul-Fidā, the Caliph's envoy settled the dispute between the sons of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar)...

1. Cf. my *Corpus*, index s.v. "dimes, et exemption de."

2. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 78, 116 (and generally the whole chapter of *tithe* in this work as well as any compendium of Muslim law).

3. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 78.

4. Ash-Shaibānīy, *الاصول*, I, fol. 150b. (MS. Wafā-Āṭif, Istanbul).

5. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 76-77.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

"Each sovereign on his side maintained a commissary called *Shahna* [read : *Shihnah*] at the Pontifical Court, charged with the duty of keenly watching the moves of the game on the part of his rivals, for the struggle for predominating influence over the source of all legitimate authority was as great at *Baghdād* as in Papal Rome. *Shahnas* [read : *Shihnahs*] were usually stationed, besides the Capital, in places like *Wāsīt*, *Bussorah*, *Tikrīt*, etc."¹

In an appendix, the same author says :²

"The Abbaside sovereigns frequently employed a special envoy to transact confidential business with neighbouring potentates. The office was called the *Nizām-ul-Ḥadratain*."²

After the destruction of *Baghdād* by Mongols in 656 H., there is apparently another gap in the history of permanent embassies in Islamic countries ; there were no permanent ambassadors at that time even in Europe.

Reception of Envoys.

In the time of the Prophet, whenever a foreign envoy or delegation came, we find there was a sort of Master of Ceremonials who instructed the guests previous to their reception by the Prophet in the local formalities.³ The envoys sometimes disregarded them.⁴ There are many incidents in the time of 'Umar when the Muslim envoys disregarded certain local formalities in foreign courts, especially prostration, and caused umbrage.⁵

The Prophet, when in *Madinah*, used to receive foreign envoys in the great mosque where the *اسطوانة الوفود* (Pillar of Embassies) still commemorates the place. The Prophet and his Companions are said to have usually put on fine dress at the time of the ceremonial reception of envoys. A good example of the contrast of the simplicity of early times as against the grandeur of later times is provided by the Byzantine ambassador to 'Umar, whom he found sleeping on the ground in the sun unattended by any courtiers⁶, and the ambassador of the same empire at the court of al-Muqtadir Billāh, at *Baghdād*.⁷

Envoys generally presented gifts from their senders to the ruler to

1. Ameer-'Alī, pp. 407-08 (ed. 1921).

2. Ibid., p. 622.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 916 ; Tabariy, *History*, I, 1690.

4. Ibid.

5. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 359 ; Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 17, on the authority of Chinese sources, regarding the envoys of the commander, Qutaibah, in 713 A. Ch. to the Chinese Court.

6. كتاب في الجهاد والمغازي (MS. 4075, history, Cairo), fol. 113b.

7. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādīy, تاريخ بغداد, I, 100-05.

whose court they were accredited.¹ Such things went to the state treasury. The wife of the Caliph 'Umar once received in return for her gift, a gift from the wife of the Emperor of Constantinople, but the Caliph likewise confiscated it in favour of the general exchequer, and only the value of the original gift of the Caliphine was given her.² There are cases of the Prophet accepting the gifts of foreign potentates and using them in his official capacity—and there was no private capacity of his as is testified to by his dictum that he could not be inherited from, and whatever he possessed would go to the general exchequer.³

The envoys, too, received gifts from those to whom they were sent. The Prophet is recorded to have willed on his death-bed that his successor should award gifts to envoys as he himself used to during his lifetime.⁴ The Prophet once gave an envoy from 'Umān 500 drachmas, at another occasion gold and silver girdles, and at other times other things,⁵ sometimes more, sometimes less, according to individual cases. It is generally admitted that, if a Muslim envoy received a gift on the part of foreign rulers, etc., that would go to the state coffers.⁶

The envoys are officially entertained. There were several large houses in Madinah, in the time of the Prophet, specially meant for foreign guests. There is often mention of the house of Ramlah-bint-al-Hārith in Ibn-Sa'd, in this connexion.⁷ Another house was known as the Guests' House (دارالضيافان).⁸ No wonder when the Prophet took special pains personally to entertain the envoys of Abyssinia,⁹ for it was in this country that he had found a most friendly state even when he was in extreme danger in Mecca in the early days of his mission. Generally speaking, envoys were treated corresponding to their personal position and that of their sender.¹⁰

Privileges of Envoys.

Envoys, along with those who are in their company, enjoy full personal

1. *Shērūeh-ibn-Shahriyār ad-Dalamīy* رياض الانس لعقلاء الانس (MS. 48, history, Cairo), fol. 39b; *Tirmidhiy*, ch. قبول هدايا المشرکين; *Tabariy, Hist.*, I, 2163; Again cf. presents from Muqawqis and Farwah to the Prophet.

2. *Tabariy, History*, I, 2822-23; *Ibn-al-Athīr, Kāmil*, III, 74.

3. *Tabariy, History*, I, 1826.

4. *Bukhārīy*, 56: 176; *Kattānīy*, I, 451.

5. *Ibn-Sa'd*, I/2, pp. 40, 43, 66; *Tabariy, History*, I, 1574; *Kattānīy*, I, 390.

6. عن محمد: هدية ملك أهل الحرب يصير فينا للمسلمين, *فتاوى عالمگیری*, Vol. III, pp. 265, 66. According to *al-Marghinānīy (الذخيرة البرهانية)* MS. *Yanjāmi*, Istanbul, ch. 18), however, envoys sometimes were allowed to appropriate what they received as gifts.

7. *Ibn-Sa'd*, ch. *wufūd*; *Kattānīy*, I, 445ff.

8. *Kattānīy*, I, 445.

9. 'Abd-al-Bāqī, الطراز المنقوش, pp. 45-46.

10. *Hasan-ibn-'Abdallah*, آثار الاول في ترتيب الدول (compiled 708 H.), كل رسول على مقداره و مقدار مرسله.

immunity : they must never be killed,¹ nor be in any way molested or maltreated. Even if the envoy, or any of his company, is a criminal of the state to which he is sent, he may not be treated otherwise than as an envoy. The envoys of the imposter Musailimah provide good law to whom the Prophet had said : Had you not been envoys, I would have ordered you to be beheaded.²

Envoys are accorded full freedom of prayer and religious rites. The Prophet allowed the delegation of the Christians of Najrān, to celebrate their service in the very Mosque of the Prophet. Muslim historians mention as a curiosity that these Christians turned their faces towards the East and prayed.³

Envoys may only in extraordinary cases be detained or imprisoned.⁴ So, the Prophet detained the plenipotentiaries of Mecca until the Muslim ambassador detained in Mecca returned safe to Ḥudaibiyah where the Prophet was camping.⁵

The property of the envoys is exempt from import duties in Muslim territory⁶ if reciprocated.⁷ So, ash-Shaibānī says,⁸ if the foreign states exempt Muslim envoys from customs duties and other taxes, the envoys of such states will enjoy the same privileges in Muslim territory ; otherwise they may, if the Muslim state so desire, be required to pay ordinary dues like foreign visitors.

Peaceful Settlement of International Differences.

The object of diplomacy is peaceful solution of international questions and promotion of harmony between different states. It is immaterial whether the differences between states are legal or political or otherwise. We are concerned here only with the modes of their settlement, which are of various kinds :

1. The first and the simplest kind is mutual negotiation. This is done through permanent or special and extraordinary envoys. This need not be discussed in any detail.

2. Conciliation, mediation, and good offices. By these different terms we understand third parties, friends to both the contending states, serving as channels for mutual negotiation and tendering friendly suggestions and advice to bring the disputants to an amicable settlement of

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 965 ; Ibn-Hanbal, I, 390-91, 396, 404, 406 ; Abū-Dāwūd, I, 275.

2. Ibid., Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 92.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 402 ; Ibn-Sa'd, I/2, p. 85.

4. For a detailed discussion cf. Sarakhsīy, *السير الكبير*, IV, 320.

5. Ḥalabīy, *انسان العيون*, III, 26 ; Karāmat, *Alī, Sirah*, ch. *Ḥud'aibiyah* ; Dahlan, *Sirah*, II, 46
فحبست قریش عثمان رض فحبس صلعم سهيلا

6. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 116.

7. Sarakhsīy, *السير الكبير*, IV, 67.

8. Ibid.

their relations. Ibn-Hishām records that in the year 1 H. the first, or at least one of the first expeditions the Prophet despatched against the caravans belonging to the city-state of Mecca—then at war with Islam—was headed by Ḥamzah, who encountered the enemy near the seacoast of Yanbū'. Abū-Jahl was leading the enemy party. A fight was imminent but Majdiy-ibn-'Amr, who was an ally of both the states, Muslim as well as Meccan, intervened with mediations; and both the detachments parted from each other quietly.¹ We may also refer to the case of Ubāy-ibn-Salūl, who although a Muslim subject, in his capacity as an old ally of the Jewish tribe of Qainuqā', interceded with the Prophet on their behalf, and the Prophet granted him his request.²

3. The third and the most important kind is arbitration. This means the determination of a difference between two states through the decision of one or more umpires chosen by the parties (حَكْمُهُ تَحْكِيمًا : أَدْرَهُ).³ The most important case in the time of the Prophet is the arbitration as to the treatment to be meted out to the Jewish tribes of Banū-Quraizah after their capitulation on the condition that a certain person should decide their lot. The Prophet accepted it, and carried out the arbitral award fully.⁴ The famous arbitration between 'Alīy and Mu'āwiyah is another classical example, the document containing the terms of reference in this case having come down to us *in toto*.⁵ The question was who should succeed to the Caliph 'Uthmān who had been murdered, 'Alīy being elected by the people of Madīnah, and Mu'āwiyah, who was governor of Syria, contending its validity and himself standing as a candidate. The arbitrators had agreed among themselves that both 'Alīy and Mu'āwiyah should be deposed, and that the Muslim community should elect a Caliph anew. Accordingly, at the fixed time and place the arbitrators came to deliver their award. First the nominee of 'Alīy pronounced that he deposed both 'Alīy and Mu'āwiyah so that a new Caliph might be elected and the Muslim community once more united. After him stood the arbitrator nominated by Mu'āwiyah, who said that the nominee of the other party had no right to decide except for his own client; and that he, the nominee of Mu'āwiyah, however, would not depose his client; on the other hand he confirmed him in his position. As the arbitrators had no agreed award, 'Alīy did not feel himself bound by the award and he did not abide by it.⁶ Civil wars would have again ensued had not 'Alīy been assassinated by an anarchist.⁷ In an interesting

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 419.

2. Ibn-Hishām, p. 688; Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, 1491.

3. See lexicon *Tāj al-'arus*, s.v. taḥkim.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 688-89; Abū-Yūsuf, *Khārāj*, p. 124.

5. For text see Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, 3336-38; ad-Dinawariy, *ال* , pp. 196-99.

6. Cf. any Islamic History regarding events before 40 H.

7. Abul-Fidā', *Hist.* I, 364: قِيلَ كَانَ عَلَى قَبِيلٍ مَرَّتَهُ بِإِيَّاهُ أَرْبَعُونَ أَلْفًا مِنْ عَسَاكِرِهِ عَلَى الْمَوْتِ وَاخْتِطَفَ التَّجَهُّزَ إِلَى مَعَاوِيَةَ.

passage, Abū-Yūsuf says what applies admirably to the case of 'Alīy :

If the parties agree on two arbitrators. . . who differ in the award, it is void, except when both the parties agree to accept the award of one of them. If only one party agrees to the award of one of the arbitrators and not the other, the arbitration is void. If each of the parties agrees to the award of one of the arbitrators, the arbitration is void.¹

According to Abū-Yūsuf, the following categories of people are not fit to be selected as arbitrators, viz., Muslims punished for scandalising respected ladies (قذف), minors, women, slaves, blind people, the immoral (فاسق), men of suspected or notoriously bad conduct (صاحب ريبة و شر), Muslims who are prisoners in the hands of the other party to arbitration, Muslim traders in the territory of the other party, Muslim subjects of the other non-Muslim party, be he in his own home or even in the Muslim camp.² According to our author an arbitrator must be :

a man of insight in affairs, orthodoxy
in religion, eminence and trust among
the Muslims, and profound knowledge
of law (*dīn*). In short, those whose evidence is not accepted in court, should not be selected to arbitrate in such affairs.³

انما يتخير في هذا ويقصد اهل
الرأى والدين و الفضل والموضع
من المسلمين و من كانت له
حياطة على الدين فامان لا تجوز
شهادته فكيف يحكم في هذا

Abū-Yūsuf also maintains that a non-Muslim subject, too, is not eligible to the honour of arbitership, but his opinion has not found favour with other jurists. For al-Kāsānīy⁴ is explicit that a non-Muslim subject can be accepted as arbitrator, and the trend of his argument bears little doubt that, according to him, even neutral non-Muslims may be accepted as arbiters.

Abū-Yūsuf says⁵ that awards to the effect of maintaining *status quo*, futile in themselves, are void and are equivalent to saying : We do not accept arbitership. So, too, awards for returning Muslims into the subjection of non-Muslims are void. He is so emphatic on the point that, according to him,⁶ if the other party to the arbitration had brought to the Muslim camp Muslim prisoners, slaves of Islamic faith, and Muslim subjects of the other non-Muslim party, these will not be allowed to return to the non-Muslim territory, for "the arbitral award does not allow the return of Muslims to belligerent and infidel territory." But his

1. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 124.

2. Ibid., p. 125-26.

3. Ibid., p. 125.

4. *الصنائع*, VII, 108.

5. *Kharāj*, p. 124.

6. Ibid., p. 126.

opinion is not shared by other jurists on the higher authority of the practice of the Prophet who expressly consented to return Muslims under the treaty of Ḥudaibiyah. If for the death of the arbitrators or disagreement between them, an arbitration fails, *status quo* must be restored and no undue advantage be taken of the other party's sense of security and consequent carelessness.¹

(*To be continued*).

M. ḤAMIDULLAH.

¹ *Kharāj*, p. 124.

RE-EVALUATION OF THE LITERARY SOURCES OF PRE-MUGHAL HISTORY

COMPARATIVELY little attention has so far been paid to a critical assessment of the historical sources of the early Muhammadan period.

Ever since the labours of Henry Elliott, and later the Asiatic Society of Bengal, making these sources available to students in printed form, the practice, and one might say the fashion, has been to lay as many of these sources as possible under contribution, accept the information more or less on its face value and generally to produce a factual rather than a critical study of the period or personality. This, under the circumstances in which Indian history has been gradually revealed during the last hundred years, was perhaps unavoidable, but a time seems to have come when more attention should be devoted to a closer scrutiny of the available materials than to increasing our knowledge of historical facts. It is the purpose of this paper to emphasise the necessity of such a reassessment with regard to some of the pre-Mughal source books.

One of the most common practices of early Muslim writers, that cannot fail to strike one as very trying, is their incorrigible habit of indulging in—what they evidently regarded as legitimate—exaggeration. It is not difficult to guard against the most palpable cases, caused by flights of fancy, poetic and linguistic finesse. In such overstatements Ḥasan Nizāmī, the author of the *Taj al-Maāthir* is a past-master. Statements such as “a hundred-thousand grovelling Hindus swiftly departed to the fire of Hell” at the capture of Ajmere, “where the Sultān destroyed the pillars and foundations of idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges”¹ or “fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery and the temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness...., the very name of idolatry was annihilated at Kalinjar” by Aibak,² can, however be easily discounted. Nor is it at all difficult to reject such poetical eulogies of Amīr Khusrāu as made Kaiqubād the supreme overlord of “Gujrat,

1. Elliott, ii, p. 215; cf. Titus, *Indian Islam*, p. 23, who evidently failed to recognize the exaggeration.

2. Ibid., p. 231. Most of the pre-Muslim temples are still standing; see Cunningham, *Reports*, xxi, pp. 25, 58ff.

Devagiri, Telingana, Bengal and Malwah,"¹ or the same writer's estimate of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī, who "destroyed the country of the Sun-worshippers. Who dyed the soil of Behar with blood red as the tulip, and at Deogir destroyed the temples and erected pulpits and arches for mosques."² A similar poetry is evident also in the prose-writing of 'Utbī who could make such naive assertions that during Maḥmūd's attack on Sirsa "the Mussalmans paid no regard to the booty till they had satiated themselves with the slaughter of the infidels and worshippers of Sun and Fire" and that "the elephants of the Hindus came of their own accord, leaving idols and preferring the service of the religion of Islam."³ Another kind of exaggeration, less easily detected is that seen in the accounts of 'Iṣāmī⁴ and also of Ibn Baṭūṭa, regarding Muḥammad b. Tughluq's transfer of the capital to Deogir. By using a word generally employed in a figurative sense and thus removing all cause for suspecting it to be an exaggeration, a whole story is built up of utter desolation, indescribable hardship and wholesale deportation down to the last living being, which may easily be taken as literally true. The absence of any qualifying word with خلق, such as those used by Baranī,⁵ makes 'Iṣāmī's story less suspect than the obvious metaphorical description of the former who, a few lines below, states that "not even a cat or a dog was left either within the city or in its suburbs and inns."

It is needless to refer to high-flown eulogies and glorification of the rulers and nobles often indulged in by servile chroniclers, for no one accepts them at their face value. But deliberate misrepresentation and distortion of a situation is an offence from which the writers are not wholly free; and as some of them happen to be our only available authority for the period, they require a good deal of caution and comparative study to escape the intended effect. Sectional or personal prejudice, hope of reward and fear of punishment, antagonism to a person or measure,—all these combined to furnish the motive. This is best illustrated in the 14th century, by 'Iṣāmī, Ibn Baṭūṭa and Zia'uddīn Baranī, in their accounts of the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluq. A. M. Husain, in his monograph on the Sultān, has exhaustively discussed the bias that actuated these writers to vilify the Sultān and his administration, and a few instances of their propagandist writing will suffice here.

In his account of the token currency 'Iṣāmī ascribes the introduction of copper, iron and leather coins to a desire on the part of the Sultān to destroy materially the *Aṣḥāb-i-Dīn* whose wealth and position provoked his jealousy.⁷ The same vindictive spirit is said to have been at work

1. *Qirān al-Sa'dain*, p. 49.

2. Elliott, iii, p. 543.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*. Elliott, ii, p. 50.

4. *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn*, ed. Husain, p. 430ff.

5. *Kitāb al-Raḥla*, ed. Defremery, iii, pp. 314-15.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 473-4: خواص خلق و مردم گزیده و چیده

7. *op. cit.*, pp. 441-2.

against the people of Delhi whose crowded bazaar one evening led him to think out an effective means of reducing their number, and so he decided on the Qarachil expedition.¹ 'Iṣāmī's methods, however, are perhaps a little too crude to find ready acceptance, but his other two contemporaries, Ibn Baṭūta and Baranī, specially the latter, are not so easily disposed of. His sympathies being wholly on the side of the ecclesiastics whose antagonism to the regime was no secret, Ibn Baṭūta accepted their construction of the circumstances of Ghiyāthuddin Tughluq's death and built up a clever and apparently convincing story of Muḥammad's attempts to get rid of his father, which finally succeeded at Afghānpur.² That 'Iṣāmī also repeats the story only shows that it must have been widely circulated, but a careful analysis of the story, as done by Dr. Husain in the book referred to above (p. 66 ff.), reveals significant contradictions and shows that while some of the facts composing the story may have been true, the conclusion indicated by both the writers is a deliberate attempt to give the ruler a bad name only to justify the condemnation the 'Ulemā' had already pronounced on him.

This kind of misrepresentation is a chief defect of Baranī, although it must be said in fairness to him that he was not always deliberately dishonest. His conception of history and plan of writing as set forth in his preface³ largely explain his undue emphasis on characterisation to the neglect of a faithful recording of facts and their interpretation. While it is easy to make allowance for this in utilising his work, a good deal of care is necessary to be able to detect and make due allowance for what constitutes a much more serious danger for the unwary reader, namely, his mental bias, not directed against any individual (which it would be easy enough to see) or arising from any particular motive, but due to his honest and deep-seated politico-religious convictions. His intellectual make-up was, as will appear presently, extremely reactionary and not only are all his judgement of men and affairs or even selection of events affected by this standard, but it often leads him to make interpolations in the narrative and impose his own views in the description of characters. It was not an objective history that he was writing, that is, he viewed the past not as it was actually lived, but as it should have been in accordance with his ideals, and it was to illustrate or emphasise by contrast that he selected his events. His attitude is never objective; he either condemns or approves. What makes this habit of his difficult to detect is the fact that he honestly believed in the faithfulness of the picture he was drawing and so there is nothing in the book itself to indicate that it is the author's own mind that is mostly projected in the book and not the actual past. I do not of course suggest that his account is imaginary, for that would be preposterous; but there are strong reasons to believe that by foisting his

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, 447-8.

2. *op. cit.*, iii. p. 212.

3. *op. cit.* pp. 9-22.

own ideas on the past he produces a picture that, in most cases, is far removed from reality.

Before we quote instances it is necessary to deal briefly with his politico-religious views. These are set out in detail in a little known work of his, entitled *Fatāwa-i-Jahāndārī* (Dicta on State-craft) of which, so far as I know, there exists only one manuscript copy, in the India Office library.¹ In the form of advice addressed to the "Sovereigns of Islam," he describes the duties of an Islamic king.

بادشاهان اسلام دلہائی خود را دران آرزو (تمناء شہادت در محارب و مقاتل) مملو یا بند....
و از راه دینداری در راه حق شہادت جویند²۔

Trans. "The sovereigns of Islam should have their hearts full of this desire (desire to attain martyrdom in battle) and in their zeal for religion, should seek martyrdom in the path of God." He was extremely intolerant of free-thinkers and unorthodox Muslims, and devotes a goodly portion of the work urging the king to exterminate "the infidel philosophers," as he calls them, "who prefer scientific reasoning to tradition," and whom he, on that account, regards as enemies of the religion of God and antagonists of Muhammad."³ His attitude towards non-Muslims will be clear from the following extracts :—

(1) "How can the True Religion become dominant over the others when the Kings of Islam, with all their might and Islamic grandeur, permit (the infidels), in the capital and Mussalman cities, to worship idols openly, to continue the usages of their false religion without fear or hesitation, to hold festivities with singing and drum-beating, and, in return for the payment of a few *tankas* paid as *Jaziya*, to perpetuate all such idolatrous practices, including even the study of their false Scriptures?"⁴

(2) "How are the signs of Islam to be triumphant when infidels and idolaters (are allowed to) live in all kinds of luxury, with drums, flags, silken robes and richly caparisoned horses, employing Mussalman servants to run in front of their mounts? when Mussalman dervishes beg at their doors? and when, within the capital, these (very infidels) are addressed (in such honourable terms) as Rai, Rānā, Thākūr, Sahā, Mahta and Pandit?"⁵

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An interesting development in the 12th and 13th centuries is the growth, throughout the Asiatic world of Islam, of a legend round the figure of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and his transformation into a kind of Islamic hero, an embodiment of all material and moral perfections, who

1. Ethé, No. 25-63.

2. F. 9b.

3. F. 120a.

4. F. 119b.

5. F. 120a.

dispensed God-like justice, championed truth, destroyed falsehood, and devoted all his life to the extirpation of "impure" men, viz. free-thinkers, atheists, etc., and who firmly established the religion of God, Whose protection, on that account, he enjoyed. Baranī takes as his ideal this legendary figure of Maḥmūd, and repeatedly urges the "Sovereigns of Islam," whom, he, in fact, addresses as the "sons of Maḥmūd,"¹ to imitate him and thus earn everlasting reward in the next world and enjoy security and prosperity of their kingdom in the present.

Now this is clearly an ideal to which Baranī wanted the sovereign to aspire and change the existing order of things, which, in the extracts given above, he very much deploras, and it does not necessarily follow that this attitude was universal among the Muslims or was shared by the ruling class. It is more reasonable to hold that it was not. But this is precisely the impression that is created by such discourses, as for example, that ascribed, through Balban, to Iltutmish² in which he describes his political duties, the most important of which is extermination of heresy and idolatry and complete suppression of the Hindus.

The same ideal is also ascribed to Balban³ who explains this to his heir-apparent. He constantly expresses his regret at his inability to act up to it,⁴ but that this was the only way of justifying his position as a Muslim King is repeatedly stressed. The same views are again wishfully interpolated in what is supposed to be a speech of Jalāluddīn Khaljī,⁵ in which Baranī's own regrets at the far from humiliating position of the Hindus within the capital are reproduced in almost identical language.

Indeed, he was so obsessed with this intolerance and was so eager to see it adopted everywhere that it was fathered upon the Qāḍī, Muḥithuddīn, whose answer to 'Alāuddīn Khaljī's question respecting the law for collection of taxes from the Hindus, Baranī is supposed to reproduce so faithfully and objectively.⁶ It is of course not impossible that the Qāḍī really held those views, but the identity of sentiments with those expressed in the *Fatāwa-i-Jahāndārī*, makes it extremely probable that they were really Baranī's own. The following passage, from his *Tārīkh*, is to be read with those from his *Fatāwa*:—

چون محصل دیوان ازو (هندوی) سیم طلب نمایند بلینت و تواضع بی هیچ خدشه بتعظیم زردا کند - و اگر محصل خوی دردهن او اندازد او بی هیچ تفری دهن باز کند تا محصل خوی دردهن او اندازد -⁷

Trans. "When a tax-collector demands money from him (a Hindu), the latter should, in all humility and respect, pay the required amount; and if the collector would spit in his (the Hindu's) mouth, the latter should unhesitatingly open his mouth to receive it."

Compare, again, the following, said to have been the compliment given to 'Alāuddīn by the eminent divine, Shamsuddīn Turk, who, however,

1. e.g. F. 21a4.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 42.3. *Ibid.*, p. 72.4. *Ibid.*, p. 70.5. *Ibid.*, p. 216-17.6. *Ibid.*, p. 290.7. *Idem.*

was so displeased with the Sultān's negligence of religious duties that he refused to visit him in Delhi and went back from Multān¹ :—

شنیدم که زن و بچه هندوان بردرهای مسلمانان گدائی میکنند - آفرین ای بادشاه اسلام بر این دین
پناهی که تو میکنی

Trans. "I have heard that the women and children of the Hindus (have to) beg at the door of the Mussalmans. Praise be to thee, O King of Islam, for such zeal in the maintenance of Religion as you are showing."

It is this orthodoxy that led Baranī to compare Muḥammad b. Tughluq with Nimrod² whose intercourse with the Philosophers and Jogis alienated the entire section of the 'Ulemā'³ and whose patronage of the Hindus and newly converted Indian Muslims was extremely disliked.⁴ It is the same orthodoxy, again, which led him to reject all the previous sovereigns and hail Fīrōz, the champion of this policy, as the first *Bādshāh* of Islam.⁵ In fact this idealistic presentation of the past runs like a red thread throughout the work and is responsible for a great deal of misconception with regard to persons and politics of medieval India.

Another kind of misunderstanding, often leading to erroneous conclusions, is caused by careless use of unconventional phrases and idioms whose intended meaning is thereby greatly obscured. Instances are afforded, here also, by Baranī. In describing Muḥammad b. Tughluq's suppression of the rebellion in Baran,⁶ he uses the phrase بطریق شکار در ولایت which, consistent with his reputation for ferocity, it is very easy to take literally and interpret as his man-hunting expedition.⁷ Almost the same phrase is used also in connection with Balban's march to Sāmānā to organise his army for the projected expedition against Tughril of Lakhnawti⁸ - بر عزم لشکر کشی سمت لکهنوتی برسم شکار طرف سامانه و سنام بیرون آمد - and seems to have been a favourite expression of Baranī to describe a secret march, the real purpose and destination of which is not given out. The careless use of the term "Hindu" in the following passages is equally misleading, as has been pointed out by Mr. Moreland, in his "*Agrarian System of Moslem India*."⁹

(a) سلطان علاؤالدین میزانی و ضابطه از دانایان میطلبید که هندو فرو مالیده شود -¹⁰

(b) و هندو را سربالا کردن ممکن نبود و در خانه هندوان نقش زر و نقره و تنکه و چیتل و اسباب زیادی که رو باندند تهر و عصیان است مانده بود -¹¹

1. *Tarikh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī* p. 297.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 506.

3. Ibn Batūta, *Kitāb al-Rahla*, cited in *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad b. Tughluq*, p. 198.

4. *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

5. Baranī, p. 538.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 479-80.

7. Cf. Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 397.

8. Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

9. p. 32, note.

10. Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

(c) بدان کہ هرگز هندو فرمانبردار و مطیع مسلمان نشود تا او بینوا و بے اسباب نشود - ¹

Trans. "(a) He asked his counsellors to prepare schedules and regulations with a view to chastise the Hindus.

(b) It was impossible for the Hindu to raise his head, and in his house not a trace remained of gold, silver, tanka, jital or any articles of luxury that incited him to rebellion and disloyalty.

(c) Take note that unless he is reduced to such dire poverty as to be in want of his daily bread and bare necessities of life, a Hindu will never obey or be loyal to the Mussalman."

A closer study would show that the reference is only to a section of the Hindus, the Zamindars and Chiefs of the rural areas, whose wealth and power, acquired at the expense of smaller peasants and Government dues, was a potential danger to the state inasmuch as they were frequently tempted to revolt.

A good corrective of the impressions created by such histories is provided by a class of materials to which little attention has hitherto been paid, but which appear to be extremely useful for the political and social history of the early Sultanate period. I refer to such non-political writings as biographies of saints, literary histories and compositions and theological and legal treatises. Among such biographies and memoirs, we have a number of works on the *Chishtiya* saints, beginning with *Khawāja Mu'inuddīn* of Ajmer. A daily record of his conversations is said to have been kept by his famous disciple, *Qutbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī* and was edited under the title *Dalīlul 'Arefīn*. Similar collections were also made for the latter's disciple, *Farīduddīn Shākarganj*, by the celebrated saint *Nizāmuddīn Auliya* of Delhi, and published under the name of *Rāḥatul Qulūb*, while a complete memoir of *Farīduddīn* was prepared, with the title *Asrārul Auliya*, by his son-in-law, *Ishāq*. *Qutbuddīn Kākī* is also represented by a collection of his sayings entitled, *Rauḥatul Aqtāb*, made by *Muḥammad Bulāq*. Not less than three separate works containing collections of a similar nature exist for the saint *Nizāmuddīn Auliya*, and of these, the *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād* by the poet *Amīr Ḥasan*, is in the form of a diary. The other is named *Rāḥatul Muḥibbīn* and is compiled by no less a person than the poet *Amīr Khusrāu*. A full account of *Nizāmuddīn Auliya*'s life and works was written by *Muḥammad Mubārak Kirmānī*, a late disciple of the Saint and a contemporary of *Muḥammad b. Tughluq*. There are casual and extremely illuminating references in these works to contemporary events, personalities and social life, and since their authors had no interest in recording them except to draw morals of a spiritual nature, they are remarkably free from such defects as we have discussed above. From the *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād*, for example, in a casual reference to a man of saintly character, named *Rāziuddīn Nishāpūrī*, we learn that there used to be a *Nāib-i-Mushrif* (Deputy Accountant) in the '*Iqtā'* also (*Rāziuddīn* was the

Nāib-i-Mushrif of Kōl), and that the pay of 100 tankas a month was considered too poor for a house-tutor.¹ The following reference to the saint named Nūr Turk, regarding whom Minhāj-i-Sirāj has some hard things to say² will show where the latter's bias lay. Amīr Ḥasan once told the saint Niẓāmuddīn, "Some of the 'Ulemā' of the capital have made some adverse remarks respecting his (Nūr Turk's) religious faith. The saint replied: 'No, he was purer than the water that rains from Heaven.' I submitted that in some of the histories, particularly the *Ṭabqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, I have seen it written that he used to call the 'Ulemā' of the Shari'at, Nāṣibī (setters-up) and Nurjī (procrastinators). The saint said: 'The 'Ulemā' bore great malice against him for the reason that he used to denounce them for their selfish worldliness, to counter which they laid that charge of heresy against him.'³ That the 'Ulemā' and the ecclesiastics had entered into an unholy alliance with the secular monarch and were always prepared to go over to the victorious party in the name of Islam is confirmed by the story of the Qādī of Multān who, on account of a personal grudge he bore against Nāṣiruddīn Qubācha, secretly invited İltutmish in the name of orthodoxy and on behalf of the 'Ulemā' and the Syeds of the place.⁴ An interesting piece of information respecting the collection and assessment of the land revenue in the early days, of İltutmish's reign is similarly furnished by the *Rauzatul Aqtāb*.⁵ The story of a disciple of Bahāuddīn Zakariyā of Multān, a poor man who used to till a plot of land near Lahore and was compelled to show the tax-collector a miracle in lieu of the revenue he was unable to pay, contains a reference to what appears to have been a crop-survey with a view to assessment.⁶

Among literary works, the historical value of Amīr Khusrau's writings claims foremost importance, although here, as in other works of this nature, a certain amount of caution is necessary, for, like the histories, not only are they apt to be influenced by social and political prejudices but also to be carried away by flights of fancy. An instance is offered by a letter in the *I'jāz-i-Khusravī*, which, purporting to be an *'Arẓdāsh*t, addressed to prince Khizir Khān, has led Elliott to accept it as the only extant record of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī's conquest of Ghazni.⁷ Nevertheless the light thrown on contemporary life and society by the abstracts made of his poetical writings is sometimes highly revealing. That contemporary law and society were far from strictly orthodox or Islamic as the historians would have us believe, is shown by the casual reference of Amīr Khusrau to the rate of interest at one jital per tanka lent on bonds which had legal sanction, a rate enforced by the Qādī.⁸ Similarly, the extent to which religion and

1. B. M. MS. Or. 1806, f. 56-7.

2. Tab. Nas. Trans., Raverty, p. 646. The saint is stated to have been in alliance with the *Malahidah* and *Karamitah* heretics.

3. Or. 1806, f. 102b.

4. Ibid., f. 65-66a.

5. B. M. MS. Or. 1756, f. 201a.

6. Quoted in Hamid b. Faẓlullāh Siarul 'Ārefīn, Or. 215, f. 17a.

7. Elliott, iii, p. 566.

8. Amīr Khusrau-Kulliyāt, p. 312.

religious institutions had become servile instruments of the state is evident from Amīr Khusrau's remarks on the moral degeneration of the officially recognized leaders of Islam, the Qāḍīs and the 'Ulemā'.¹ The *Qaṣā'id-i-Badr Chāch* has long been recognised as a valuable source-book for the early Tughluq period. Of similar interest are the *Inshā-i-Māhrū* of 'Ainul Mulk Multānī, a high official under Muḥammad b. Tughluq, and the *Basatīn ul-Uns* of Aḥmad Ḥusain Dabīr, which, however, contains matters of historical value only in its preface.

In writings of theological, legal and quasi-medical nature also there is good information on which a student of social history can usefully draw. Interesting sidelights on the beliefs and observances of the Muslim masses are to be found, for example, in the quasi-medical work of 'Abdul Qawī b. Shahābuddīn Zīā, entitled *Rāḥat ul-Insān* and dedicated to Fīrōz Tughluq. The anonymous compilation named *Fawā'id-i-Fīrōzshāhī* belonging to the same period, besides affording us an insight into the theologico-ethical standard of the time, gives some interesting information respecting fiscal and administrative practices. An indication of the method of assessment for the land revenue is furnished, for example, by the mention of two kinds of Kharāj, *Muqāsima* and *Wazīfa*,² which can only refer to what Mr. Moreland calls crop-sharing and contract.³ Legal works like the *Fiqh-i-Fīrōzshāhī* (also called the *Fatāwa-i-Fīrōzshāhī*), originally compiled by Ya'qūb Muzaffar Kirmānī, but edited anonymously during Fīrōz's reign, are our only guide to the law as actually applied to the Muslims, and confirm to a great extent the suspicion that the servile 'Ulemā' did not hesitate to twist the law in order to satisfy the needs of their secular masters. See, for example, the passage in which legal sanction is skilfully, manufactured for the king's forcible expropriation of his subjects' wealth whenever he thought it necessary to do so.⁴ Of similar interest is the *Fiqh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhī*, of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd, dedicated to Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr (1535-57), which contains, besides a mass of instruction on what I would call religious quackery, a valuable collection of legal opinions and court decisions.

Non-Muslim documents are yet another means of checking Muslim chronicles. Apart from the numerous Jaina and Hindu theological works written during the Sultanate period, which continue to yield valuable information,⁵ Hindu chronicles and literary compositions also deserve to be closely studied. Among the latter the fragmentary *Prithvirājaviṇaya Kāvya*, believed to have been composed in the lifetime of the Chauhana ruler, and the *Hammīra Mahākāvya*, a versified history of the Chauhana house of Ranthambhor completed early in the 14th century, are of

1. Amīr Khusrau, *Matla'*, al-Anwar Lucknow, pp. 55-60.

2. F. 199a. R. A. S. B. MS., Ivanow, No. 1069.

3. *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 7-8.

4. I. O. MS., f. 191-2.

5. Mr. B. A. Salletone tells us, for example, that there is evidence in their extant works to show that the eminent Jaina divines, Sinhakīrti and Viśālākīrti, enjoyed the active patronage of Maḥammad b. Tughluq and Sikandar Lōdī, respectively.—*Karnataka Historical Review*, Vol. IV, Nos. I & II. 1937.

importance for obvious reasons. So are the Rajput traditions, collected by Muhnot Nainsi in the 17th century, as also local and dynastic chronicles like the *Rāsmālā* and the *Rājmalā*, for Gujrat and Tipperah respectively. A remarkable work in a form of corrupt Sanskrit, named *Shekashubhodaya* (the advent of the Sheikh) has lately been discovered in Bengal,¹ which purports to be a memoir of the saint Jalāluddīn Tabrēzī who visited Bengal early in the 13th century and to whom tradition ascribes the conversion of a large number of Hīndus in North Bengal. Although evidence points to its being, in its present form, a forged document presumably prepared in Akbar's time to prove the legal right of the saint's shrine to the lands it held, some of the stories in their essentials seem to be genuine illustrations of the saint's activities, and for the history of Islam's missionary work in India, they will certainly repay careful study.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH.

1. It has been edited by S. Sen, Calcutta.

HAIDAR ALI'S INVASION OF THE EASTERN CARNATIC, 1780

A French military adventurer in India, named *Maître De La Tour*, calling himself "a General in the Army of the Mogul Empire," published a life of this great Sultan, entitled *Histoire d' Ayder-Aly Cawn, ou Nouveaux Memoires sur l' Inde* (Paris, 1783, 2 Vols., 12 mo.), which was afterwards translated into English. Though the author claimed to be "an eye-witness of his conquests," yet he naively confesses : "We can give no details of the operations of Haidar in the present war, having no other materials than the relations of the English ; and on these we can place no dependence, because they are fabricated in India to deceive the English government."...

It may gratify the shade of this Frenchman in Hades to learn that there is still preserved in manuscript an account of this campaign from its beginning to the fall of Arcot (28th May to 4th Nov. 1780) written by a French officer of Lalée's corps who personally went through it. The narrative, though composed in French, is preserved among the Portuguese records in Goa (*Livro das Moncoens*, No. 161B, ff. 469 *et seqq.*). From a rather defective transcript of it, I have made the following English translation. Here we can see in great detail the French side of this famous campaign, of which a shorter account is also preserved in a letter from M. de Lalée to his brother, (not yet published in English).*

(TRANSLATION)

May 28th.—To-day all the tents of the army have been erected one half league from Seringapatan ; the vanguard has been sent towards Bangalore ; and the rearguard occupies Graille. As the Brahman astrol-ogers have assured him that the day is auspicious, the Nawab, who rather believes in their superstitions, has given orders for sending to the camp all the troops who are cantoned in the Island. They have crossed the river in the afternoon, except the party of M. de Lalée and that of M. Pimorin. Our politicians are forming diverse projects, but these will come to light only after some months. Nearly all of them agree in saying

*French original published in *La Revue de l' Histoire des Colonies Francaises*, May 1934.

that the Nawab will not pass the *ghats*, and that if he approaches them (with) his army, it will be only for cantoning during the winter (i.e., the rainy season) and sparing the forage of his country. Mons. de Lalée alone holds that he will depart immediately, and that he is going to attack the English with superior forces.

May 29th.—The Nawab issued from the city at ten o'clock in the morning, after making sacrifices (of buffaloes) at all the gates, and he has arrived in the camp with the greatest pomp ; and from to-day entrance into Seringapatan, following the usage, has been closed to all Europeans.

May 30th.—The party of M. de Lalée crossed the river two hours after noon ; he has encamped in the vanguard of the army to the left of Muhammad Ali ; it is the post that has been assigned to him during the entire campaign.

June 1st.—The artillery has been distributed to the *risalas* ; there are in each (*risala*) two pieces of 4-6 calibre, and the same number of 8, two munition wagons and one cart.

The heavy artillery has been sent forth. It consists of 13 pieces of large calibre, four *colubrines de douze* (culverins or long narrow guns), two howitzers (*obuses*) six swivel-guns (*pierriers*) and a large number of munition wagons (*caissons*) and carts.

June 3rd.—M. de Pimorin has come to the camp. He has occupied a position one musket-shot behind M. de Lalée. The departure for Bangalore is fixed for next Friday.

June 7th.—In the morning a body of 3,000 cavalry started and the heavy artillery has been set going.

June 9th.—This morning, half an hour before daybreak, the Nawab set out on his march with the greater part of the cavalry. The infantry defiled in two columns. The contingent of M. de Lalée marched at its head on the left. The artillery formed a third column, and the carriages (*equipages*) a fourth. The remainder of the cavalry has become the rearguard.

June 14th.—The Nawab arrived at Bangalore at noon, and has lodged in the fort. The army has encamped to the east of the place. The vanguard has been placed towards Hosur. The Prince (Haidar Ali) has made a halt of 22 days here. During this interval, the troops of the distant provinces have joined us. From the depot have been issued some siege-guns besides, and quantities of munition. It is said (*on pretende*) that there have been pourparlers with the English, which have produced no effect.

July 6th.—The army has received orders to hold itself in readiness for marching. It is composed of 20,000 sepoys, 20,000 cavalry, 10,000 Bidars, 15,000 *Peons*, 6,000 Carnatis, 2,500 Pathans, and a number of (oxen) sufficient for conveying 40 field-guns very liberally supplied with munitions.

The corps of M. de Lalée and that of de Pimorin can number a total of 450 Europeans of whom 230 are mounted on horses. Besides these,

there may be in the camp 300 Europeans of diverse nationalities, who are under the discipline of the *Kachary* (Haidar). But as they do not form any corps and as besides they are all prisoners, or to put it better, slaves, they cannot be placed among the number of the forces of the Prince. He has assigned the greater portion of these people to serving his pieces (of cannon), and the rest have been distributed among the *risalas*. He formed, not long ago, a company of infantry which he has placed under the orders of a *mestich* (Eurasian) of Pondicherry.

Our politicians begin to be a little embarrassed. They are, however, always of the opinion that the army will not go further from Bangalore : but M. de Lalée always asserts against them, that before eight days there will be a great irruption into the Carnatic.

To-day the Nawab, in order to end his halt at Bangalore, and to leave there without doubt the memory of a despotic and cruel authority, has caused a jamadar of cavalry to be dragged at the feet of an elephant throughout the camp. It is said in public that he (the jamadar) had retained something out of the pay of his troops.

July 7th.—The infantry has taken up its march in one column and the artillery on the right, and has encamped four *kos* from Hosur.

July 8th.—The infantry has taken up its encampment to the east of Hosur. Two hours afterwards, the Nawab arrived with all his cavalry. He has come from Bangalore in one march.

July 11th.—All the army has been set on the march in the usual order. They have come to encamp at the entrance to the first *ghat* (mountain pass).

July 12th.—The infantry has made a halt. The Prince has passed to the front with his cavalry in order to avoid the embarrassment of the crowd in a bad and narrow path.

July 13th.—The infantry has marched in column, and we have crossed the *ghat* in good order. The worst place is passed, for about half a league, bordered on the left by a very spacious wood which clings to the mountains. There is on the right a fort on a rock which appears to be considerable ; it would be very difficult to force this passage, which forms the first barrier of the country of Bader (=Baramahal).

July 17th.—The Nawab has detached 15,000 cavalry most lightly armed. This corps on issuing from the *ghat* will form four divisions, each one of which has a special destination given in secret.

He has placed at the head of the larger (force) Karim Sahib, his second son. It is the first command that he has conferred on the latter. The instructions which he has given him and the zeal of which the young prince is full, make one hope for the greatest success. It is said that he has been charged with the pillage of Porto Novo, which he is to enter on Thursday next during the night. He has with him 200 camels each of which carries two sepoys. This news has made a great noise in the camp. All the people are convinced that we are going to attack the English.

July 21st.—The army has passed the second *ghat*, and has at last entered the province of Arcot. The road in it is bad and is capable of being guarded by a few troops. We have come to encamp before Changanama, which has surrendered without our having to open fire. This place, although on the frontier of Muhammad Ali Khan, is a bad mud fort built on the bank of a river, one league from the mountain chain. The approach to it cannot be very easy. We have found here four pieces of cannon; its garrison was 100 sepoys and ten horsemen. The Nawab has sent forces to invest Kolaspak and Polur.

July 23rd.—March to Kolaspak which was taken immediately on the arrival of the Nawab. This fort appears to have some bastions built of brick, each furnished with one piece of cannon. A dependency of this place is a village (= *petta*), immense in size, very rich and full of labourers and artisans. It is enclosed by a poor earthen wall only.

July 25th.—The army has entered Polur which had made a considerable fire upon the troops who invested it. (But) it surrendered in the end. This fort stands at the mouth of the gorges in a charming situation. It has 12 bastions of stone armed with some pieces of cannon. There was within it a garrison of 100 sepoys and some black horsemen. This place is a dependency of another and very much larger place named Carnatgarh. The latter is situated on a mountain almost inaccessible, one league from the former.

The Nawab has sought, by the mediation of the qiladar of Polur, to induce the qiladar of Carnatgarh (who is a relation of his) to admit his garrison into the place; but all his efforts and promises have been fruitless. In consequence, the Nawab sent two days afterwards four *risalas* for plundering and burning the country at the foot (of the fort). The troops returned in the evening after having set fire to it. To-day M. de Lalée has been detached with Muhammad Ali to go and encamp on the road to Vellore and Arcot.

July 30th.—The camp has marched upon Trinomali. The journey has been very hard. This Pagoda, around which the Europeans have joined together four bastions on which there are in all five pieces of cannon, could not make a long resistance. The place is commanded and is of easy approach. It surrendered on the 31st in the evening after firing some cannon balls on the camp. The garrison consisted of three companies of sepoys and about 80 *peons*. They have made a (move) outside to a place which is in the mountains. Our troops on their arrival found it evacuated. It is, however, much larger than a Dharmasala. Karim Sahib has returned with his detachment. It is said that he has taken immense booty.

August 5th.—We marched on Chitpet; the infantry has made only five *kos*, and the Nawab has arrived to-day before the place with his cavalry.

August 6th.—The infantry arrived before Chitpet at noon. M. de Lalée has encamped with Muhammad Ali on the road to Arcot. This place cost the French very much blood and labour; it is advantageously

situated, has 12 good bastions built of stone, besides three strong cavaliers, one excellent *fausse braye* and a ditch, and is armed with at least 16 pieces of cannon and munitioned in a superior manner. Ah well! this place opened its gates to the conqueror the very evening of our arrival, without waiting for us to make the least movement to attack it.

It merely made during the day great fire from all parts. The city and its environs have little support from the vicinage of Arni. The Nawab immediately afterwards set up the "tent of mercy" and all the inhabitants have returned to their homes. The garrison of Chitpet was 200 sepoys and 100 *peons*.

August 10th.—The army has arrived before Arni. The infantry was subjected to the fire of some volleys of cannon and defiled in order to take up its camp. The fort continued the firing on the 11th and all the daytime of the 12th. M. de Lalée has encamped on the road to Arcot with the division of Asdar Ali Beg.

August 12th.—This night the Nawab caused two batteries to be made behind the bases of a village which is almost contiguous to the fort. The pieces had not yet been placed when they offered to capitulate. This place is situated on the bank of a small river, surrounded by blocks of houses and very large. It has many bastions all built of lime and brick. There are at the gate European works which have a very beautiful appearance. The ditch looks large and well kept. Our old soldiers say that such a place ought to have held out at least eight days, although it had the defect of all the other forts in the country. It has an easy approach because of the small villages that they have built around it.

It is said that the Nawab has found in Arni a large amount of treasure. Muhammad Ali made it one of his principal depots, and it is asserted that all the objects which he took out of Tanjore are still in the magazines here. Many jewellers and a number of rich people retired to this place since the invasion of Haidar Ali. Its garrison consisted of 200 sepoys, 100 black cavalry and many *peons*.

August 15th.—To-day we have received the first news of the movements which the English have made for assembling an army. They have sent out a battalion of sepoys from Trichirapalli, which has crossed the wood and joined the detachment of Pudicheri. They may amount to a corps of 200 Europeans, 3,000 sepoys and 8 pieces of cannon. On the 12th instant they took the route of Permacoil, and on the 17th they encamped on a high hill, where they have found a body of 800 Europeans, 400 sepoys and 10 pieces of cannon. M. Munro will be the commander of the army.

Here the policy is confusing. The English, who have astonished all the princes of Asia by their vigilance, their activity, and above all by the promptitude with which they have begun their military operations, have not yet presented one man to oppose the progress of an enemy who has come from a hundred leagues' distance to attack them. Those who led two years ago 40,000 combatants before Pondicherry,—who during all the

time of their last war with (Haidar Ali) Bahadur placed on foot two large armies,—who in one word maintain on this side 30 battalions of sepoys,—undoubtedly greatly dazzled by the reputation they have made, have either given to their *fonds* (? forces) some secret destinations, or disposed of their troops for certain operations which I do not know. In the brilliant situation in which they find themselves they have thought that there is not in Asia any Power in a condition to attack them. The mistake that they made in not assembling their army during their first contests with Haidar Ali, is proved. This mistake is irreparable. In a country in revolution like this, and above all since there are powerful and ambitious neighbours, they ought to have a corps always ready to march at the first need and sufficiently large for covering the frontiers. The different posts which the Nawab has occupied by means of his cavalry, have now taken away from the English all the means of assembling a large force. It has brought an end to their prosperity. The events that follow will make known whether our enemies themselves have arrived at that end.

The continual rains, which have lasted for eight days, have greatly retarded the operations of the Nawab. He has, however, sent out two detachments to invest Chambargarh and Dobigarh ; they have yielded after five or six days of resistance. These two posts, as well as some others that he has occupied, entirely assure to him communication with his own country.

August 20th.—The camp has marched to Arcot. Timery, which is two leagues distant from it, capitulated to the Nawab when he was passing by. It had fired only some discharges of cannon on the pillagers. All the army has encamped in the region south of Arcot.

The 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th passed without our doing anything except making grand preparations for the siege. M. de Lalée has been charged with reconnoitring the place, sometimes with the Bakhshis, sometimes with the Prince himself.

The Nawab has changed his camp ; its situation was bad. He has gone to encamp on the road to Madras, at the same distance from the place.

In the afternoon, he set a trap for the posts which guard the approaches to the city. He concealed in a ravine 300 *peons*, and caused 200 Carnatics, to pass at a small distance from them, loaded with fascines and escorted by some sepoys only. When the men in the fort perceived them, they sent out a company of sepoys to chase them. The Nawab, who was advantageously placed for observing the movements on the part of the other side, judging that these unfortunate ones were very near, caused a rocket to be fired : at once the *peons* sallied forth from their trenches and fell upon the sepoys sword in hand. They cut off the heads of 13 of them, wounded many others, and put the rest to flight. During this affair the fort fired many cannon balls, which had no effect. The Prince has lost only 3 men. He has given Rs. 5 to each of his soldiers who brought a head to him.

August 28th.—M. de Lalée departs with the Bakhshis and some other

chiefs to observe the English army which left Punamali five or six days ago. It is to go to Conjevaram and there wait for a detachment which is coming from the northern districts under Colonel Baillie. It is announced outside that the corps is considerable, but M. de Lalée, who has observed it from very near during a march of nearly two leagues, asserts that it contains above 1,200 Europeans, 7,000 sepoys, 30 white cavalry, 150 black cavalry and 15 or 18 pieces of cannon. This army is obliged to carry with itself not only victuals but also forage and (cooking) fuel which are necessary for it. The Bidars who harass them as soon as they go out, crowd them together to such a degree that this morning out of five Europeans who had the misfortune to fall out of the ranks, three have been taken prisoners and two others have been sabred 30 paces from the column.

The Nawab has sent off to Arni his large artillery and all the munitions which he had caused to be brought for the siege.

August 30th.—All the army has departed and gone to Mousseripa.¹ They have left there absolutely all the baggage, even the tents were kept standing when the Nawab passed the river with all his cavalry. M. de Lalée followed him with his company of whites, and left the command of his infantry to M. Renard, the major of his party. Two hours later the infantry crossed the river with the field artillery. It was placed in battle order on the other bank, and there made a halt of nearly two hours. The spies having reported that the English who had set out on the march in the morning, instead of taking the road to Arcot, had gone to encamp under Conjevaram, the Nawab ordered his army to skirt the place in going up; it has reached one *kos* from Kaveripak. As it was late, it halted under the trees, barring all the roads to Arcot and there passed the night. There has been a very bad (misfortune in the form of) heavy rain which lasted more than 18 hours and greatly inconvenienced the troops.

August 31st.—The Nawab has raised across the plain six batteries of five and seven pieces of cannon each, at a distance of two musket-shots from one another, and he has placed all his infantry behind the batteries. He has placed under the orders of M. de Lalée one division of five *risalas*, who may amount to a total of 3,000 men. These troops will be exercised in the French manner and commanded by the officers of the (French) contingent at three hours after noon. They are coming to take up their place with us, behind the battery on the left.

September 2nd.—M. de Lalée departed with the Nawab to reconnoitre the English camp; its position, however advantageous to them, appeared to be a little commanded by the embankment of a tank which is on the left. The vanguard is towards Arcot, and the rearguard adjoins the Pagoda of Greater Conjevaram.

September 3rd.—The army has marched. The infantry defiled in four columns, each carrying its artillery at its head. All the cavalry has gone

1. This word is a copyist's error for *Museruham*, a town on the north bank of the Palar river, seven miles west of Great Conjevaram (J. S.).

in advance. We have encamped one *kos* and a half from Conjevaram. We found the batteries immediately and worked there without relaxation.

September 5th.—The Nawab detached his eldest son Tipu Sultan Sahib with the division of Asdar Ali Beg, and 5,000 horsemen in order to go and encounter Colonel Baillie, according to the report of the spies. It will to-morrow go and encamp 5 *kos* from Conjevaram.

September 6th.—We have broken camp and have come to the presence of the enemy. The infantry marched in three columns, the artillery on the right, and the munitions on the left. All the cavalry passed in front. The intention of the Prince is not to attack, but to observe the movements of General Munro, and to prevent him from joining Colonel Baillie. The English, informed of the march of the Nawab, have broken camp and have entered Conjevaram. Our infantry has been ordered to defile behind the cavalry and to go and place itself on a height which is a good cannon-shot from Conjevaram in the western side. This manœuvre has made us come close to the path that must be followed by Messrs. Munro and Baillie if they wish to join forces.

Three hours after noon the bivouac guards informed us that the English had marched out and taken the road to Chinglepat. Immediately the cavalry galloped ahead in order to cut their road ; and the infantry marched behind. When we perceived the enemy, they were in battle order within Great and Little Conjevaram, with their backs to a small fort ; the bank of a large tank covered their left, and they had on their right impassable marshes. They fired some volleys of artillery on the cavalry, which pressed their rearguard a little.

The two armies passed the rest of the day in observing each other. The Nawab has only made some discharges of rockets (*fouguettes*), which have not produced the least effect. At the fall of night, the infantry received orders to return and take up their position of the morning, and the cavalry remained in bivouac. Our general has greatly approved the manner in which the Prince manœuvred all the day, his chief concern has been always to cover the march of his infantry by his cavalry.

September 7th.—To-day we have received details of the affair which took place between Tipu Sahib and Colonel Baillie. The success has not totally corresponded to the hopes which we had formed concerning the talents and bravery of this young warrior. The English did not march that day at all, and they had the good fortune to discover, the day before, a compensation for their situation which was most advantageous. Two tanks and some large marshes covered them at nearly all points. These difficulties did not at all restrain the ardour of Tipu. He made his army advance ; his infantry showed itself in two columns in such good order that the English themselves were deceived ; they believed for an instant that it was General Munro who was coming to them. But some rockets which were fired by the cavalry on the wings made the English quickly discover their error. They at once replied by a general discharge of all their cannon. Their artillery was better served and made our infantry

bend. Next Tipu put himself at the head of the cavalry and fell upon the enemy who formed a square. A crooked stream which it was not possible for him to get over, prevented him from arriving and seizing the left side and forming in battle order on the road to Arcot. Fortune did not serve his desires. A short distance from the enemy was found a terrain suitable for covering the infantry and placing the artillery advantageously. The pieces were mounted in batteries all the night, and they fired on the English square with all possible success. M. de Lalée marched ahead with his two pieces ; all his business was to observe even the least movements of the enemy. It being perceived that they had placed their munitions behind a small ravine which was before him, he ordered his artillerymen to aim at it. They had the good fortune to explode a munition cart at the second discharge, another not much later, and then a third. These accidents totally disconcerted the enemy ; they made afterwards only a feeble fire ; the black troops felt themselves defeated and took to flight. M. de Lalée, whom none of their movements escaped, sent orders to his white cavalry to make a charge. His example emboldened the cavalry of the Nawab, which was on the wings and which was waiting for a signal. The heat was so violent and the crowd so great that (at the onset of) the squadron of M. de Lalée the enemy could neither advance nor retreat. The Europeans, who were nearly the only people that faced us, were all killed, wounded or made prisoners. There is not in India an example of a similar defeat.

However, the corps after the junction of the detachment of General Munro, numbered at least 700 Europeans, 500 sepoys, with 10 pieces of cannon of 6 lbs. and 15 munition wagons. It had marched since eight o'clock at night, and after we had joined it, it was not able to make two *kos*. This affair took place between Catolur¹ and Perambak, three leagues from Conjevaram in the north-western (really N. E.) direction. It lasted from ten o'clock A.M. up to noon.

Two hours after noon we set out on our march and encamped three leagues from Conjevaram in the south-western direction.

If the Nawab, instead of making this manœuvre, had followed the advice of M. de Lalée, who counselled him to return to the camp from which we had departed in the morning, all would have been said for that campaign about the power of the English, and M. Munro would have been obliged to throw down his arms, and submit himself a prisoner of war with all his army. But the Prince, who knew more than anybody else what he could do with his army, and who is besides accustomed to pushing his prudence to excess, preferred to remove to a little distance in order to avert all surprise on the part of M. Munro. He was content to detach his eldest son with a new corps of cavalry for obstructing the march of his enemy. This failure, which betrays great timidity, ought to be a very valuable test for all the European chiefs. It proves to them that they have

1. A mistake for Polilur.

always an assured resource against the greatest powers of India. I mean to say, vigour and activity.

After M. Munro was informed of the defeat of Colonel Baillie, and learnt that the Nawab was not far from him, he instantly took the only course which was convenient to him, namely to retreat, whatever it might cost him. Without losing any time, he took the road to Madras, as lightly as was possible for him. This march cost him much hardship and fatigue. Now harassed by the cavalry, and now attacked by the infantry in ambush, he was obliged to make many halts and to clear a passage by force of gun-fire. Happily for him, he gained at the end of the day, the bank of a river; he skirted it up to Chinglepat, where he arrived during the night, and next day he arrived at Madras with 700 Europeans, 3,000 sepoy and his field artillery, his munitions, provisions and also his military wagon. He had abandoned in Conjevaram four pieces of 18, one of 3 and 3 mortars and many carts.

September 11th.—We marched and came to encamp at $1\frac{1}{2}$ kos from Conjevaram, in a place where the second batteries had been constructed. The Nawab sent to Bangalore the Europeans whom he had made prisoners. They were of the number of 55 officers and 430 musketeers. He kept with himself Colonel Baillie and four other officers.

September 15th.—The army arrived at Conjevaram, the presence of the Nawab there being necessary for settling certain matters. He placed his tent¹ in that once famous Pagoda, of which the fortifications however were now destroyed.

September 18th.—The camp made (one) kos of the return to Arcot. The infantry marched in only one column, the artillery on the right.

September 20th.—Tipu Sahib was detached with the division of M. de Lalée to attack the place in the western direction. We crossed the river at noon, and encamped between Vellore and Arcot, at about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a league from the city.

September 25th.—This night trenches were opened in a large mosque (i.e., Pagoda) which is close to the bank of the river.

September 27th.—To-day the Swiss contingent mounted the trenches at seven o'clock in the morning. They will be on duty for 48 hours; and up to the end of the siege, out of four nights they will pass two in the trenches and two in the camp.

September 29th.—M. de Lalée came to the *darbar* to claim the protection of the Nawab in favour of the inhabitants of Pondicherry who were found to have come by one of his Brahmans who collected the customs duties at the gates of the limits (of the camp). The Prince gave our General the most gracious welcome, and granted all that he asked for from him,

¹ Il met son tinate dans cette pagode. in my MS., which makes no sense. If we read *tente* for *tinate*, we get the above meaning, though the expression is unidiomatic. Can this puzzling word be the Muslim administrative term *tainati*, meaning 'a minor officer deputed to collect revenue?'

[Prof. E.E. Speight says Littré gives an old word *tinage*, which he defines as 'a man, two oxen and a wagon,' Ed. I.C.]

and in order to signify his satisfaction with the manner in which he had conducted the affair of 10th September last, he granted him a large increase of pay.

October 10th.—This night we have constructed a breaching battery of seven pieces of cannon. It is 150 fathoms from the place and at an almost equal distance from the Vellore Gate and from the River Bastion. We have opened a *boyau* (narrow covered passage) which communicates with the works on the river.

October 13th.—The enemy made a sortie upon the works on the river-bank. They have been repulsed with loss, the fire lasted twenty minutes.

October 19th.—We have commenced to batter the breach with five pieces of 18 and two of 24. One bastion of five large pieces which faces (us) and of which we have not taken care to silence the fire, has dismounted five of our pieces. We have a had large number of soldiers slain and wounded.

October 20th.—Tipu Sahib has called up M. de Lalée. He has charged him to remain in the battery and direct its fire at his will, with the two pieces that remain. He has succeeded in silencing the fire of the large bastion as well as that of a small one and also of a piece which stood on the curtain. We have sent to the battery during the night two pieces of 18.

October 27th.—We have battered the breach all the day with the greatest success.

October 28th.—This morning some one issued (from the fort) to parley with our works before the breach and on the bank of the river. Under the fosses we have already thrown a quantity of wood and fascines. However, the breach is not yet practicable. It is said that the breach on the east of the Nawab, who has attacked the place on the eastern side, is very large. There are in his battery six pieces which have fired day and night since the 19th instant.

At five hours and three-quarters of the morning, the Nawab delivered an assault on the city of Arcot. It was taken after a lively resistance at the western breach. The contingent of M. de Lalée suffered much by reason of their not having been properly supported by the troops of the Prince. Undoubtedly his orders have not been executed with all the precision which such an attempt demanded. One portion of the enemy troops had the time to enter the fort, the rest were put an end to, and either killed or made prisoners.

The same day, M. de Penierasse,¹ Captain Commandant, asked for a suspension of arms and offered to capitulate. But the Nawab, who knows no other laws than those of the most absolute despotism, has given him

1. An error for *Prendergast*. "The place was surrendered on the 3rd November. The capitulation was signed by Captain Dupont; Captain (Thomas) Prendergast, the Commandant, having been severely wounded. The garrison, composed of 157 men of the 1st battalion, 1st regiment, about 1 1/2 company of the 5th battalion of sepoys under Lieut. Leighton, and a party of the Nawab's sepoys, suffered to depart in conformity with the terms." (*Wilson's History of the Madras Army*, ii, 12).

no other answer than this : “ I wish that all the world should come to me without reservation and without conditions.”

November 3rd.—M. de Montgomery, 3rd captain, has come out to arrange terms with the Nawab. His insinuating manner, and it may be some political reasons, have at last determined the Prince to agree that only the English troops should issue up to the glacis of the fort with the honours of war, that they should there pile up their arms, and that immediately afterwards, they should take the road to Madras with their effects, all this subject to the express condition that they will not bear arms against him during all (the rest of) this war.

November 4th.—The English troops which were in the fort of Arcot issued at eleven o'clock in the morning in the manner to which they had agreed. There were six officers, 153 musketeers and 300 sepoy. The remainder of the garrison of a place so large as Arcot were the sepoy of Muhammad Ali Khan. No agreement has been made with regard to them.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

ISLAMIC Mysticism has played a great part in the development of Muslim Culture. In order to appreciate the latter, it is necessary to understand the former.

Dr. Burhān Aḥmed Fārūqī has given to the public for the first time an excellent book in English on the Philosophy of Islamic Mysticism, under the modest title : *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥīd*.¹ I feel sure that it will be found very interesting, not only by the Muslims in particular but also by the Hindus in general. Its form as well as the matter leave nothing to be desired. The author's method of presenting a difficult subject is quite masterly. Barring the use of a few technical words of ambiguous meaning, his style is crystal clear. His translation of Arabic words and phrases is both apt and exact.

Apart from biographical or theological notes or notices contained in footnotes and the text itself, the book deals exclusively with a psychological fact and a mystical doctrine. The former is the religious consciousness, which I prefer to call the religious sentiment, and the latter is the Tawḥīd or Unityism as held and preached by two great Muslim mystics, namely "the Shāikh-e-Akbar" Ibn 'Arabī of Seville (Spain) in the 13th century A.C. and Shāikh Aḥmed "the Mujaddid" of Sirhind (India) in the 17th century A.C. In the four intervening centuries, the doctrine of Oneness of Existence (Waḥdat-ul-Wajūd) was in great vogue without dissent or criticism. "It influenced the whole of Islamic Society from top to bottom," says Dr. Fārūqī. "It affected its religious attitude, it affected its moral attitude, it affected its deeds; it affected its æsthetic consciousness, it affected its literature and poetry; and it affected its philosophy and outlook. It was the deepest truth to which man could have access—indeed it was the real meaning of Islam's teaching."

It was, however, an Indian Shāikh who dared attack and attack successfully the Sevillian Shāikh's doctrine for the first time, with great acumen and effect, during the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jehāngīr. He refused to attend the Court of the latter except under certain conditions,

1. *THE MUJADDID'S CONCEPTION OF TAWḤID* by Dr. Burhān Aḥmed Fārūqī, M.A., PH.D., published by Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore. (A review of the book appears in our 'New Books in Review.' Ed.)

mostly religious, which Jehāngīr had to accept and to promulgate as his own orders. He is called "the Mujaddid," the Renewer, because his numerous disciples and followers believed that he "renewed" Islam by purging it from a doctrine contrary to the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. No less than a full century had to elapse before anyone ventured to criticise the Mujaddid's doctrine, which many thought restored Islam to its pristine purity in its second millennium. Then an attempt was made not to overthrow the new doctrine but only to reconcile it with the old doctrine by pointing out that the difference between the two was only verbal. So firmly was the second doctrine based on the authority of the Qur'ān that no Muslim dared dissent from it, lest dissent should mean disputing the Mujaddid's quotations from the Qur'ān and his interpretation of them.

All religions of the world have their roots in the religious sentiment. Indeed there could have been no religion, if instincts had not evolved such a sentiment. By "sentiment" is meant an object or idea round which the emotions and impulses of certain instincts of man are so organised as to produce a complex of feeling resulting in a particular impulse or attitude. The "religious sentiment" is based on some *idea of God*—generally, the *idea* of a unique Power which controls all and is controllable by none; round the idea the emotions and impulses of such instincts as curiosity, fear, submission, and tenderness are so organised as to produce a *feeling* of entire dependence on that Power; the feeling in its turn energises an *impulse*, attitude, or preparedness to do something or other to propitiate or to be on good terms with that Power. This definition and analysis of the religious sentiment corresponds with the three functions of the human mind itself, viz, knowing, feeling and striving. The first element or the *knowledge* side of the religious sentiment is the idea of God; the second element or the *feeling* side of the sentiment—the product of the several emotions of instincts—is a peculiar emotion of entire dependence on God; and the third element or the *striving* side of the sentiment is what is ordinarily called worship, i.e., the impulse to make some sacrifice or render some service to God directly or indirectly. It is interesting to note, in passing, that "the Universal Prayer" given in the opening Chapter of the Qur'ān as well as "the Lord's Prayer" given in the Gospels of the Bible, confirm the above analysis of the religious sentiment. Each prayer begins with adoration of God, proceeds to express entire submission to His will, and ends with soliciting guidance in the right path of service.

I have ventured to define a sentiment and analyse the religious sentiment in order to classify the mystics according as they lay stress on the one or the other of the three elements, facets or characteristics of the religious sentiment. Dr. Fārūqī calls it "Religious-Consciousness" in its restricted sense of religious attitude, and contrasts it at great length with "Knowledge-Consciousness" or speculative attitude. His comparison of the two is in fact a comparison of Religion and Philosophy on the subject or ontology of the Infinite and Absolute.

The analysis of the religious sentiment enables us to understand why there are three different ideas of God, *viz*, Pantheism, Theism and Panentheism.

There are mystics — though few and far between—in all religions and countries of the world. They try (1) to *know*, or as they say “experience” God, (2) to *feel* or “have the intuition of” God, and (3) to *strive* after or “try to approach” or “love” God in ways and manners peculiarly their own. Their methods and practices called Mysticism are merely attempts “to experience God in oneself”—to know, feel and strive after the World-Soul in one’s own soul or rather in one’s own body-soul. I would state here parenthetically that modern mystics prefer to call “the World,” *i.e.*, Man and his Environment “the World-process,” because they find “the World” in a “continuous process of self-emerging and self-unfolding ;” and they write “body-soul” in place of “soul” because they, as a rule, do not believe in bodyless soul or soulless body, just as the men of science do not believe in spaceless time or timeless space ; what the latter call “space-time events,” the former call “body-soul individuals.” It is true as Dr. Fārūqī points out that modern mystics are silent. They do not intrude themselves on the public like politicians and they have not written books. But they preach, have disciples, and write letters to them as did the great Mujaddid.

Well then, there are mystics who try to experience God by way of intellect, *i.e.*, by way of the first element or the *idea*-side of the religious sentiment. They are called ‘Āriffs by Muslims and Gnanis by Hindus. Again, there are mystics who try to experience God by way of ecstasy *i.e.*, by way of the second element or the *feeling*-side of the religious sentiment. They are called ‘Āshiqs by Muslims and Bhagāts by Hindus. Both ‘Āriffs and Gnanis (Gnostics) on the one side, and ‘Āshiqs and Bhagāts (Emotionists) on the other side, wish to experience God for the sake of the experience itself, for the sake of satisfying their intellectual curiosity or for the sake of enjoying the pleasure of ecstasy. But there is a third class of mystics who are “the salt of the earth.” They try to experience God not only by way of combined intellect and ecstasy—a complex of the first and second element which they call “Intuition”—but also by way of worship, sacrifice or service, the third element or the *attitude*-side of the sentiment, which they call “Love.” I do not exactly know by what name the Hindu theologians call this third class of mystics. Is it Radha-swamis or Dayalis ? But I know that Muslims call them Sālīks. Dr. Fārūqī’s two great mystics, Ibn ‘Arabī and the Mujaddid, belong to the third class. They were Sālīks who “walked on the right path.” Both tried to experience God by way of *all* the three elements of the religious sentiment. They tried to experience God not only by way of intuition but also by way of love or active service to God’s creatures, not only for the purpose of enjoying intellectual satisfaction or ecstatic pleasure and thereby to purify their own individual soul, but also and mainly for the purpose of purifying the morals of communities and thereby to

safeguard "the beatitude of mankind." The Muslim Shaikhs base their teaching and service on the authority of the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet in quite the same way as the Hindu Rishis and great Pandits based their teaching and service on the authority of the Vedas and the Upanishads.

The book under reference purports to be an exposition of Tawhīd as conceived by the Shaikh of Sirhind in opposition to that conceived by the Shaikh of Seville nearly 400 years before. The Arabic word *tawhīd* is an infinitive-noun of the second form derived from the root of three letters WaHaDa, and the second form implies generally some extra effort in the act. The word means literally "to make (with some effort) *one unit* of two or more things or individuals." But in the language of Islamic mystics (often called *Ṣūfīs*), it means (i) to believe and hold that God and the World (Man and his Environment) constitute one whole or indivisibly one Existence; (ii) to believe and hold that God is one Infinite and Absolute Being who is above and quite separate from the finite and relative World (the Universe) which he created. Meaning (i) is that which Ibn 'Arabī attached to the word Tawhīd, and meaning (ii) is that which the Mujaddid attached to that word. Dr. Fārūqī calls the first and the second meanings of Tawhīd, Unityism and Apparentism instead of Pantheism and Theism respectively. The choice or rather the coining of the terms is quite happy because they indicate the view-points of the two Shaikhs quite clearly. Ibn 'Arabī views Reality as it *is*, while the Mujaddid views Reality as it *appears*. So, the Shaikh of Seville was a Unityist *Sālik*. According to him, God alone exists and the relation between God and the World (Man and his Environment)—like that of essence and its attributes or of reality and its reflections or emanations—is *oneness*, or unity in the sense that it is impossible for the one to exist without the other. The Shaikh of Sirhind was an Apparentist *Sālik*. He started with the idea of Ibn 'Arabī, the idea of the oneness of God and the world, but soon found it quite unsatisfactory. According to him, God who created the world (Man and his Environment) could not be identified with his creatures, because God existed before creating the world and will certainly exist after destroying it.

Any Hindu theologian who reads Fārūqī's book would consider the Sevillian Shaikh's view to be the pantheist or Advait view of Sri Shankarachari and the Sirhindi Shaikh's view to be the dualist or Duvait view of Sri Madhvachari. This shows how Universal is the religious sentiment and how the views of the relation of God and the World vary according as the religious thinker lays stress on some one of the three elements of the religious sentiment.

It is evident that, on the one side, Ibn 'Arabī was impressed by the first element or the knowledge character of the religious sentiment and—since knowing is finding unity in diversity—concluded that there could not exist any but one Reality or God and all that appears as two or multiplicity is only a reflection or emanation of the Reality, God. *All is God*

and God is all (Hama oost)—Pantheism. On the other side, the Mujaddid was impressed by the second element or the feeling character of the religious sentiment, and—since the feeling of dependence required two, one to depend on the other—he concluded that the Creatures, mere dependents, cannot be equal to, much less be identical with the Creator who is peerless and paramount. *All is from God and God is above all* (Hama uz oost)—Theism. On the third side there are modern Sāliks, headed by Shāh Walī-ullāh of Delhi, who does not see any but verbal differences between the two doctrines of Tawhīd—Pantheism and Theism. They are impressed by the third element or the service character of the religious sentiment, and—since love could not subsist between two beings of different sorts—they conclude that God is one and unique “self-unfolding and self-emanating Process, assuming forms of things.” According to them, the relation between God and the World is like that of the soul, and body, or like that of time and space—though distinguishable as two yet inseparably one and one whole only. The Hindu theologian who reads the book will not fail to recognise in the third view the Vishist-advait doctrine of Sri Ramanujachari. *All is in God and God is in all* (Hama under oost, wa under hama oost)—Panentheism.

The more modern Sāliks of the 20th century, who adhere to the Panentheistic doctrine of Tawhīd, influenced as they are by the modern ideas and achievements of science, would express the third form of the doctrine of Tawhīd thus, avoiding scholastic terms and using only modern scientific terms :—

Existence, call it the Universe, Nature, Reality, Truth, God or what you like, is one and one only. It is not a static being or thing but a dynamic, ever-moving and never-resting continuum, one *Continuum of Movement*, manifesting itself in *two processes*, each in an opposite direction to the other—of which the one may be called negative and the other positive.¹ The two processes can be characterised variously as differentiative and integrative, unfolding and folding, creative and destructive and so forth, but none the less are they two processes only and nothing else. Each process of the Movement-Continuum exhibits immense multiplicity of *modes*—like waves and bubbles on a perennial river—each of which again has two facets like space-time events or body-soul individuals.

Now, all Tawhīd or Unification—whether crude or refined, expressed loosely or strictly—is an *idea* of God in the mind of man

¹ This definition expresses the much misunderstood formula—(Ek wajūd, Dū zāt) one existence in two aspects—in modern scientific terms, “one continuum (of movement) with two processes.” Vide chapter on “Mighty Continuum” in a small book, *the Philosophy of Faqīrs*, which is in the Press and will be published by the same publisher at Lahore. Readers of works of the late Henri Bergson will be surprised to find that his teaching is in exact accord with the teaching of Shāh Walī-ullah and his followers. The difference is only in words used. Islamic Mysticism has only to be rescued from its adherence to old ill-defined scholastic terms in order to appreciate how well do its *a priori* conclusions agree with the *a posteriori* conclusions of modern Science.

and *not* God Himself, the Infinite and Absolute. He is far above the comprehension of any idea formed by man who has a finite mind, and lives and has his being in the realm of relativity. It is but man's own idea of God which is a dominant character of his religious sentiment—a mental equipment that serves him as a means or instrument of purifying not only his own soul but also the souls and morals of his fellow men. It becomes an effective instrument, only when the mystic or Sālik realizes the idea *in* himself, in his own individuality, i.e., in what he calls, *I* or *Mē*. How to realize it in one's *I* or soul, is the question. Herein comes the mystery of Mysticism. The Muslim mystics call the methods and ways of "experiencing God," realising the idea of God, *Mujāhada*. This has been described as the procedure for "idealising the real and realising the ideal." Its exercises have never been so severe as those of the Tapas of the Hindu mystics. Islam does not favour Asceticism. However, no one can describe mystic contemplation and mystic exercises satisfactorily in writing or by speech. They have always been *imparted*, straight from heart to heart, by adept masters to their accepted pupils. The poet and philosopher Iqbāl sang :

Ghulām-e himmat-e un khud-parastam
Ke az nūr-e khūdī beenad Khudā rā!¹

A. H. AMIN JUNG:

¹ "I am slave to the dash and daring of that worshipper of Self who sees God with (or 'by means of' or 'in') the light of his own Self."

ORIENTAL INFLUENCES ON OCCIDENTAL MILITARY MUSIC

"THE introduction of the drum into Europe has frequently been attributed to the Moors, who are said to have brought it from the East with other musical instruments. Whether this idea can be accepted as correct is extremely doubtful."¹

C. R. DAY.

THIS quotation, which I use as a sort of *ṭalī'a*, in an incursion into this field of debate, is taken from a writer whose opinions on the subject deserve consideration because of his contribution to our knowledge of Oriental music in his classic, *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India* (1891). Yet although this writer was also especially competent in the domain of military music, it seems almost incredible that he should have had any doubts such as those which he expressed in the above quotation.

As a general proposition his statement is substantially correct, because the drum was known in Europe long before the advent of Islam. It was known in some form in both Greece and Rome although it was from the East that both of these lands borrowed it. Yet Day's conclusion, not being conditioned or amplified, has led many writers to assume that we owe nothing to the so-called Saracens or Moors in this respect. It seems advisable, therefore, to probe this question further and to ascertain what Europe has borrowed from the Islamic East in this particular.

I.

THE SARACENIC INFLUENCE

THE word Saracen is admittedly inapt, but such was the term given to Islamic peoples by Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, and it is used here to cover both the Arabo-Turkish polity with which the Crusaders came in contact in the East, and the Arabo-Moorish polity of South-West Europe. The culture contact in both of these polities had an enormous influence on European civilisation. What is of immediate interest is their effect on military music. Just as we see words like *arsenal*,

1. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments...at the Royal Military Exhibition, London, 1890, (1891), p. 228.*

magazine, *admiral*, *accoutre* in the technical vocabulary of the military arts, all of which are derived from the Arabic *dār al-sin'a*, *makhzan*, *amīr al-[bahr]*, *aḥḍara*, we also recognize such terms as *tabor*, *naker*, *timbal*, and others of more restricted use such as *anafil*, *albogon*, *bedon*, *caisse* and *joch*. All of these words are of Arabic origin or influence and are the names of instruments of military music. How did it come about that these words filtered into European languages? Obviously, the instruments themselves must have been borrowed, although it does not necessarily follow that the class of instrument was novel to Europe. It is more likely that it was a particular type that was new.

As I have already described at considerable length the constitution of Islamic military bands elsewhere, I must refer my readers to that source. In the Saracen martial array,¹ the military band which was known as the *ṭabl khāna*, had its numbers regulated according to the rank of the officer who was permitted to have one. The class of instrument used and the kind of music were also determined by rank. In these bands we find the *ṭabl* (drum), *naqqāra* (kettledrum), *kūs* (large kettledrum), *qaṣ'a* (shallow kettledrum), *naḥr* (trumpet), *būq* (horn), *zamr* (reed-pipe) *surnay* (oboe), and *ṣunnūj* (cymbals).

With the Saracens the military band was used not merely as an adjunct of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," but as a well-considered factor in tactics. As the Hon. J. W. Fortescue tells us, the Saracen military band was invariably drawn up together with the standards to indicate a rallying point, "for although at ordinary times the standards sufficed to show men the places of their leaders, yet in the dust of battle these were often hidden from sight; and it was therefore the rule to gather the minstrels around the standards and bid them blow and beat unceasingly during the action. The silence of the band was taken as a proof that a battalion had been broken and that the colours were in danger."²

This custom was quite new to the Crusaders who, at first, only had trumpets and horns in the retinue of the high officers, and these were never used in this manner, as we know from the various chroniclers of the Crusades. Thus, it came about that the military band became a recognized unit in the military array and was linked up with the standards until as late as the eighteenth century.³

What specially caught the fancy of the Crusaders were the variety of the drums used, which, with the clashing cymbals, roared above the din of the trumpets, horns and reed-pipes. The immediate result was the adoption of instruments of percussion, which had not hitherto been used by the Crusaders in warfare, the two outstanding drums adopted being the *naqqāra* and *ṭabl*.

The *naqqāra* was a medium sized kettledrum, and it was introduced as the *naker* (Eng.), *nacaire* (Fr.), and *nacchera* (Ital.). In spite of the

1. Article *Ṭabl Khāna* in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

2. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, (1899), vol. i.

3. T. Sime, *Military Guide*, (1781), plan 1.

opinion of Professor Curt Sachs,¹ the instrument was not known in Spain by this form of word, although there is the evidence of the late Latin *anacaria*. In the Iberian peninsula, the kettledrum was known as the *atabal*, and so it would seem that the instrument of this name was due to Eastern Saracen rather than Western Saracen influence. Note also the form *atambal* and *timbale* in Spain.

The *ṭabl* was the ordinary cylindrical drum, although the word in its original generic sense stood for any kind of drum. It was adopted as the *tabel* (late Latin), *tabor* (Eng.), *tambor* (Span.), *tambour* (Fr.), and *tamburo* (Ital.). The interchange of "r" for "l" in the first two words is a general occurrence, as is also the interpolation of the "m" before "b." At the same time it is necessary to recognize the likely influence of the Persian *ṭabīr* in the former and *tinbal* in the latter, which as late as the sixteenth (=tenth A.H.) century was still called the *le tambour des Perses*.² In this case, the Eastern Saracenic influence would be proved.

The adoption of the *qaṣ'a* by the French as the *quesse* and *caisse* appears to have been confined to this nation, although there was the Portuguese *caixa*. Some people would derive it from the conventional Latin *capsa*, but the testimony of Étienne Pasquier in his *Recherches* (1560) would place it elsewhere. He says, "Ainsi en est-il de *tabour*, que les soldats appellent maintenant *quesse*, sans scavoir dire pourquoi."

Another solitary French drum of Saracenic origin was the *bedon*. It was a big drum with bells attached as its name in Arabic indicates *ṭabl badanī* ("big drum"), of which name only the second half has survived, as in the case of the *ṭabl shāmī* and the *ṭabli bāz*.

The *naḡīr* was the cylindrical trumpet which, in the fifteenth (=ninth A.H.) century, was bent back upon itself. It had a much more brilliant tone than the conical tube instruments of the horn type. It was adopted by France as the *anafin* and by Spain as the *anafil*. The hoarse throated *būq* of the horn class was the *alboque* and *albogon* of the Spaniards with whom it later became, as with the Moors, a class of shawm.

Not only were these instruments adopted by the armies of the Crusaders as well as the tactical use of the military band, but even the allocation of particular types of instruments and a stipulated number together with a specified performance of music, were allotted to high officers according to rank, as had been the custom in the Saracenic armies. The practice continued in the British army until the eighteenth (=twelfth A.H.) century and vestiges still remain. Only the *sultāns* and the high *amīrs* were allowed the large kettledrum (*kūs*) and the five movements of the *nauba* or military salute; junior ranks, such as an ordinary *amīr* had to be content with other instruments and the three movements of the *nauba*. In Europe very much the same rule obtained. Whilst royalty and generals had the exclusive use of kettledrums and the playing of a full march,

1. *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, sub "Nacaire."

2. Tabourot, *Orchésographie*, (1588).

a Lieutenant-General and Major-General were only allowed three and two ruffles on the side drum respectively.

Among the likely survivals of Saracenic military customs in European armies is the use of the terms *fanfare* and *tucket*. The former is simply the Arabic word *anfār* (pl. of *nafīr*) in metathesis, although the *Oxford Dictionary* thinks of it as "an echoic word." The latter word is not so clear in its origin, but I believe that it was derived from the Arabic *taq* ("beware") or *taqwa* ("caution, attention"), which a sound by trumpet or drum would provoke, hence the Hebrew term *taqā'* (the sound of a trumpet).

II

THE TURKISH INFLUENCE

WHEN the Turks first set foot on European soil at the conquest of Constantinople (1453 A.D.=857 A.H.), the whole political structure of Europe changed. During the succeeding two hundred years this great Islamic martial array made itself master of the Balkans up to the Austrian frontiers and to the Adriatic littoral. On the southern shores of the Mediterranean, the Sultān claimed allegiance from Algeria to Egypt, whilst in the East, the Crescent reigned supreme from the Black Sea, through Syria and Mesopotamia to the marches of Persia.

Every state in Europe,—Venice, Austria, France, Poland, Sweden and Russia, was arrayed, either singly or allied, against the Islamic host which, having twice knocked at the gates of Vienna, had affrighted the crowns and courts alike.

Although the field is as yet unploughed by military historians, there is sufficient evidence to show that Europe learned something from the Turks in the art of war, just as the Crusaders had learned from the so-called Saracens during the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most exotic of the military arts of Turkey which influenced Europe was the military band, the instruments of which were eventually to find a place in the scores of classical composers.

To fully appreciate what Turkish military was like at this period I must again refer the reader to my article on the *Tabl khāna* in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. For our present purpose it must suffice to deal with what was actually borrowed from the Turks. In the nature of things it was through the Balkans that much of this "influence" came to Western Europe, where many instruments of military still carry evidence of their Turkish origin in their names, as exemplified in the *daule* (Alban.), *daboani* (Bulg.), *daulbas* (Serb., Bosn.), and *tabulhana* (Ruman.), all derived from the Turkish *dāwul* and *tabl khāna*: the *zurne* (Alban.), *zurnas* (Greek), and *surla* (Serb.-Croat.) from the Turkish *zurnā*: and the *zile* (Serb.-Croat.) from the Turkish *zil*.

Although the kettledrum had been borrowed from the East at the time of the Crusades, it had fallen into neglect in Europe as a military instrument, and it was not until the sixteenth (=tenth A.H.) century that it was re-adopted. In 1542, King Henry VIII of England sent to Vienna for kettledrums that could be played on horseback "after the Hungarian manner," the *fons et origo* of which was "the Turkish manner." From the evidence of Fronsperger's *Kriegsbuch* (1566) and Tabouret's *Orchesographie* (1588) it would appear that the Germans had also adopted the instrument. The French soon followed suit.

Cymbals were also used on rare occasions by German and French troops with the kettledrum, a custom undoubtedly borrowed from the Turks whose *zil* (cymbals) had crashed with terrific din in their *tabl khāna* from time immemorial.¹

There are also good reasons for suspecting that the bands of oboes adopted by the Germans in the first quarter of the seventeenth (=eleventh A.H.) century, was suggested by Turkish custom, since the oboe (*schalmei*, Germ., *zurnā*, Turk.) had long been the mainstay of Islamic military bands. These bands of hautbois were introduced into France prior to 1643 and into England in 1678.¹

More definite and important was the Turkish influence on European military music in the early years of the eighteenth (=twelfth A.H.) century. The credit of having inaugurated this, belongs to Poland and was due to the full Turkish military band which Augustus II (d. 1733), the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony received from Constantinople. Russia was the next to acquire a Turkish military band when, in 1725, the Empress Anne (d. 1740) sent a musician to the Turkish capital to form one of these bands. A combination was raised there consisting of twelve to fifteen players who performed on some three or four oboes or reed-pipes (*jūrā zurnā*), one or two larger oboes or reed-pipes (*qabā zurnā*), a fife (*nai*), a pair of kettledrums (*kūs, naqqāra*), a bass drum (*dāwul*) played with a double-headed stick on one side and with a metal rod on the other, two pairs of ordinary cymbals (*zil*), one large pair of cymbals, and two triangles.

Austria followed the new craze, and in 1741 the Chevalier von der Trenck marched into Vienna preceded by a Turkish band. The French adopted the innovation about the same time and the famous Marshal Count de Saxe (d. 1750) had this Turkish music in his Uhlans during the Austrian Succession War of 1741. By about 1770 most armies had adopted the new style of military bands, which in most cases meant the addition of the bass drum, kettledrum, cymbals, triangle, tambourine and jingling johnnie, to the ordinary wood-wind combination, known on the Continent as *harmonie musik*.

In many instances, Turkish musicians were engaged to play the Janissary music as it was sometimes called, but as vacancies occurred,

1. See my *Rise and Development of Military Music*, chap. iv.

their places were filled by negroes who were dressed in the most extravagant Eastern style. On some occasions this so-called Turkish music did not please the Turks. It is recorded that Frederick II (d. 1786), King of Prussia, had a band of Turkish music which he commanded to perform before Aḥmad Effendī, the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin. After listening attentively the latter said, "That's not Turkish," whereupon the King sent at once to Turkey for the genuine article.

For over a century, the percussion instruments of this Janissary music remained a special feature of European military bands. The first to be discarded was the small portable kettledrum, followed by the tambourine. Then came the neglect of the most typical of all the instruments of Janissary music, the jingling johnnie. This "tool," as Wagner would have called it, carried in its name a reminiscence of its Turkish appellation which was *chaghāna*, which in English was vulgarized into "johnnie." Originally, it was the standard of the band and consisted of a pole furnished with horizontal crescents and a pavilion en metal, from which depended small bells and cymbals which sounded when the instrument was shaken. It was also furnished with horsehair tails (*tūq* in Turkish) which was a relic of the rank of the *pāshā* who controlled the band.

The craze for these Turkish instruments was not confined to the military, but found a response in other quarters. In popular music, composers began writing special parts for the triangle and tambourine as an accompaniment to pianoforte music, and ladies are delineated playing on these instruments. Indeed, so favoured did the instruments become that pianofortes were specially constructed with a keyboard and attachments which sounded the drum, triangle and tambourine, as in Joseph Smith's patent of 1799.

Of greater import, however, was the recognition of the value of the instruments of Turkish music by composers of classical music, Mozart and Beethoven being the pioneers in this particular. It is true that both Marais in his opera *Alcione* (1706) and Gluck in his *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779) had already used the side drum, whilst Lully is claimed to have used the kettledrums as early as 1670, but it was the adoption of these instruments by the military band, in the Turkish music additions, which led to the real recognition of the value of these instruments, not merely in rhythmic and dynamic sphere, but as vehicles of novel tone colour in the orchestra, of which they have to this day formed an integral part.

A NOTE ON NOISE AS A CONSTERNATER IN ISLAMIC ARMIES

NOISE and clamour as a means of creating fear, dismay and panic in time of war, now being practised by the Nazi hordes with considerable

effect, is by no means a novel idea. It was practised in ancient times by the armies of Persia, Greece and Rome, who used noise-producing instruments, "the terrifying and shrill sounds of which are not in the power of man to endure," as Ibn Zaila (d. 440 A.H. = 1048 A.D.), a disciple of Ibn Sīnā says.¹ The practice was adopted by Islamic armies at an early period and the earliest of the noise-producing instruments used by them are of the highest interest.

In the Arabic *Kitāb al-siyāsa*, claimed to be a translation by Yūḥannā ibn al-Biṭriq (d. 200 A.H. = 815 A.D.) of a Greek work said to have been compiled by Aristotle for Alexander the Great, we read as follows :

"Let there be plenty of frightening and terrific sound-producing instruments, for, verily they will inspire thy men with courage and those of thine enemy with fear."

The Arabic texts of this work which have survived, appear to be compends because the Hebrew translation made by Jehudah al-Ḥarīzī (d. c. 614-15 A.H. = 1218 A.D.) is much fuller, and in this the passage reads :²

"Provide [thyself with] . . . terrifying instruments which make horrible noises, for thereby thou wilt encourage thy army and strengthen their souls, and thou wilt frighten those with whom thou wagest war, and dread will enter their souls. . . . And thou shalt dispose thy army thus. . . . on the left . . . those hydraulic instruments which cause dread and trembling, which I made for thee when thou didst engage with B.l.h.h. the Indian. When they heard those frightful noises their hearts quaked, the horses ran away, and thy victory was due to the large number of these instruments which I have mentioned."

The *Kitāb al-siyāsa* was also translated into Latin as the *Secretum secretorum* and in the version of Roger Bacon (d. c. 694-5 A.H. = 1294 A.D.), we are told that it was a "bronze horn of wonderful artifice,"³ the precise construction of which is described in an Arabic treatise attributed to a certain Mūristus entitled '*Amal al-ālat allatī ittakhadhahā Mūristus yadhhābu sautuhā sittīn mīl*' ("Construction of the Instrument which Mūristus Invented, the Sound of which Travels Sixty Miles"). The text has been published in *Al-Mashriq* (ix), whilst a complete English translation is given in the present writer's book, *The Organ of the Ancients : From Eastern Sources* (1931, p. 128).

The instrument, of which several designs have survived, was an organ of the *hydraulis* type similar to that described by Heron and Vitruvius. In the Mūristus treatise, we are told that it gave "a loud, terrifying sound . . . and affrights the hearts [of those who hear it]." So appalling was

1. *Kitāb al-kāfi fī'l-mūsīqī*, British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 234.

2. See text and translation in *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907-8.

3. See *Secretum secretorum*, (Oxford, 1920), p. 151.

the noise that those who manipulated the instrument, were compelled to "have their ears stuffed with cotton, and covered over with wax, in order that their senses may not depart, and they may not be injured in the ears."

The instrument is also mentioned by the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (4th cent. A.H. = 10th cent. A.D.); who speak, of certain terrible noises which, when they fall on the ears suddenly, are liable to cause sudden death. "These [noises]," they say, "are found in an artificial instrument called the organ (*urghān*). And the Greeks used to employ in wartime in order to terrify the souls of the enemy."¹

Yet Islamic armies made little use of this contrivance, although they fully appreciated the value of noise as a means of disconcerting an enemy. This tactic of noise, clamour and din, became one of the functions of the *ṭabl khāna* or military band, and we know from the Western chroniclers of the Crusades how this "noise" threw the Christian host into dismay and panic on more than one occasion. Geoffrey de Vinsauf speaks of the "horrid clang" of the Saracen trumpets and drums. "In front," he says, "came certain of their admirals, as was their duty, with clarions and trumpets, some had horns, others had pipes and timbrels, gongs, cymbals, and other instruments producing a horrible noise and clamour."²

The trumpets (*anfār*) of the Saracens, as well as their horns (*abwāq*), were at least thrice as long as those of the Crusaders, and must have produced the most awe inspiring effect. The pipes (*zumūr*) were not like our delicate instruments of the oboe family, but were of a much larger bore and played with a coarse reed which was not played by the lips but taken entirely into the mouth, the tone being identical with that of the bagpipe. As for the drums, there were the ordinary cylindrical drums (*aṭbāl*), the ordinary kettledrums (*naqqārāt*), the large kettledrums (*kusāt*), and later a monster kettledrum (*kūrghā*) introduced by the Mughals. Cymbals (*kāsāt*, *ṣūnūj*) of two kinds, the cup shape and plate shape, added to the noise-producing instruments of the *ṭabl khāna*.³

HENRY G. FARMER.

1. *Rasā'il*, (Bombay, 1887-8), i, 92.

2. Bk. i, chap. 23 : Bk. iv, chap. 18. Bohn's *Chronicles of the Crusades*.

3. For details of these instruments see my articles, *Ṭabl*, *Būq*, *Mizmār*, *Ṣanj*, and *Ṭabl Khāna*, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES IN NORTH AFRICA

(THIS article, written by one who has been associated with *Islamic Culture* since its inception, advocates the participation of trained Muslim young men in cultural activities in North Africa, in the broadest sense of the word culture, working in collaboration with whatever political administration be established as a result of the happy coming-together of Britain and Islam in their opposition to the forces of terror and destruction now abroad.

The term North Africa as used here includes all the northern half of the continent, especially those regions which have come under Arab influence during the course of history—regions whose populations are classed under the designations Semitic and Hamitic.

Before leaving England for the Far East, the writer, who was an original member of the African Society, was responsible for the publication of several books on Africa, including the *Story of West Africa*, by his friend Miss Mary Kingsley. He was also in touch with Sir Harry Johnston, Olive Schreiner and Miss Flora Shaw, later the wife of Lord Lugard, whose administration in East and West Africa made history).

WHATEVER by the time these lines appear in print may be the turning this world-commotion may have taken, this disastrous turmoil which, from the point of view of our two peoples whose civilization owes so much both to the ideals of ancient Greece and those of the Semitic peoples, is nothing less than a struggle of sanity against mass-insanity, one thing is becoming increasingly clear and dominantly urgent.

It is the duty of all of us who can to contribute towards a solution of the problems which will confront the world when fighting ceases: Our contribution may be erratic or well-reasoned, light or weighty, presumptuous or timely. It may be only a suggestion, but how often in history has not a suggestion—a phrase or a slogan merely—proved the germ of practical effort which has signalized real progress.

The object of this article is to offer a suggestion which it is hoped may link Islamic Culture with post-war constructive work, in activities that may be as helpful and memorable as the present comradeship which unites Islam and Britain in such welcome defence of humanity.

This is no time for the hazard of Utopian schemes, nor would it be anything but a waste of words to venture on any plan to cover the needs of more than a section of the world.

Now, there is one such section in the just and orderly development of which the peoples of the Islamic faith and the English-speaking nations have particular interest, historical, political, commercial and in the former case, vitally cultural. This section is the region lying south of the Mediterranean, deep into Africa, bordering the Red Sea and the Atlantic. It has hitherto been the hunting-ground, by no means always a happy one, of a number of European powers, and commercially India has had, and still has to a lessened extent, a share in the opening up to trade of this vast area. It is only too well known how the Italian violation of Abyssinia, so bitterly resented throughout India, resulted in much injustice to enterprising Indian merchants, who were compelled to close down their businesses in that country.

It seems to me that it is just this region of the increasingly important world of Africa which could, with the least friction, thanks to the turn things have taken, be made the venue of an experiment in cultural development which might go far towards the obviating or settlement of some post-war difficulties. The difficulties are already looming ahead very ominously, though it must be said they are being made easier of solution by the amazing part played by the coming-together of two of the greatest forces for good in the modern world—Britain and Islam, now united by a new determination to withstand and defeat the evil which threatens all the good they stand for.

It is possible for us, in the glow of our conviction that such a coming-together is a dispensation of the Best of beings, to build and leave to our descendants a memorial of our high intentions which shall not only revive and restore our great traditions, but give an upward trend to world-civilization.

There is inspiration in the hope that we may remain united,—the peoples of the British brotherhood of nations and those whose spiritual guide is a supernal light from Arabia of old—in whichever circumstances we may find ourselves; in the hope that we may remain united, not only in remembrance of the heights to which our vigour and love of adventure have led us, but in a vision of a new era of constructive activity, still upheld by the ethical and religious principles which have guided us at our highest moments.

In plain words: Why not apply to many backward regions of the Northern half of Africa, a combination of practical, honest and efficient control with the fervour, sympathy and dignity which have been largely a gift of the religions of our two peoples?

One of the main needs to-day is a breaking down of the barriers between religions as well as between nations. This would seem to be best effected by collaboration in social work of a constructive kind, a sharing in secular endeavour.

Britain and Islam meet in Africa, and great is their opportunity, in oneness of purpose, to bring about a fertilizing 'New Order.'

There is one particular way in which the unifying effects of the present

war may prove to be of ultimate advantage in the developments this article has in view.

Recent history of foreign activity in the Northern half of Africa does not seem to warrant any optimism regarding associated cultural activity from the Islamic point of view. There are European organizations which have staked out claims and insisted upon them by what are clearly unfair prohibitions. In certain parts of Africa, it is forbidden to employ in Government service any Africans educated in the schools of Protestant societies. This prohibition, I am told, appears in practice to be confined to Africans educated in higher Protestant schools. And except in countries like Kenya and Tanganyika, where there are Government schools, the Muslim population can only obtain education at Christian schools, which they unavoidably mistrust, and so rarely send their children to them. Hence the Muslim populations tend to remain uneducated and so inarticulate. This is particularly unfortunate at the present moment, when it is becoming more and more urgent that the voice of Islam should be heard on the subject of development in all spheres in Central and North Africa. Unless this comes about, the views of the great Muslim populations may not find expression at the Councils of State after the war.

In Abyssinia, Eritrea and the Belgian Congo, there are religious disabilities which strictly limit freedom in education. Now it would seem that these limitations and disabilities may have a chance of being removed in the event of the war resulting in the victory of the Allies, who are unlikely, especially when reinforced by Indian opinion and consideration, to allow their continuance.

It is this association of Indian ability and ideals with British administration which, I believe, will ensure a juster allocation and co-ordination of endeavours in this constructive direction. And one of the main endeavours should be towards the encouragement of African utterance.

In East Africa, where the bulk of the population belong to the Ismailia community, H.H. the Agha Khan encourages his followers to pursue an enlightened policy. Similarly in Kenya there are strong allies in the Bohra community.

Both these forces would prove of invaluable assistance in establishing a new order in North and Central Africa free from the deadening influence of prejudiced localism. I would advocate a cultural unity such as obtains in India, as the gatherings of our learned societies testify.

It is said that when a certain African was giving evidence before a committee of investigation he was asked what foreign institution he thought would be likely to remain in Africa were all European influence to end. Unhesitatingly he replied: "Football."

Certainly there was a nucleus of real value in that answer. For, as is part of the American creed, there has never been any such unifying influence as well-conducted sport, which is the happy correlative of indoor culture. Moreover, it is sport that is helping to drive the wrong sorts of superstition out of Africa. What these superstitions can do is vividly

illustrated by Mary Kingsley's experience. Speaking of African witchcraft, she says :—

“ I have seen mild gentle men and women turned by it in a moment to incarnate fiends, ready to rend and destroy those who a second before were nearest and dearest to them. Terrible is the fear that falls like a spell upon a village when a big man or big woman is just known to be dead. The very men catch their breaths, and grow grey round the lips, and then everyone, particularly those belonging to the household of the deceased, goes in for the most demonstrative exhibition of grief. Long, low howls creep up out of the first silence, those blood-curdling, infinitely melancholy, wailing howls—once heard never to be forgotten.” (*Travels in West Africa*, 316).

The work I am suggesting is a kind of missionary activity. But it is rather companionship in all walks of life than doctrinal religion. There are Christian missions all over Africa, doing highly valuable and unselfish work, often under very harassing conditions. The faith which diffuses there has been sincerely expressed by Mr. Arthur Copping, in his *Banners in Africa*.

“ We for our part need to realize that in dealing with this profound and hitherto insoluble problem of black and white we have only one thing to go by, and that is Christian fairplay, honest dealing, pity, mercy and the helping hand. The fundamentals of the Christian religion, to my mind, are the only key for solving the native question in Africa, and that key is going to be put in the door by this mighty organization.”

This key of sympathetic understanding, may I add, is just the one which has to be used by every individual, whether Christian or Muslim, when working in Africa. It is not a question of sect, but of humanity. Prof. Julian Huxley has succinctly put a conviction which many of us are feeling in connection with the needs of the world to-day.

“ At the present moment there is one great source of wasted energy. Many people with the missionary spirit do not belong to any Church. As a result there is at present no outlet in the missionary field for their enthusiasm. If it were possible to organize a non-sectarian mission, a large new supply of energy and devotion would be put at the service of native peoples. Any such body, though unsectarian, would have a truly religious aim—to work, so that Africa-to-be should have more life, better and richer life, and enjoy it more abundantly.” (*Africa View*, 345).

The able fulfilment of such an undertaking requires training of course, and that training must be largely practical. Military service and scouting each give something that would contribute to efficiency, and for relief of mind there should be some hobby of scientific value, whether anthropology or botany or any other study for which Africa provides such abundant material.

It must not be thought that all Africa is a heart of darkness. African character precludes that. We do not expect peoples who have been completely out of the current of civilization for so many centuries to take to our ways of life at once. But we all know the great part which negroes, whom General Smuts has called the only happy race in the world, are playing in various parts of the world, and how great an attraction their fine qualities have for us.

It is not merely the personal charm of a Robeson or a Constantine. Closer study has revealed other qualities much needed to-day. A writer in *Man*, Mr. E. Torday, has told us that the West African takes himself very seriously, and that his outward characteristics veil a deep love for his traditional institutions, in whose defence he is capable of dogged and combined systematic efforts. "He is a democrat to the core, and has shown that he can make the will of the people prevail over autocracy."

"Many books on Africa have given us most dismal pictures of life, climatic conditions and the dangers of travel there. But many things have been changed during the past twenty years. To-day the various African dependencies, governed by an admirable staff of administrators, are rapidly becoming organized states with their own patriotisms, their own life. Slavery (save in Abyssinia and perhaps in some remote parts of West Africa) and tribal war are no more; alien trade and settlement are carefully regulated; there are State medical, agricultural, and forest services; scientific discoveries, unknown in their pioneer days, are being requisitioned to build the foundations of health and prosperity; railways, steamers and motor-buses speed up transport; the people themselves are anxious for education, and the breath of ideas is stirring among them."

Such is the condition of material advance as reported by Prof. Julian Huxley. Not that he thinks this to be all that is needed, for he urges the operation of the very plan which, with its application to Muslim youth, is the keynote of this article.

"I can indeed think of no better outlet for the energies and aspirations of young men (and perhaps soon young women too) who, though possessed by the missionary spirit, have no zeal for a particular sect or creed, than the educational service in Africa. Here is a whole continent demanding fuller life, and to satisfy that demand will need all the resources of energy and imagination of which our educational missionaries are capable." (*Africa View*, 317-18).

Even so far west as the Cameroons, there are wonderfully alluring relics of Islamic culture to be seen. André Gide, in his *Travels in the Congo*, gives a picturesque description of his meeting with the Sultan of Rei Buba.

"Then we saw advancing towards us twenty-five horsemen whose appearance, though bizarre was sombre and sober. It was only when they had come close up to us that we saw they were dressed in dull steel coats-of-mail and had on their heads helmets topped by very

strange crests. The horses were perspiring, prancing, kicking up the dust magnificently. Then the curtain of horsemen divided and let through sixty admirable lancers, dressed and helmeted as for the crusades, on caparisoned horses. Almost at once after, these parted in their turn, like the bursting of a dyke, under the pressure of a hundred and fifty horsemen in Arab dress, with turbans on their heads and each carrying a lance in his hand. More floods of people then succeeded each other more and more rapidly, pushed forward by a thick wall of foot soldiers—archers in serried ranks and perfect order. Behind these could be seen something which seemed at first incomprehensible ; this was a quantity of bucklers of hippopotamus hide, nearly black and held at arm's length by the performers in the rear. I myself was caught up into this extraordinary ballet, and everything seemed to melt into a glorious symphony. I lost count of details, and behind this last curtain of men as it parted I beheld nothing but the Sultan himself surrounded by his bodyguard and standing before the town walls. . . . At our approach, he descended from a kind of palanquin drawn by stooping naked men. . .

The Sultan was very tall. I was struck by the beauty of his expression. He had certainly rather be loved than feared. He spoke in a low tone of voice, with his arm paternally, and as it were tenderly, laid on the interpreter's shoulder. After the first compliments had been exchanged, we mounted our horses again and went on in front of him into his town. Six trumpets sounded continuously, composed of a very long antelope-horn connected with an ivory mouthpiece by a sheath of crocodile skin. The populace was picturesquely arranged in groups half-way up the slope."

Nor must Prof. Huxley's picture of the outward side of life in Africa, the superficial accommodation to western civilization, be taken to give assurance of psychological discardings. His appeal for the supplementing of civilized occupations by the supply of teachers of the right kind shows that something more is needed than rapid communications and flourishing trade. The whole of Miss Kingsley's remarkable writings on African mentality support this, and she gives invaluable advice by way of help to the understanding of the African mind. For example : "When you have found the easy key that opens the reason underlying a series of facts, as for example these : A Benga spits on your hand as a greeting : you see a man who had been marching through the broiling sun all the forenoon, with a heavy load, on entering a village and having put down his load, elaborately steal round in the shelter of the houses, instead of crossing the street ; you come across a tribe that cuts its dead up into small pieces and scatters them broadcast, and another tribe that thinks a white man's eye-ball is a most desirable thing to be possessed of—do not, when you have found this key, drop your collecting work with a cry of ' I know all about Fetish,' for you don't, for the key to the above facts will not open the reason why you should avoid at night a cotton tree that had red earth

at its roots ; or why combings of hair and parings of nails should be taken care of ; or why a speck of blood that may fall from your flesh should be cut out of wood if it has fallen on to that, and destroyed, and if it has fallen on to the ground stamped and rubbed into the soil with great care. This set requires another key entirely." (*Travels in West Africa*, 296-7).

The search for such keys is one of the many ways in which the sympathetic understanding works, and the remarkable advance in the study of anthropology during the last generation is evidence of the determination in many quarters to substitute sympathy for callous indifference in intercourse with people we little understand.

England has during this century been hard at work among North African tribes, and this work is centred in what may be called vital education. Evidence has been pouring in, ever since the founding of the African society some forty odd years ago, of the increasing importance of the world of African character, from Nubia to Gambia, from the lands of the Tuareg and the Senussi to the Zambesi itself, and the ground is being cleared everywhere for the elimination of magic and sorcery by the new teaching originating in the sister lands of Palestine and Arabia, which insists on humanity and justice.

There are countries where faith has declined, owing to the stagnation which comes about where there is no field for the free development of human faculty. But to-day the situation has changed. Latent powers are being set free to the opportunities afforded by the pioneer work of science. Energy formerly spent on the dialectics of religion and philosophy, which tend to lead into waste land, now finds outlet into fertile areas.

The tonic of secular activity, now in welcome operation in India, with her immense possibilities, is the only thing which can arouse the world from the degeneration of complacency. The delight of our manhood to escape from this downward trend is shown by the zest and efficiency of our young pilots and their doughty Indian comrades in their magnificent performances.

It should be possible for our two sources of manly initiative, aided, let us hope, by the good-will of Frenchmen, who have had so much valuable experience of African problems and conditions, to pool our efforts to bring under the influence of our shared assistance the more promising of the tribes of North Africa, and to give them the training they need, not only in the activities of higher civilization, but in the development of their own traditional forms of culture. The presence of so much Arab blood in those peoples is making itself felt in striking ways, and should help to wean them from lowering practices and so cause them to follow the call of adventure in social and intellectual departure.

Closer intercourse should naturally lead to mutually helpful relations, of course outside political administration, although from now onwards there are likely to be more facilities for liaison work between administrative and cultural organizations.

There are opportunities for co-operation and consolidation strongly

supported by two salient facts. One is the success which British administration has enjoyed in North Africa and the trust which is reposed in her motives and methods.

Another is the eminently social and sociable character of Muslim ethics, and the original insistence on equality, which enjoin the followers of the Prophet to associate without reserve with the poorest of the faith. The peoples of North Africa need brotherly help from those who believe as they do. This can be given by young Muslims from Egypt, Arabia, Iraq and India who have received effective training in manly activities and in scientific control of natural resources, in engineering, medical work, housing and sanitation. There is a world of most important occupation waiting to be peopled by young men who are capable, trusty and enthusiastic. Much of it is work which Europeans cannot undertake owing to climate, lack of knowledge of Arabic, and unfamiliarity with local customs and conditions. It is a work of risk and adventure, but one which will bring rich rewards in the experience gained and the results obtained.

It is not merely the imposition of modern scientific method in all material ways of life, but the giving of hope, health, human rights and decent interests to millions of people who have known little of such things in the past, and who have suffered much degeneration in consequence. As an outlet for the energies of young Indian Muslims, graduating from our Schools and Universities only to be doomed to a difficult struggle for existence, such a chance should lead to a wide range of opportunity. For themselves, as well as for those with whom they were to become associated as bringers of help, it would in many cases be an education of a truer kind than indoor study can afford. It would bring enlightenment into thousands of dark homes and give scope for initiative hardly possible to exercise in their own country and conditions.

International cultural relations form a fascinating study, especially as a development of the idea of the University. In fact, such relations form a necessary corollary of the idea and ideals which should vivify every University. The main ideal of a University is to equip the local student to grow beyond the local view, and to look out not only into the greatness of the past but with the possibilities of the future greatness and welfare. We have to realise, as Prof. Whitehead says, that the great achievements of the past were the adventures of the past; that bolder adventure is needed—the adventure of ideas, and the adventure of practice conforming to ideas; that without adventure civilization is in full decay.

In the cultural development of the new North Africa, the recognition of this is most desirable. The Arabic and English languages are likely to be nobly associated in this great work, for it must be a part of education in that land of a thousand tongues to establish the knowledge and use of two such rich media of intercourse.

We British, like many sections of the Indian population, have ethnic connection with North African peoples. Modern studies in ethnology

and comparative philology are playing havoc with the preconceptions of our fathers. Baron Von Ehrenfels, following up conclusions of Sir John Marshall, supports an Arab origin of the population of Malabar, long before the Arab immigration which led to the founding of the Moplah community. Similarly, linguistic study has led Keltic scholars to discoveries which point to an African origin of the early British. Sir John Rhys stated that the Keltic languages preserve in their syntax the Hamitic, and especially the Egyptian type. And Sir John Morris Jones tells us that the pre-Aryan idioms which still live in Welsh and Irish were derived from a language allied to Egyptian and the Berber tongues.

If the idea behind this article should materialize, the means of its being carried out, to whatever extent, could be easily devised. I have had dreams of a general council to supervise a multitude of local committees and to meet, say, on the summit of Kilimanjaro or at the springs of the Nile. But, to be serious, the beginnings are likely to be small, and in the nature of an experiment. If a delegation of, say, three young Muslim graduates from Indian Universities, each of them a proved master of some physical science, were to be sent on a leisurely journey through the main countries of North Africa with instructions to take notes freely on social conditions and institutions, the experience would be invaluable. Their journey would be more successful in that so much of the course has already been cleared by the momentous development under British administration.

Perhaps I may be allowed to suggest the desirability of publishing in *Islamic Culture* more information about North Africa. In spite of all the excellent research conducted on African subjects by British, French, Italian and German scholars, there still remain vast fields to be explored with the aid of the new knowledge at our command, not merely from historical points of view, but by investigation demanded by economic and other kinds of human progress. This makes it more than ever necessary that young men sent from India and other parts of Asia should have had scientific training and be capable of telling us what they experience, or discover in simple, trustworthy language.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

AFGHANISTAN

THERE is an interesting article in the monthly کابل of Kābul, of December 1940, by Shāghlī 'Abdul-Hāyī, on the use of the words *Afghān* and *Afghānistān* in classical literature. Owing to the fact that the Muslim armies reached Afghānistān in the very time of the Companions of the Prophet, there is no dearth of references to the place-

names of *Afghānistān* in classical Arabic literature. Yet the words *Afghānistān* and *Afghān* have occurred neither in *Ṭabarīy* nor *Ya'qūbīy* nor *Mas'ūdīy* nor *Balādhurīy*. And according to the writer, the earliest use of the term is to be traced in the Persian geography *Hudūd-al-'ālam* حدود العالم (compiled in 372 H.):—

سول دهی است برکوه بانعمت . و اندر و افغانان اند . و چون ازینجا بروی تابه حسینان راه
اندرمیان دوکوه است ... بنیهار جائیست بآذشاهی او مسلمانی نماید و زن بسیار دارد از مسلمانان
و از افغانان و از هندوان بیش از سی کس . و دیگر مردم بت پرستند (ص ۳۱)

Then after a considerable gap, 'Utbīy, Bērūnīy and others use the term in question. *Ḥamdullāh Mustaufīy* and 'Abdarrazzāq Samarqandīy, however, use the form *Avghān* and *Avghānī*.

As for the term *Afghānistān*, the earliest use so far registered is the تاریخ هرات of *Saifīy Harawīy* (compiled in 618 H.):—

”و خطه هرات تا اقصای افغانستان وحد آموی بدو مفوض کرد“

AMERICA

IN the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society of New York for the year 1940, Dr. Miss Ilse Lichtenstädter read an interesting paper on “Folklore and Fairy-tale Motifs in Early Arabic Literature,” which has now appeared in the American journal, *Folk-Lore*, Vol. 51 (September 1940). Verses, proverbs and similar material have been scrutinised, and although there is scarcely any reference to “fairies” as such, interesting comparison has been made with Biblical and other international stories.

The same authoress read a paper in the American Academy for Jewish Research on “Some References to Jews in Pre-Islamic Arabic Literature,” which has appeared in the Proceedings of the said Academy, Vol. 10, 1940. The sentimental rather than historical and scientific approach to the treatment of the Jews of Madīnah, meted out by the Prophet, may be excused on the part of the authoress, for otherwise the treatment of the subject is exhaustive. The article is also useful for the wealth of references not easily accessible or even known in India.

ENGLAND

A Circle of Hyderabad Studies has recently been organized in London, reports the *Rahbar-e-Deccan* of Hyderabad. It is announced that a library is fast accumulating on all that concerns Hyderabad.

Mr. H. A. R. Gibb, Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, writes on the article “Muslim Conduct of State” now appearing in

Islamic Culture to the following effect :—

I have read the Thesis by Dr. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh on Muslim International Law with the greatest care and interest. The subject is, as a whole, one that has been little investigated, and that demanded much original research, as well as special qualifications in both legal and Arabic studies on the part of the researcher. Dr. Ḥamīdullāh's Thesis appears to me an eminently successful piece of work in both respects. His range of sources is exceedingly wide, and the exposition, which is well arranged, clear and thorough, covers the whole ground adequately. I have been specially impressed by the skill with which he has utilized the historical material relating to the early history of Islam and by the fullness of his citations. . . .

ARABIA

BRETSCHNEIDER, a Russian Orientalist, has published an interesting monograph in English on "The Knowledge possessed by the Chinese of the Arabs" in classical times. Exhausting original Chinese sources, the author has many interesting things to tell regarding early Islam, and many a fact related by Arab historians has been corroborated by contemporary Chinese testimony ; as, for instance, the Muslim attack on China in the time of the third Orthodox Caliph, 'Uthmān, who is also reported to have sent an envoy to the court of the Chinese Emperor—a fact unknown to Arab authors.

In a scientific society of Hyderabad, there was a lecture on the knowledge possessed by the Arab historians of India before Islam. Among the many legends, Ṭabariy records that there were even naval battles between India and Persia before the advent of Islam. This is interesting in view of the prevalent notion that neither Persia nor India had any aptitude for seafaring.

GENERAL

URDU is now employed for radio broadcasts in England, Germany, Italy, Egypt, Russia, Turkey, Japan and other countries.

DECCAN

Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif.

THE Dā'ira has published the *Kitāb al-Khail* (كتاب الخيل) by Abū-'Ubaid from an old manuscript in Madīnah. It is fully vocalised. The *Kitāb al-Af'āl* (كتاب الافعال) is now in the press and is also to be printed

with diacritical signs. Further volumes of Ibn-al-Jauzī's *Muntazam* are also in the press. Ibn-Habīb's *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* has been made ready by the editor and is shortly to go to press.

Hyderabad State-Library.

Under its new energetic director, the State-Library has achieved the long-cherished desire of being kept open for the whole day from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.

It is gratifying to note that almost two thousand books were acquired last year for the library in spite of the War, when communications are difficult, prices are high and output is dwindling.

The library now possesses over 10,000 MSS. in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, many of which are unique and very costly.

The new director has also received sanction that the section of the district languages of the Nizām's Dominions, viz., Kanarese, Telugu, and Marathi should be strengthened. On account of the Muslim rule in Karanatik, especially of Hyder 'Alī and Tipū Sultān in Mysore, there is no dearth of Islamic literature in Kanarese, yet unfortunately much of it remains in MSS. and very little has been published. The very large collection of Kanarese manuscripts, on palm-leaves, etc., from the royal library of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, recently acquired by the Osmania University Library, may bring to light many a gem in this branch also.

The installation of a photographing apparatus is the greatest need of the State-Library. It would cost only a few thousands and would be appreciated by Orientalists all over the world ; and the cost would soon be repaid with profit. At the moment, the precarious system of amanuenses persists, and with the slackening of Arabic studies in this class of professionals, the value of their antiquated labours is fast declining.

Exhibition of Qur'ān-MSS.

The Economic Committee of the Osmania Graduates Association has been year by year holding an Industrial Exhibition on a grand scale in Hyderabad. Their work was further enhanced in value this year by a Section of the Intellectual Exhibition arranged by the Hyderabad Museum. The exhibition of the MSS. of the Holy Qur'ān in the possession of the Museum, numbering hundreds, in all sizes and modes of calligraphy as well as in variety of historical connections, such as one written by the Emperor Aurangzēb, etc., formed one of the greatest attractions of this year's exhibition. The Art Section brought complaints, from male as well as female visitors, on account of certain pictures, some of which were removed by the authorities.

The oldest College in India.

In an extension lecture delivered at the Sorbonne, Paris, in 1939, it was stated that the Deccan has been famous all through history for its patronage of learning. The university founded by Maḥmūd Gāwān at Muḥammadābād-Bīdar, is still a monument of great inspiration in the Nizām's Dominions. Again, when the City of Hyderabad was founded three and a half centuries ago, the very first building to be erected was a residential school. The lecturer referred to the Chār-Mīnār, which still attracts every visitor to the City. From below, this huge building looks like a triumphal arch, but if one climbs the staircase, through the minarets, one encounters an imposing mosque, a cistern, a school and a set of residential quarters for students.

The first college, in the modern sense, Dārul-'Ulūm, was opened in Hyderabad in 1856, by Sālār Jung I (the then Prime Minister); the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay had to wait another year for their incorporation. Several reforms were introduced in the Dārul-'Ulūm College. During the Great War, the reigning Nizām, 'Uthman 'Alī Khān, gave it his own name and raised it to the rank of a university, of which Dārul-'Ulūm College not only provided the nucleus, but in fact became the Faculty of Theology of the new University. The papers concerning the Foundation of the Osmania University, published sometime ago, record a letter by Maulānā Shibli in which he stated that he was so much impressed by the reorganisation of the Theology Faculty, that he offered his proposed Nadwa College to be affiliated to it.

The twenty odd years of the rejuvenated Dārul-'Ulūm, in the form of the Theology Faculty, have seen the graduation of many alumni of international reputation. The modern needs of insurance, banking and the like, felt by Muslims are responsible for a proposal to make the Principles of Economics a part of Fiqh and compulsory for B.A. students of the Faculty. Part of the paper will be reserved for Islamic Economics. The readers of *Islamic Culture* will be interested to know that research is now being carried on regarding the principles of Islamic Economics by one of the theology graduates, to be submitted in this term, the result of which may determine the proposal just referred to.

Muslim Journalism in Hyderabad.

Very few people may know that the metropolis of the Nizāms leads India in journalism also. The oldest extant Urdu paper is the *Shawkat ul-Islām*, which has been appearing ever since 1872. It is a weekly, and arrangements are being made to popularise it and turn it, with the help of local talent, into a really worthy paper of its standing.

Historical Documents.

The Sa'idiyah Library of Hyderabad is the owner of perhaps the largest collection of historical documents in India, after governmental

archives. The *Majallah Taylasānīn* of Hyderabad, in its latest issue, has published two documents from this library, of unusual importance. One is an original letter of the second Nizām to the Prince of Arcot, and the other is a copy of a letter from the Emperor of Delhi, received by the Nizām II and communicated to the Prince of Arcot as an appendix to the first document. They correct many historical notions which have crept even into official publications. The documents are ably edited by Mr. Muḥammad Ghawth, M.A., LL.B. (Osmania).

M. H.

THE Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1940 bears an article by W. Ivanow on *Ismailis and Qaramatians*. The writer says:- . . . "As is known to every one whoever took interest in the subject, Ismail b. Ja'far, a descendant of 'Alī after whom the sect is named, was not its founder. The designation is of comparatively late origin (not before the tenth century A.D.) and only refers to the fact that the Imāms, the spiritual leaders of this branch of the Shi'ites, traced their genealogy from 'Alī through this Ismail. . . . Practically all early historians treat the Ismailis and the Qaramatians as members of one and the same sect. This point of view is also predominant amongst modern orientalists, who, for example Prof. L. Massignon, were of the opinion that the term Qaramatians was the only genuine and contemporary name for both the Qaramatians proper and the Ismailis who were the followers of the Fatimid Caliphs. . . . The connection between 'Abdullah b. Maymūn and Ismailism or Qaramatianism so far cannot be established by references to different historical documents, and this is again a weak point of the official theory."

The texts of *At-Tarjamatuz-Zahara* with an introduction has been published by H. M. Fakhr. It is an anonymous tract on the history of the Bhoras.

Bulletin of the Deccan College, Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona.

Dr. M. A. Chaghtai contributes an article on 'Nagaur—A Forgotten Kingdom,' tracing the history of the Nagaur-family, which ruled in Nagaur and its environs, contemporary with the Sultāns of Gujerāt, of whom they were near relatives. The whole account is based on inscriptions of this dynasty found in Rājputāna and Mārwār, as well as other historical evidence.

In an important short note, Mr. Nagarwala has tried to illustrate the theory of the Survival of the Fittest, basing his arguments on the principles of the Arabic saying *Al-Mulko-'Aqīmun* (الملک عقیم). Mr. Nagarwala has criticised Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who absolutely misunderstood the phrase used in one of the letters of Aurangzēb as maxim meant for kings.

The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Mr. Gode's interesting article on "Some Verses about the Kaystha-Parbhus Composed by Kesva Pandit by the order of King Sambhaji, son of Shivaji c. A.D. 1675," in which he has used two Sanskrit MSS. from the Bhandarkar Institute. Mr. Gode says that as the march of Rajarama Chatrapati to Jinji in 1690 became the subject of the poem, *Rajaramacarita* by Kesava Pandit in the Maratha country, the siege of Jinji (1689-1697) also appears to have captured the imagination of the people in the south, so far as to become the subject of a Mono-Drama in Tamil called *Seyda-K-Kadi Nandi-Natakam* (ed. with notes and English introduction by Dr. S. M. H. Nair, University of Madras, in *Annals of Oriental Research*, 1939, Vol. IV, Part I). This is a drama of the lame man who sings in honour of Seyda-K-Kadi, a generous patron of Tamil poets, both Hindu and Muslim. This patron was a great friend of Vijaya Raghunath Tervar *alias* Kilvan Setupati, (1674-1710). The author of the drama appears to have been a convert to Islam. The lame man gives in the drama his autobiography, in which he recounts his adventurous journey to Jinji where the war between the Mughals and the Marathas was in full blaze after the execution of Sambhaji Chatrapati in A.D. 1689. The drama contains a contemporary picture of the siege and is full of references to contemporary Mughal commanders under Zulfiqār Khan and the Maratha commanders under Rajarama Chatrapati.

Indian Historical Records Commission's Seventeenth Session, Baroda.

About fifty papers were read at this session (under the presidentship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar) by scholars and professors from various institutions of India. Dr. M. Azīz Aḥmad contributed a paper on *Tārīkh-i-Mughal* of Asad Bēg, which is also called *Waqāi 'Asad Bēg*. It contains a contemporary account of the closing days of Akbar's reign. The MSS. concerned are available in the Muslim University Library and the British Museum. The author, Asad Bēg Qazwīnī, was in Abul Fazl's service for seventeen years, after which he held other responsible posts. He was given the title of Musharraf Khān by Jahāngīr, and died in 1631 A.D. The book contains the details of the murder of Abul Fazl by Nar Singh Bundela in 1602 near Sironj. The *Sheikh*, according to the author, acting on the treacherous advice of Gopal Das, separated himself from his troops and fell a victim to the designs of the Bundela. Asad Bēg was also sent on political missions to the Deccan. He describes how the courtiers intrigued on the death of Akbar to place Prince Khusrō on the throne.

Mr. K. K. Basu contributes a paper on 'The Dastur-i-Amal of the Bijapur's Court.' Mr. 'Askari's paper on MS. *Mufīdu'l-Inshā* is very interesting showing the Mughal-Koch relations. Prof. Harūn Khān Shērwanī's learned paper on *Riādu'l-Inshā* of Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān

of the Bahmanī kingdom proves that it is an indispensable source-book of Deccan history.

The New Indian Antiquary's November 1940 issue contains an article by Dr. Hirananda Shastri in collaboration with Mr. Bhanot on 'Portraits and Waṣṣīs (calligraphic specimens) from the Collection of the Dewan of Baroda.' Unfortunately it lacks accuracy.

All-India Muslim Education Conference.

This Conference of Musalmans of India was organised at Aligadh in 1886, just ten years after the establishment of the Anglo-Muhammadan College by Sir Sayed Aḥmad Khan. Since then it has been functioning successfully and holds its sessions every year in different centres. The session of Poona held in the last week of December 1940, was presided over by Maulvī Abul Qāsim Faḡlu'l-Ḥaḡ, Premier of Bengal, who delivered a very striking address stressing the great need of girls' education, technical education and uniform courses for Muslim education all over India. At the end, he referred to the Kamal Yar Jung Committee Report on Muslim Education (formed in 1939 with a view to survey the aspects and conditions of Muslim Education throughout India,) which was expected to be presented at the Poona Session. The Committee, however, has been unable to complete its task, and disappointment at the delay was reflected in some of the speeches made at the Poona Conference. Certainly the Committee has displayed no unusual zest. The decision to appoint this body was made at the last All-India Muslim Conference. Early last year the Committee, which comprised some noted educationists, met at Hyderabad to formulate a plan of work. An exhaustive questionnaire was drawn up by Mr. 'Azīzul Ḥuḡ, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, and this was widely circulated throughout the country. At Poona, the Committee's lease of life was extended by a year to enable it to complete its report. It is to be hoped that the Committee, after its prolonged and exhaustive research, will present the public not merely with its recommendations but with many valuable data on Muslim education for the benefit of all interested in its progress. Sēth Aḥmad Hāroon Ja'far put forward the condition of Muslim education in the Bombay Presidency in his address as the president of the Reception Committee, and particularly drew the attention of the Government of Bombay to the question of increasing the number of colleges for Muslim students on economical lines. Mr. R. P. Masani's speech on 'Some Aspects of Muslim Education' was highly appreciated. The president of the Section of Islamic Culture, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung of Hyderabad, delivered his address in a lucid manner and showed how Islam has influenced nations of different faiths. Dr. M. A. Chaghṭāī gave a short account of this Section's activities. Dr. Hādī Ḥasan of Aligadh delivered a speech on Islamic Culture. Dr. Zubair Aḥmad Siddiqī read his presidential address to the Urdu Section, and many other important papers

were contributed. Prof. Naqawī's paper on the 'Higher Education of Science in Urdu' and Prof. Ibrāhīm Dar's paper on 'Urdu in Gujerat' were very well received. Mrs. Khadija Shafi 'Tayabjī's address as president of the Ladies Section was full of useful suggestions regarding female education. Prof. Ḥalīm gave a lengthy address in the Education Section. An Urdu Mushā'ira was also held, of which the credit goes to Sheikh 'Abdul Ḥaq of Poona.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

Indian History Congress, Lahore.

THE fourth session took place at Lahore during the month of December last, and lasted for three days. It was largely attended by scholars from almost all parts of India. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of Madras was the general president. In his lengthy address, he pointed out the need of correct translation of some of the important Persian historical texts. "A History of India so written has its own lessons even for the present as well as for the future. Bearing that in mind, a comprehensive History of India should be attempted on scientific lines of work. In order to achieve such an object of high ambition as many dark corners must be illuminated as is possible. . . ."

The Archæological Section was presided over by Mr. Ghulām Yazdānī, Director of Archæology of the Nizām's Dominions. He said in the course of his presidential address:— "As regards Epigraphical research, the work should be done under the auspices of Universities by professors of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Government may also create special chairs either at the centre (Delhi University), or at the seats of Provincial Governments, according to the scope of Epigraphic research in the different circles. Epigraphy may also be included as a subsidiary subject in the post-graduate course of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian." We may suggest that if Archæology is made an independent subject as a part of our education at the Indian Universities, this will automatically cover the study of Epigraphy and will bring India in line with the European and American Universities.

Khān Bahadur Zafar Ḥasan in his presidential address to the Mediæval Section of the Congress, made a survey of contemporary political histories, biographies of saints and high personages, accounts of Sufic Silsilahs, works on secular and religious laws, and other sources of historical information.

In this Section, Mr. Dharm Pal of Lahore read a learned paper on Balban's Mongol Policy, which was well received.

Dr. Mahdī Ḥussain of Agra read a paper on "Iṣāmī, the Firdousī of India," who composed the *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn* and dedicated it to king 'Alāuddīn Ḥasan Gangū Bahmanī, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty,

in 1350. Dr. Maḥdī Hussain emphasised that it was a book of great historical importance. Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghtāi of the Deccan College, Poona, contributed a lengthy paper on "Pre-Mughal Lahore." The Doctor related the story of the foundation of this important town of North India and the strange vicissitudes of fortune it had seen during its chequered career, noticing a number of great men associated with Lahore long before it was made one of the capitals of the great Mughals.

Prof. Hārūn Khān Sherwānī of the Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan, read a very interesting paper on the 'Antecedents of the Bahamanī Kingdom.'

Dr. Ishtīāq Husain Quraishī of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, discussed the 'Demand on Agricultural Produce under the Sultans of Delhi,' and Dr. P. M. Joshi of the Bombay University read a long paper on the 'Administration of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur,' which was much appreciated.

Prof. M. Ḥabīb of the Muslim University of Aligadh presided over the Mughal Section. Some of the notable contributions were: Mr. Parmu's paper on 'Original Documents of Muslim Rule in Kashmir'; Mr. Avinash Chandra Sehgal's paper on 'British Ambassadors to Jahangir'; Mr. K. K. Basu's paper on 'A Chapter from Golconda History.' "A Minister of Shāh 'Ālam" was the title of Prof. S. H. 'Askari's paper.

Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, (Nov. 1940 and Feb. 1941).

Dr. Muḥammad Bāqī has contributed a learned article under the title of *Panjāb mēn Urdu* (Urdu in Panjab) basing his researches on a MS. of the *Mathnawī Nairang-i-Mamlakat-i-Chīn* or *Qīṣṣa-i-Dilārām*, which he found in the Library of the Panjab University, Lahore. He regards it as a unique MS. of this type, composed in the last century.

Prof. Shairānī, who has recently retired from the Oriental College, Panjab University, delivered a lecture to the Oriental College, Lahore, on Urdu Literature produced by those followers of Sayed Maḥammad Maḥdī of Jaunpur who used to live in the village of Dariāh in Jaipur State. It had already been cited in one of the previous issues of the *Islamic Culture*, but Prof. Shairānī has published this lecture *in extenso* with further details of the life of Sayed Muḥammad and his teachings, as well as a complete survey of those compilations in Urdu.

Dr. Sayed Muḥammad 'Abdulla has contributed an article on Exemplary Persian Poetry, and another of topical interest on the World of Urdu after the Great War of 1914.

Dr. Bāqir tries to trace the sources of old Urdu compilations which he considers have been more or less adapted from Persian sources, and he confirms that the word Urdu for a language was first used by Maṣḥafī in 1209 A. H/1794 A.D.

Prof. Baldev Singh has written a careful account showing the genealogy of the saint Bābā Farīdu'd-Dīn Ganj Shakar of Pakpattan (born in 575 A.H./1179 A.D. in the village Chāwlī near Multan) and has brought to light many new details which he has ably traced from papers found in Faridkot State, which is also named after the same saint. As to the poetry of Bābā Farīd, we gather that one hundred and thirty shaloks and four shabds are included in the Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the holy scripture of the Sikhs.

Prof. Tāj Muḥammad has begun to publish the text of Mathnawī Gauhar Nāma of Khawājū Kirmānī with a short introduction and useful notes.

Mr. Aḥmad Rabbānī has given a brief account of activities of printing in the Northern India in the early days.

Burhān of Delhi.—(Jan.-Feb. 1941)

Maulvī Muḥammad 'Uthmān has written an interesting paper on *Islam and Modern Discoveries*, while Moulāna Sayed Sibghatullah discusses the *Oaths in the Holy Qur'ān* with special reference to the Surahs *Yūnus*, *Dhāriāt* and *Ṭūr*.

M. A. C.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

KITĀB AR-RĪ'ĀYAH LI HUQŪQ ALLĀH by Aby 'Abd Allāh al-Hārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibī; edited by Margaret Smith M.A., D. Litt., E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, London 1940; 19 and 343 pages 8vo.

THE *Safeguarding of the Prerogatives of God* is the largest work of Muḥāsibī which has come down to us and is at the same time the chief work of one of the earliest writers on Sūfism and it is not surprising that the ideas expounded in it recur in all later compositions. The very fact that right in the beginning we find the parable of the Sower (p. 2, line 18), taken from the gospel of Matthew, XIII, 3-8, attributed to one of the wise men (بعض الحكماء), shows that he like other early theological writers consciously and unconsciously derived a great deal of inspiration from Christian writers or preachers. I find the same in the fragments of the *Kitāb az-Zuhd* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal which I may publish in the future. The difference of the books of these contemporaries is considerable, for, while Muḥāsibī has arranged his material in a systematic form, the work of Ibn Ḥanbal is a loosely thrown-together collection of sayings of earlier ascetics with a considerable amount of tradition going back to the Prophet, all after the orthodox fashion of the traditionists. Contrary to this method, Muḥāsibī, as a rule, does not take the trouble to trace the traditions he cites by a complete chain of authorities. The editor has here failed to establish in many cases the correct names of the persons which are named in such citations and as

they all are well known, this should have been easily done.

We must bear in mind that many early Muslims were genuinely pious men living in an entirely different world from the material prosperity in the large cities of the Arab Empire, and this is reflected by their utterances recorded in the *Ri'āyah* and other works of a similar nature. Some of them, as for example, Ibrāhīm at-Taimī, have a considerable knowledge of the Gospels, while for Jewish literature, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Wahb ibn Munabbih and other converts from Judaism or descendants of Jewish converts have contributed to the store of Jewish legendary lore. Here is a wide field for investigation.

I have taken the trouble of checking the names which are found in the *Ri'āyah* and find that in some cases they are given correctly in the two manuscripts which are *not* the basis of the text. As some names occur more than once, I make my remarks following the index: ابن ابي معيث should read ابن ابي مغيث. ابن اون is an impossible name, the correct reading is مذكور, a well-known ascetic and friend of Muṭarrif, with whom he is mentioned p. 304, 16 (cf. Ibn al-Jauzī, *Ṣifat* III, 176). Ibn 'Uyainah is Sufyān also mentioned in the index. Read ابو البخري. Abul Jald is an unknown person, I have failed to identify him.

P. 145, note 4 is a misspelling for ابو براء. The editor has apparently failed to notice that lines 9 and 10 of that page contain verses, the second of which, with slight variations, is found in *Lisān al-'Arab*, IV,

171. *ابو مسعود الثقفي* is correct in text, wrong in index. Read in text and index *انس بن النضر* and *الاعمش*. *انس بن النضر*; *an-Naḍr* is always with article while the name *نضر* *Naṣr* is always without it. Read *بهر بن حكيم* with Zay. There is no Companion of the Prophet with the name of *al-Hārith* b. Jarir az-Zubairī, nor a Traditionist of later times. The Nisba may read *Zubaidī*. Read *رياح القيسى* with two points, he is well known. *رشيد بن كعب* is unknown, but I have no doubt that *Rabi'a* b. *Ka'b* al-*Aslamī* is meant. *السعيد* on p. 83 is no personal name at all; the text simply says: *Ibn Mas'ūd* said: Blessed is he who is admonished by (the fate of) others. Read *سهل بن عمرو* *Suhail*. Read *سعيد بن داود* *Sunaid*. *المأجشون* was a laqab of 'Abd al-'Azīz. *عكرمة بن ابي جهل*: the editor throws two different persons together. *عكرمة بن ابي جهل* is only speaking on p. 159; the other references are to 'Ikrimah, the famulus of Ibn 'Abbās, who is far better known. *عمر بن رزق الله* is unknown but the name of his father, *Rizq Allāh*, points to a later date. It is strange that the identical saying is attributed to him on two consecutive pages. *عمران بن جدير* is unknown but there is no doubt that *ابن حصين* of MS. B is the only correct one. *Muḥammad* b. *Labīd*: read *Maḥmūd*. *النوح* in the index is a slip of the pen. Only *وائلة بن الاسقع* is correct, he is well known. Now all these names could have been easily put right as we possess ample printed sources for the names of persons, even if of insignificant importance, for the first three centuries of the Hijra.

I cannot approve of the execution of the printing. Any one accustomed to Arabic manuscripts knows that only in exceptional cases do the scribes conform to the rules of orthography recognised for modern printed texts, and the correction of omissions and discrepancies without notice are generally considered the duty of the editor. There seems to be a horror of printing the *Hamza* and *Madda* in places where even daily newspapers would not offend the eye. Only look at the first page of the text! That the press could do

it, is evident from the full vocalisation of the Quranic texts. At times unwanted vowels are inserted while the only useful one is omitted; an example is *Usāma* (p. 291, 7). Incorrect spellings are left, though they may be found in the MSS. An example is p. 9, 1, where the *Alif* would indicate a plural, while the singular is intended. On p. 76, 2, we find *فقبل بربيع* which should read *قال بربيع* is never constructed with *ب* in this sense, no doubt the manuscripts had no point under the *ل*. *مشمز* on p. 243, 15, does not exist in the Arabic language; the correct reading is *مشمز*; the reading of the two other MSS. on p. 71, 2, only *يو فقه* is correct. *انقطعت* on p. 206, 19, is no doubt an error of the press. This is only a small selection. These errors may not interfere with the understanding of the comparatively easy text, but they are blemishes.

THE MATHNAWĪ OF JALĀLU'DDĪN RŪMĪ, edited from the oldest available manuscripts with critical notes, translation and commentary by Reynold A. Nicholson, etc., Vol. VIII containing the commentary on the third, fourth, fifth and sixth books with indices to Vols VII & VIII, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, London, 1940, 473 pp.

THE present volume completes a work commenced over eighteen years ago and we must congratulate the editor and translator upon having accomplished such a stupendous task, as the *Mathnawī* is probably the largest Persian work ever undertaken in Europe. The last volume deals with critical remarks upon the last four volumes of the poem, while the previous volume dealt with only two books. This is not surprising as *Rūmī*, in common with other *Sūfis*, repeats the same ideas over and over again. There now remains the biography of the poet and a survey of his spiritual and literary activity, which Professor Nicholson promises in the introduction to this volume. After so many years of study of the great work of the poet, he alone will be able to throw more light upon his life, which is very

inadequately dealt with by the Persian biographers. It would be very desirable also to give an account of any particularities in the language used by the poet living in the Western confines of the Persian language at that time.

F. KRENKOW

THE MUJADDID'S CONCEPTION OF TAWHĪD by *Burhān Aḥmad Fārūqī*, M.A., Ph.D., (Muslim University, Aligarh), published by *Sh. Muḥammad Aṣṣharf*, Lahore.

Between developed forms of Theism and Pantheism, the boundaries are always very shifting and very thin. *Sheikh Aḥmad Sirhindī*, generally known as *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī*, (the Reformer at the head of the Second Millennium) took up the cudgels to defend the popular and orthodox view of Islamic Theism against Sūfistic Pantheism, whose chief exponent among the Sūfis was *Ibn-i-'Arabī*. The difficulty about the whole problem lies in the fact that the starting point of both of these thinker-mystics is religious experience. Experience is primary and exposition is secondary. On the basis of varied experiences, the one asserts the Unity of Being or Monism and the other professes and teaches essential diversity between the Creator and the Creature. Those who are not gifted with religious experience, could not be justified in playing the role of a judge. The further difficulty about the varieties of religious experience arises from the fact that these experiences are psychologically influenced by the dogmas and traditions held to be true and self-evident by a person who experiences these states. The obvious difference between these two thinkers rests on the fact that the *Mujaddid* is more orthodox, more practical, and more political than *Ibn-i-'Arabī*. The *Mujaddid* who lived through the times of heterodox Akbar and gay Jahāngīr, saw orthodox Islam invaded on the one hand by Pantheistic Sūfism, which tended to create a moral and religious holiday, and on the other hand

Moghul Rulers. He tried to revive orthodox Islam and make even religious experience conform to the orthodox tenets. *Shah Walī Ullāh's* attempt at reconciliation is also treated in this book, though the author does not agree with him. In the philosophy of religion as well as in the interpretation of religious experience, the controversy between Theism and Pantheism is still a living issue. There is an immense amount of Islamic literature which turns round the problem, but this book is a first attempt of its kind in the English language to bring out the views of great Sūfī thinkers and is a good comparative study. But one feels the book to be rather sketchy. The subject obviously requires more elaborate treatment.

MOHAMMAD IN WORLD SCRIPTURES, by *'Abdul Haq Vidyarthi*.

THIS is a kind of book that will amuse many but will hardly instruct. It has been a practice of many established religions to make an attempt to prove the veracity of their teachings and the divine mission of their harbingers by referring to the prophesies in the previous scriptures. But for a person who is not an advocate of a particular creed and desires to judge objectively on the basis of clear and authentic evidence alone, these attempts offer very disappointing reading. The spelling, the meaning and the interpretation of words are twisted cleverly but unconvincingly to prove a point. The result is that anything could be interpreted into anything. *Ka'sava* lake of the Zoroastrians is held to be the *Kauthar* of Islam; *Augra Mainya* is *Abu Lahab*; *Soeshyant* and *Asvatereta*; the victorious and the beneficent, are terms said to apply to the Prophet *Muḥammad* alone. Similarly a curious twisting of a Sanskrit word is made to correspond to the name *Aḥmed*. *Atharva Rishi* is taken to be the prophet *Ismāel*, and *Angira* is *Isaac*. Any reference in Hindu Scriptures to a Sacred House is taken to be a reference to the *Ka'ba*. The equivalence of *Brahma* and *Abraham* is phonetically very plausible but can go no further.

This is not the sort of book that could either enhance the faith of an intelligent follower of the Prophet or convert any intelligent man to Islam. The book overshoots the mark everywhere. It is philological legerdemain. All the same it would provide recreation to run through the book in moments of leisure

and see what orthodox and blind advocacy is capable of. The greatness of the Prophet could well dispense with such flimsy supports. We can recommend the reading of the book only as an intellectual pastime.

K. A. H.



[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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THE SEVEN SLEEPERS

*Discourse by Professor L. Maassignon at the International Congress at Brussels
on the 5th of September, 1939 ; translated by Dr. F. Krenkow.*

THE theme of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus figures at the same time in Christian Martyrology and in one Sūra of the Qur'ān, the Eighteenth Chapter entitled "The Men of the Cave."

In Christianity it has not inspired any work of the first order but it nevertheless remained popular for a long time. Edward the Confessor, the pious English king, loved it and in Bavaria at least five churches have been dedicated to them of which two still exist, one at Stagaurach near Bamberg and the other at Rotthof near Passau. In German Switzerland, a little animal similar to the squirrel is called Sevensleeper (Siebenschlafer).¹

In Islam on the contrary the Seven Sleepers have had a considerable influence which I commenced to study in my lectures on the exegesis of the Qur'ān in the École des Hautes Études, where I have attempted to unravel the orientations which the meditation of the Quranic text may have suggested to the commentators during the course of centuries as these orientations have had a cultural and social influence which has often influenced Muslim mentality, its symbolic art and its political eschatology.

A fact the origin of which has so far not been elucidated is that the Sūra of the Seven Sleepers is the only chapter of the Qur'ān which is read in the official reading of the Holy Writ every Friday in the mosques since the earliest times. Muslim Folklore, as has been remarked by Dr. Ṭāḥā Ḥusain concerning Egypt, gives for this curious selection of the text a popular explanation. At the end of the Sūra there is no longer any allusion to the Seven Sleepers but to Moses and his anonymous guide, then to Dhul-Qurnain. The latter is described as building a large wall to impede the two devastating peoples, Gog and Magog, from invading the civilised world. Popular explanation is that the reading each Friday the Eighteenth Sūra containing this verse, repairs the breaches which Gog and Magog incessantly try to make in the great wall built by Dhul-Qarnain. . . But we shall see that in the first century the attention of the listeners was fixed preferably upon the verses at the beginning of the Sūra trying to

1. It is the Dormouse=(Myoxus Avellanarius).

discover in the lines which depict the Seven Sleepers: signs of the appearance of the chief who will establish justice upon this nether world.

Let us briefly return to the original form of the theme. In the Christian original (Greek rather than Syrian according to Peters), it is asserted that from the sixth Christian era (referring to the preceding century) the story is of seven officials of Ephesus who, fleeing from the persecution of the emperor Decius against the Christians, hide in a cave which is walled in. After the triumph of Christianity, 327 later (*sic*) the cave was discovered by accident and the Seven, who had not died but had fallen asleep, woke up. The bishop and the emperor, having been informed about the miracle, arrived to see them die, after having thus proved the truth about the resurrection.

In the Qur'ān, in accordance with the elliptic representation which is particular to it, the theme is condensed in three separate pictures: The Seven hidden in the cave pray to God after a courageous confession of faith. There during their sleep three miracles take place; the sun avoiding the entrance of the cave, the bodies turn alternatively from right to left and the mysterious and ferocious dog who resting guards them while they are asleep. Finally the opening of the cave by which they are discovered and the advent of the *Hour of God* evokes two discussions. The first about the type of the buildings to be erected on the spot as a memorial, the second about their number (three, five or seven) and especially about the number of years which their sleep has lasted. The Qur'ān gives the figure 300 augmented by nine that is 309 years.

One sees clearly that the Quranic account does not stress the miracle of the resurrection but the duration of the sleep, the *Hour of Justice*. In scrutinising the Arabic text, one notices some key-words, inductors as psychoanalysts say, *Fatā* (*fitya*, *futuwwain* v. 10, 13) sources of the theories of prowess: *ladun* (v. 2, 9, 64 and 75) from which is derived the term *ladunī* to designate that science which God communicates only to his saints; and *Wilāya* (v. 42) which is to define the sanctity.

If we now consider the modern critical studies, we find that they deal principally with the geographical localisation of the legend: Ephesus, Yarpuz, Transjordan (by Clermont-Ganneau), Tebessa, etc. While recognising the ingenuity displayed in this sense, I have taken my own effort to another sphere.

In examining the earliest Shī'ah commentaries about this Sūra, I was struck by their archaic luxuriance. The discussion about the number 3, 5 or 7 of the Sleepers refers not only to the Pleyades (=3, 5 or 7 stars), but to three Imāmi sects of the second century of the Hijra, counting either three Imāms before al-Qā'im (Zaidī Jaudī sect) or five Imāms simultaneously (Mukhammisa sect), or seven Imāms (Ismā'īlī sect). The time spent in the cave by the Sleepers represents for all these legitimist sects the time of the domination of iniquity and oppression, the time during which the legitimate claimants were hidden in the *Cave of Secrecy*, the time of the *Ghaiba* or Occultation of justice. The length of this time

symbolises the resurrection (Raj'a) of legitimacy, which is not altogether a resurrection but rather an awakening. The great Ismā'īlī conspiracy which commenced in the year 290 (=in Arabic arithmology at the same time as is represented by the words "Maryam" and "Fāṭir" = Fāṭima) and succeeded in founding the Caliphic dynasty of the Fatimides professed officially that its triumph was in the year 309, predicted in the Qur'ān. (It dated actually a little later). Two other sects, that of the Qarmatī Zakarī in Baḥrain took the figure 309 plus 10 = 319, while that of the Azāriqa at Baghdād took 309 plus 40 (the date of the death of 'Alī) thus also deriving the date of their rebellion, from the figure 309. One finds here the same Semitic taste for prophetic computations, the mechanism of which I have analysed elsewhere and which the commentators of the Bible know concerning the seventy weeks of Daniel.

The Shī'ah have also been attracted by the mysterious dog (Catulus viricanus ? of the Latin legends of the sixth Christian era) which guarded the Seven Sleepers. According to the sects, it is either the first Imām, or his Bāb, Salmān, or in the hierarchy of the initiators of the sect a grade, that of the Mukallib (this is the theory of Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman). (This grade is also found among the Druzes).

With the Sunnīs the mystics have taken up the study of the Seven Sleepers, not in the form of a dynamic prevision for the insurrection for Justice, but under the static form of the description of the hierarchy of hidden saints, the Abdāl, who sustain the life of this perishable world here below by their merits. The Seven Sleepers are the seven Abdāl ; Bisṭāmī was one of them, and they succeeded one another from age to age, in secret. The miracle of their bodies fallen asleep, turned alternately from right to left by divine grace has given place by analogy to the act and ritual of the washer of the dead Muslims (symbol of the congregational obedience "perinde ac cadaver" = since St. Nil and St. Francis of Assisi to St. Ignacius Loyola) and also casually by Sahl Tustarī to a very curious commentary of the verse (18 v. 8) by Nūr ad-Dīn Kasirqī in his *Tā'wilāt Najmiya*: The true Seven Sleepers of Islam are the hermits, whose Cavern is the hermitage into which they have fled, not out of fear from Decius, but from a desire to join God. For them the novice whom God attracts directly to Himself must dwell, as indicated by the Sūra, 309 years in a state of abandonment to God like the corpse in the hands of the washer of the dead, while the novice whom God confides to his religious superiors can arrive at perfection in one, two or three retreats of forty days.

The first case leads us to a celebrated Muslim mystic for his doctrine of divine union and its martyr, Hallāj, who was executed exactly in the year 309 of the Hījra and who was for his disciples symbolic of the consummation of the divine love, the final hour. (Thus it was publicly pronounced in Khorāsān in the town of Taliqān.)

A young contemporary Egyptian Muslim writer, M. Tewfiq al-Ḥakīm has again taken up the subject of the Seven Sleepers in a curious little drama, "*Ahl al-Kahf*." Of seven whose names serve traditionally as

talismans he retains only three. He assumes that one of them, *Mashiniya*, on his awakening falls in love with the daughter of the emperor in whom he believes to recognise his fiancée of yore, a distant relation of this young woman who happens to have inherited his engagement ring. The drama finishes with the death of the emperor's daughter who prefers to be walled in the cave which is closed again over the corpses of the Seven, identifying herself with the phantom which *Mashiniya* has believed to recognise in her in consequence of which "she has loved."

Renan has written that the resurrection of Christ was originally nothing but the illusion of a woman in love. What much more strongly one can say for a good many Muslims is that the weekly reading of the 18th *Sūra* has entertained them in the belief that the *Hour of God* will come at its appointed time to consummate all justice. Victor Hugo has sung of this posthumous revenge of the astronomer Halley, dead and forgotten, when the comet reappeared at the very time which he had calculated.

More profoundly, and that is what T. al-Ḥakīm has suggested, to awake after so many years, has only meaning for those who find the same love at the terminus of slow germination in their hearts, visited by Grace of the Eternal Spring (*Ṣubḥ al-Azal*).

F. KRENKOW.

MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE

(Continued)

PART III.—HOSTILE RELATIONS

CHAPTER I—*Preliminary Remarks*

A TRADITIONAL connexion is traced between war and Islam by interested savants. It will be interesting to note what Islam has contributed to mitigate the horrors of war and make it more humane. The Prophet of Islam is reported to have said : “ I am the prophet of mercy, I am the prophet of battle ” (انا نبي الرحمة انا نبي الملحمة)¹. And again : “ I am the most valiant yet the most cheerful fighter ” (انا الضحوك القتال)². These two *obiter dicta* may be taken as striking the keynote of the whole Muslim law of war.

CHAPTER II

Various Kinds of Hostile Relations

BEFORE we begin with the laws of war, it is to be noted that the hostile relations of two or more states do not always amount to war. More often than not they fall short of war ; and fighting and bloodshed, or at least, the mobilisation of the whole of the public forces of a state does not take place. These relations must be dealt with first.

1. *Reprisals.*

These signify a forcible mode of redress by which often a resort is made to the so-called *lex talionis*. Such are the seizure or destruction by one state of the property belonging to another state or its subjects, the detention of ambassadors, temporary occupation of the adversary's territory, and the like. In this connexion the Qur'an lays down :—

The forbidden things are reciprocal. So one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you and fear God. And

1. Ibn-Taimiyah, *السياسة الشرعية*, p. 8 ; Dhahabiy, *التاريخ الكبير*, I, fol. 40. Cf. Tabariy, *Hist.* I, 1788, (نبي التوبة والمالحة).

2. Ibn-Taimiyah, *ibid.*

know that God is with those who fear [Him]. (2 : 194).

The guerdon of an ill-deed is an ill the like thereof. But whoever pardoneth and amendeth, his wage is the affair of God. Lo ! He loveth not wrong-doers. And whoso defendeth himself after he hath suffered wrong—for such, there is no way of blame against them. The way of blame is only against those who oppress mankind, and wrongfully rebel in the earth. For such there is a painful doom. (42 : 40-42. Cf. 10 : 28, 40 : 40).

The expedition of Mut'ah¹ was intended for similar purposes. The plenipotentiaries of the Quraish were detained, after the conclusion of the treaty of Hudaibiyah,² on the same grounds. In later Islamic history such cases abound.

2. *Pacific Blockade.*

This means a blockade of the port or ports of the enemy and the preventing of all ingress or egress, but no bombardment. This blockade has for object the obtaining of redress. This is a later occurrence, and I could not find an earlier instance than 1866-68, when the Turks, during a rebellion, blockaded Crete and thus crushed the insurrection. The note of Muṣṭafā Pāshā may be referred to in this connexion with profit.³

3. *Miscellanea.*

In modern times, other kinds of hostile activities falling short of war are to be noted, for instance, the breaking off of diplomatic relations, postponement of the enforcing of treaties, economic pressure and a variety of other things.

Further, frontier incidents occurring from time to time, and skirmishes and clashes between the forces of states whose tense relations have not yet developed into actual war must also be classed in this category of relations.

CHAPTER III

Nature and Definition of War

I NEED not enter into any philosophical or historical discussion of war. It may, however, briefly be noted that Muslims, too, think of war

1. Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1610; Ibn-Hishām, p. 791ff.; Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, 92; Mas'ūdiy, *Tanbih*, 265. (The expedition of Mu'tah was in fact a reprisal for the assassination of a Muslim envoy by a Ghassānid chief.

2. Halabiy, *Insān*, III, 26; Dahlān, *Sirah*, II, 46.

3. Holland, *Studies in International Law*, p. 135.

only as unavoidable, not as desired or to be sought after. The Qur'ān says : " And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in God."¹ And again : " So do not falter, and invite to peace when ye are the uppermost. And God is with you, and he will not grudge (the reward of) your actions."² A *Hadīth* of the Prophet goes : " Do not be eager to meet the enemy, but ask God for safety. Yet if you meet them, persevere and have patience ; and know that Paradise is under the shadows of swords."³ On another occasion, the Prophet said : " Do not be eager to meet the enemy, perhaps you may be put to test by them, but rather say : O God ! Suffice for us, and keep their might away from us."⁴

A later Muslim author strikes an interesting note by saying :

Wars are accidents among the happenings of the time, just like sicknesses, in contrast to peace and security, which resemble health for bodies. So it is necessary to preserve health by means of political action, and to shun sickness by means of warlike action, and to busy one's self in preserving health.⁵

الحروب هي العوارض من حوادث
الزمان كالأمراض كما ان الأمن
والسلامة كالصحة للجسد فيجب
حفظ الصحة بالأمور السياسية ودفع
المرض بالأمور الحربية ولا يشتغل
بمحافظة الصحة .

Definition of War.

An old Muslim jurisconsult, al-Kāsānīy, defines *jihād*, or the war of the Muslims, thus : " *Jihād* in the technology of law is used for expending ability and power in fighting in the path of God by means of life, property, tongue and other than these."⁶ The same thing is repeated in different words by practically all the later Muslim writers on Muslim law, but no one mentions in the definition who it is who will undertake a war : the public or the government ? Incidentally the question is answered in the course of other discussion. So Abū-Yūsuf, the Chief Qāḍī of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, says : No army marches without permission of the Caliph (لاتسرى سرية بغير إذن الامام).⁷ Al-Māwardīy is also clear about it that a war cannot be waged without permission of the Caliph (central government).⁸ Defence of foreign aggression must naturally be excepted. As-

1. Qur'ān, 8 : 61.

2. Qur'ān, 47 : 35.

3. Bukhārīy, 56 : 112, 156 ; 94 : 8. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, V, 143. Abū Dāwūd, 15 : 89. Dārimīy, 17 : 6. Ibn-Hanbal, II, 400, 523 ; IV, 353.

4. Ibn-Qutaibah, 'Uyūn-ul-Akhbār, I, 107 (ch. Kitāb al-Ḥarb).

5. Ḥasan-ibn-'Abdallāh, آثار الاول في ترتيب الدول (compiled 708 H.), p. 167.

6. بدائع الصنائع, VII, 97.

7. الخراج, p. 123.

8. الاحكام السلطانية, p. 53.

Sarakhsīy, commenting on *ash-Shaibānīy*, goes even so far as to maintain that if a foreign armed force without permission of its government takes belligerent action against a Muslim State, that does not amount to a declaration or existence of war between the two states.¹ In such cases redress may be obtained by diplomatic negotiations and even by direct methods as the occasion may require.

As all the acts of life of a Muslim are controlled by the *Qur'ān*, so every thing he does with the intention of obeying his Lord are acts religiously held to be meritorious, even his eating and drinking—in order to preserve strength for performing his duties to God—or taking part in a war—in order to establish on earth the kingdom of God. Without appreciating this background, it will not be easy to understand why even wars of expansion are to be considered as acts *in the path of God*. In a verse of the *Qur'ān* often referred to it is stated :—

Lo ! God hath bought from the believers their lives and their wealth because Paradise will be theirs : they shall fight in the path of God and shall slay and be slain. It is a promise which is binding on Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the *Qur'ān*, and who fulfilleth his covenant better than God ? Rejoice then in your bargain that ye have made, for that is the supreme triumph. (9 : 111).

These and scores of other verses and Traditions of the Prophet render military service an obligatory duty of every Muslim. Ordinarily women and slaves are exempt, but if the rest of the man-power proves insufficient, even these are liable to active military service.² Regarding training and preparations in time of peace we read again in the *Qur'ān* :

And make ready for them all ye can of armed force and of horses tethered, that ye may dismay the enemy of God and your enemy and others beside them whom ye know not ; God knoweth them. And whatsoever ye spend in the path of God, it will be repaid to you in full, and ye will not be wronged. And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in God. Lo ! He is the Hearer, the Knower. (8 : 60-61).

CHAPTER IV

Legal Wars

THE lawful reasons for Muslims to wage war may fall into the following categories :

1. *شرح السير الكبير*, IV, 226. Cf. *بدائع*, VII, 109-10. *Ibn-Farīshṭah*, *مجمع البحرين*, ch. *Jihād* (my private manuscript) ; *فتاوى عالمگیری*, ch. *Jihād*, pp 221-22.

2. *Fatāwī Tātār Khānīyah*, (My priv. MS.), ch. *Jihād* ; etc.

1. *The Continuation of an Existing War.*

By this we mean the recommencement of a war which has been stopped for some reason or other. The exhaustion of both the parties or separation of them without any treaty of peace,¹ the suspension of warlike activities by mutual agreement for fixed periods,² and such other instances may be examples thereof. The Qur'ān lays down in this connexion : " And when the months of immunity [on account of the treaty of peace] have passed, slay the Associators wherever ye find them, and take them (captive) and besiege them, and prepare for them each ambush." ³ Commenting on this verse, Sarakhsī says :—

And when the months of immunity have passed, slay the Associators wherever ye find them. And the meaning of the Qur'ānic expression "When the months of immunity have passed" is that when the period of the truce with someone has ended.⁴

2. *Defence.*

This can be either when the enemy (a) has invaded Muslim territory, or (b) has not actually so invaded, but has behaved in an unbearable manner. The former needs no elaborate discussion. The Qur'ān lays down : " Fight in the path of God against those who fight against you, but do not transgress. Lo ! God loveth not transgressors." ⁵ Regarding the high-handed behaviour of a foreign country, an interesting quotation will explain Muslim law on the point :—

Sanction is given unto those who are fought against because they have been wronged ; and God is indeed Able to give them victory.⁶ —This referred to the Prophet and other Muslims who had taken refuge in Madīnah and were still being harassed by the Meccans in many ways. They addressed, for instance, an ultimatum to a Madinite magnate, ' Abdullāh-ibn-Ubaīy, either to fight and kill or expel the Prophet, or they would attack Madīnah.⁷ Many traditions bear witness to the fact that in the early days after the migration of the Prophet, the Muslim community of Madīnah lived such a precarious life that they used to sleep in full war-kit.⁸ Another instance is provided by the expedition against Dūmatuljandal in the year 5 H., where the local chieftain, Ukaidir,

1. Almost all the wars of the Prophet with the Meccans were of this kind.

2. The peace-treaty of Hudaibiyah provided for cessation of hostilities for ten years.

3. Qur'ān, 9 : 5.

4. والمراد بقوله تعالى "فاذا انسحل الاشهر الحرم" مضى مدة العهد الذى كان لبعضهم، I, 688، شرح السير الكبير.

5. Qur'ān, 2 : 190.

6. Qur'ān, 22 : 39.

7. Sunan of Nasā'iy, II, 67, ch. Khabar Bani-an-Naḍir.

8. Bukhārīy, Nasā'iy, Hākim, Dārimīy, etc., quoted by Shibli، سيرت النبي، 2nd ed. I, 285-286.

was molesting the caravans coming from the north to Madīnah.¹ The attack on Khaibar is an instance of nipping war in the bud.²

3. *Sympathetic.*

By this we mean that were the Muslims of a foreign denomination to seek the help of the Muslim State against their (non-Muslim) government, help might be given them. The Qur'ān lays down in this connexion that each case must be decided on its own merits :—

(a) And those who believe but have not left their homes, ye have no duty to protect till they leave their homes ; but if they seek help from you in the matter of religion, then it is your duty to help (them) except against a folk between whom and you there is a treaty. God is Seer of what ye do. (8 : 72).

(b) How should ye not fight for the cause of God and of the feeble among men and of the women and the children who are crying : Our Lord ! Bring us forth out from this town of which the people are oppressors ! Oh, give us from Thy presence some protecting friend ! Oh, give us from Thy presence some defender. Those who believe do battle for the cause of God ; and those who disbelieve do battle for the cause of the Devil. (4 : 75-76).

4. *Punitive.*

The following causes constitute lawful reasons for waging war, viz., hypocrisy,³ apostasy,⁴ insisting on the non-binding character of *zakāt* or any other religious duty,⁵ rebellion,⁶ breaking of a covenant by the other party,⁷ becoming a Khārijite, because such people say that the generality of the Muslim community is hypocritical and take arms against the established government.⁸

1. Mas'ūdīy, *Tanbih*, 248.

2. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, 66, 47. Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1556, 1575-6. Mas'ūdīy, *Tanbih*, 250. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūṭ* X, 86.

3. Qur'ān, 66 : 9.

4. See *infra*, in a separate chapter.

5. The Caliph Abū-Bakr fought against them. There are *hadīth*es to support that, e.g. al-Baihaqīy in *Sunan al-Kubrā*, Vol. 7, ch. 7, records : *امرت ان اقاتل الناس حتى يشهدوا* *ان لا اله الا الله واني رسول الله وقيموا الصلاة وياتوا الزكاة فاذا فعلوا ذلك عصموا مني دماءهم واموالهم و حسابهم على الله*

6. Qur'ān, 49 : 9. Cf. also *infra*, separate chapter.

7. Qur'ān, 9 : 12. Cf. Sarakhsīy, *السير الكبير*, iv, 65.

8. The Caliph 'Alīy fought against them, for whose interpretation of a tradition of the Prophet in his support cf. Sarakhsīy, *مبسوط*, X, 124.

5. *Idealistic.*

Every nation has its own ideals which constantly inspire it. The deeper a nation is convinced of them, the greater is its effort to realise them. As we have seen above, the Islamic conception of life is based on the Unity of God and the vicegerency of man on earth. This implies that all the Faithful are equal, irrespective of race and clime, and also that the word of God should rule supreme in the world. It is this mission to uproot godlessness and association with God in His Divinity that is referred to in Islamic literature by the expression “In the Path of God (*في سبيل الله*) ” which we have translated as “Idealistic” reasons for waging war. Of the scores of Qur’ānic verses in this connexion, a few may be quoted :—

(a) He it is Who hath sent His messenger (*i.e.*, Muḥammad) with the Guidance and the Religion of Truth, that He may cause it to prevail over all religion, however much the associators may be averse. (9 : 33. repeated in 48 : 28, 61 : 9).

(b) Ye (*i.e.*, the Muslims) are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency, and ye believe in God. (3 : 110).

The same selfless Divine mission is most vividly described in an oft-quoted saying of the Prophet :—

Whoever from among you sees an indecency, he must change it by his hand ; if he cannot, he must do so by his tongue ; if he cannot, he must do so by his heart (through disapproval, etc.) but this last would testify to the extreme weakness of Faith.¹

Islam has recognised a certain amount of latitude in personal judgement, and hence the sharp distinction between the Islamic rule and the Islamic faith. No one is to be *forced* to embrace the Islamic faith, as we shall see presently, yet Islamic rule is to be established by all means. It was this basic distinction that non-Muslims are tolerated in an Islamic polity as inhabitants, as we have seen in Part II, Chapter IV, (b).

Regarding freedom of conscience we read in the Qur’ān :—

(a) There is no compulsion in religion. The right direction has become distinct from error. (2 : 256).

(b) Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion. (109 : 6).

(c) And strive for God with the endeavour which is His right. He hath chosen you, and *hath not laid upon you in religion any hardship* ; the faith of your father Abraham (is yours). He hath named you Muslims of old time and (also) in this (scripture, *i.e.*, Qur’ān), that the Messenger may be a witness against you, and that ye may be witnesses against mankind. So establish worship, pay the Zakāt-tax, and hold fast to God. He is your Protecting Friend, and what a blessed Friend and a blessed Helper ! (22 : 78).

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim*, I, 50.

and similar other verses.

It is with this background that we ought to read the Fiqh books which expose Muslim law of war. They say, ¹ When a Muslim state is free from internal commotion and strife, and has sufficient power to hope for victory in case of resistance, then it is its duty to invite the neighbouring non-Muslim sovereigns to accept the unity of God as an article of faith and to believe in Muḥammad as the messenger of God, in short to embrace Islam. If they do, they will retain their power and will secure themselves against hostility on the part of the Muslim state. If the invitation is rejected, the non-Muslim chief within the Arabian Peninsula has no other choice but to face the sword. If, however, his territory is outside Arabia, the alternative is to pay yearly *jizyah* or the protection-tax, which will secure his territory against Muslim attack. If both these alternatives are rejected and all peaceful persuasion and reasoning fail, then it is the duty of the Muslim state to declare war in the name of God until it conquers or receives the *jizyah*, or has the gratification to know that the other party has at last embraced Islam.

In subsequent chapters we shall see what are the actual laws which Islam has prescribed for the conduct of war regarding different kinds of enemies.

CHAPTER V

Enemy Persons

ENEMY persons, according to how they are treated, are of four kinds, viz., apostates, rebels, highwaymen and pirates, and non-Muslim belligerents in general. The first three kinds are generally the subjects of the Muslim State and the last one consists of foreigners.

We shall deal with them *seriatim*. But it is to be noted from the very beginning that apostates, rebels and highwaymen come under international law only when they are of sufficient power or have acquired territory and rule over it.² Otherwise they belong to the ordinary criminal law of the land, and the treatment meted out to them has no relation to our subject.

CHAPTER VI

Apostasy

TO wage war against apostates is justified on the same principle as that on which the punishment of a solitary apostate is based. The

1. Cf. any compendium of Muslim law, ch. War. (*Mabsūṭ*, Vol. 10, *Badā'i* of Kāsānī, Vol. 7, Māwardiy and Abū-Ya'la's *Aḥkām-us-Sulṭānīyah*, *Shāfi'iy's Umm*, Vol. 4, Sarakhsīy's *Sharḥ as-siyar al-kabīr*, Vols. 1-4.

2. Māwardiy, *al-Aḥkām as-Sulṭānīyah*, 90, 92, 96.

basis of Muslim polity being religious and not ethnological or racial or linguistic, it is not difficult to appreciate the reason for penalising this act of apostasy. For it constitutes a politico-religious rebellion.

Apostasy in Muslim law means turning from Islam after being a Muslim. Not only does it occur when a person declares his conversion to some non-Islamic religion, but also when he refuses to believe in any and every article of the Islamic faith.¹

The sayings² and the doings³ of the Prophet, the decision and practice of the Caliph Abū-Bakr,⁴ the consensus of the opinion of the Companions of the Prophet and all the later Muslim jurisconsults,⁴ and even certain indirect verses of the Qur'ān,⁵ all prescribe capital punishment for an apostate. In the case of apostasy, no distinction is made between a Muslim born of Muslim parents and a convert ; and similarly there is no difference between accepting Judaism or Christianity, atheism or idol-worship or any other non-Islamic faith. Nevertheless Muslim jurists emphasise that before prosecuting and condemning an apostate, it is necessary officially to discuss the matter with him and to remove his doubts regarding the soundness and reasonableness of the Islamic point of view in the matter concerned. Time is given him for reflection⁶ sometimes even for months⁷ before finally proceeding with the prosecution.

In case an insane person,⁸ a delirious, a melancholy and perplexed man,⁸ a minor,⁸ one intoxicated,⁸⁻⁹ one who has declared his faith in Islam under coercion,⁹ and a person whose faith in Islam has not been known or established,¹⁰ were to become an apostate, he would not suffer the supreme penalty. So, too, an apostate woman,⁸⁻¹¹ and a hermaphrodite,¹⁰ according to the Ḥanafī school of law, would not be condemned to death, but imprisoned and even physically tortured. An old man from whom no off-spring is expected is also excepted.¹²

Treatment of an Apostate.

An apostate has to choose between Islām and the sword : he cannot be given quarter (أمان), nor will he be allowed to become a *dhimmīy*,

1. Māwardīy, p. 89 ; الردة ch. فتاوى عالمگیری.

2. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 98.

3. Māwardīy, p. 90, Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1639 ff.

4. Kāsānīy, *Badā'i'*, VII, 134.

5. Qur'ān, 33 : 57, 5 : 54.

6. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 98-99.

7. Abū-Yūsuf, *Khārāj*, p. 110 :

8. Kāsānīy, *Badā'i'*, VII, 134.

9. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 123.

10. Ibn-'Ābidīn, *Raddul-Muhtār*, III, 326-7.

11. Abū-Yūsuf, *Khārāj*, p. 111, Sarakhsīy, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl*, ch. الخبر بإحقه التكذيب (I have consulted MS. No. 1838, Bāyazīd, Istanbul).

12. Ibn-'Ābidīn, *Raddul-Muhtār*, III, 246.

i.e., a resident non-Muslim subject of the Muslim state on payment of the yearly protection tax.¹

De jure he is dead. So if he does not re-embrace Islam, and escapes to some non-Muslim territory, his property in the Islamic territory will be distributed among his Muslim heirs² as if he were dead. In addition to this, the debts due to him will be wiped out if he has reached non-Muslim territory. This is what Māwardīy says,³ but I wonder why these debts should not be inherited by the heirs of the renegade just like the rest of his property?

Distinctions between the Territory of Apostates and the Territory of Ordinary non-Muslims.

Māwardīy writes that there are five characteristics in the territory of apostates (دارالردة), which distinguish it from the territory of ordinary non-Muslims (دارالكفر), namely:⁴

1. A treaty of peace or alliance is not ordinarily allowed with apostates; no such restriction exists in relation to ordinary non-Muslim foreigners.

2. An apostate is not allowed to become a *dhimīy* (non-Muslim subject of the Muslim state); not so an original non-Muslim.

3. As an apostate has nothing to choose but the re-embracing of Islam or the sword, he cannot be enslaved and so let live.

4. The booty acquired from an apostate is not to be distributed among the capturing troop; it will go to the general exchequer. The different kinds of property captured from an ordinary non-Muslim belligerent will be treated in a subsequent chapter. It is to be noted, however, that property of dead apostates, captured during a conflict, at once becomes the property of the Muslim state; but if living, his property is to be held in trust to be returned to him on re-embracing Islam or finally to be confiscated at his death.

5. Apostates made prisoners, if they do not re-embrace Islam, will in due course be beheaded—no quarter may be given them as is the case regarding ordinary belligerent prisoners.

So far the differences; yet there are also certain similarities between the treatment⁵ of apostates and that of non-Muslim belligerents. So an apostate is not held responsible for the destruction of Muslim life and property during the war, upon his return to Islam. This was actually

1. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 116.

2. Ibn-ʿĀbidīn, *Raddul-Muhtār*, III, 328-9; Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 100.

3. *Al-Aḥkām as-sultāniyah*, in loco.

4. Māwardīy, *al-Aḥkām as-Sultāniyah*, p. 94.

5. Generally for their treatment, Tabariy, *Hist.* year 11 H., *Kitāb-ar-riddah* of Wāqidiy, MS. of Bānkī-pūr, *Mabsūt* of Sarakhsīy, X, 98-124.

decided in the time of the first Caliph, and of course his precedent could not be contested. Further, in being fought and pursued, the apostates are the same as other non-Muslim enemy combatants. Their ambassadors, too, will receive the same rights and immunities. So, during the life of the Prophet, the ambassadors of Musailimah, the Impostor, came to Madinah ; and, on being asked, replied that they too held the notions of him who sent them. At this the Prophet said : " But for the fact that ambassadors cannot be killed, by God, I would have ordered you both to be beheaded." (They were Muslim subjects who had apostatised). Moreover, an apostate cannot inherit from his Muslim relatives.

CHAPTER VII

Civil Wars and Rebellions

FROM the pre-Islamic point of view, this Chapter alone would represent Muslim International Law, that is, public law between Muslim states, for here is described the treatment reserved for an equally civilised enemy. But Muslim law is based on the conception of the unity of Islam, and no wonder, therefore, that scarcely any provision has been made, in the positive law of Islam, regarding this kind of war. In the whole of the Qur'ān I found only one verse which deals with the subject :—

And if two parties of Believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of God ; then, if it return, make peace between them justly, and act equitably. Lo ! God loveth the equitable. (49 : 9).

And this solitary command is immediately followed by :—

The believers are naught else than brothers. Therefore make peace between your brethren and observe your duty to God that haply ye may obtain mercy. (49 : 10).

In the traditions of the Prophet also there are only a few sayings in general terms which do not help in constructing a whole system. We shall refer to these presently. The Muslim law of rebellion, as exposed in legal compendia, is generally based on the Orthodox Practice of the Caliph 'Alīy, though it must be admitted that no later Muslim ruler reached the sublime height of idealism evinced by the pious son-in-law of the Prophet.

(a) *Various Kinds of Opposition.*

According to the degree and nature of opposition to an established government, the following classification is humbly submitted :—

1. Religious grounds—the Khārijism.

2. Political or worldly reasons :

- i. Insurrection.
- ii. Mutiny.
- iii. War of Deliverance.
- iv. Rebellion.
- v. Civil War.

1. Opposition on religious grounds.

So far as I know, only one instance is recorded by Muslim history of religious dissentients who were able to resist the whole government forces for any length of time. This refers to the *Khārijites* (literally the *dissentients*) who believed in a sort of *anarchy*, and accused all the rest of the Muslims of heresy and even disbelief. If they do not oppose any armed resistance to the established government, they are tolerated more or less in the same way as any other unorthodox sect.¹ If they are no longer passive, and try to disestablish and replace the actual government, they will be treated just like political rebels. No special privileges are attached to religious rebellion as distinguished from political rebellions.

2. Opposition to the government on political and worldly grounds.

(i) If it is directed against certain acts of government officials, and no revolution is intended, we may call it *insurrection*. Their punishment belongs to the law of the land. International law does not take notice of them.

(ii) If the insurrection is intended to overthrow the legally established government on unjustifiable grounds, we call it *mutiny*.²

(iii) On the other hand, if the insurrection is directed against a government established illegally, or which has become illegal for its tyranny, we may term the agitation a *war of deliverance* no matter whether the government under which the Muslim community is toiling is Muslim or non-Muslim.

(iv) If the insurgents grow more powerful to the extent of occupying some territory and controlling it in defiance of the home government, we have a case of *rebellion*. The reluctance of some tribes, after the death of the Prophet, to pay government taxes was considered a rebellious act, and instructions were issued by the Caliph Abū-Bakr to subjugate them by force of arms. These people had not abjured Islam ; only they did not feel themselves bound to pay taxes to the central government.

(v) If the rebellion grows to the proportion of a government equal to the mother government, and hostilities continue, we may term it a *civil war*. There is no difference whether a rebel pretender has acquired power and successes, or, at the death or deposition of a head of the state, two claimants have sprung up and the sympathies of the people

1. Sarakhsīy, *Mubṣūṭ*, X, 125 ; Māwardīy, p. 96.

2. For further discussion cf. *مجله طباطبائی*, Hyderabad, Oct. 1940, p. 11-12.

are divided. The wars between 'Alīy and Mu'āwiyah may be cited as an instance. Mu'āwiyah had theoretically not rebelled against 'Alīy since he had not taken the oath of 'Alīy's allegiance but opposed him ever since the murder of the third Caliph, 'Uthmān.

(b) *Treatment of Rebels, etc.*

According to al-Māwardīy, the punishment of rebels, in Muslim law, is not capital¹—they may be killed only on the battlefield, at the time of combat.² Generally this is true, but it cannot be taken strictly. For as-Sarakhsīy is explicit³ that on certain occasions, as for example when the rebellion is not yet completely subdued, the rebel prisoners may be beheaded. Of course, this refers only to the case when the rebel remains obstinate, and his repentance is not established.

One should warn the rebels of the consequences of their persistence, and one should excuse oneself before beginning battle.⁴ According to Māwardīy,⁵ night assaults and attacks without warning or notice are to be avoided in order to diminish Muslim bloodshed. But in the actual fight, rebels are treated in the same manner as non-Muslim belligerents. Even if a loyal subject who is, somehow or other, in the ranks of the rebels, be killed by the Muslim troops, the latter cannot be held responsible.⁶

The aim of a fight with rebels is to prevent them from disturbing peace and order, not to kill them and exterminate them.⁷

They may be pursued and killed only when they have a stronghold wherein to take refuge and prepare for further fight.⁸

A rebel, unlike an apostate, may be given quarter.⁹

The judgement of a court in a rebel state will be regarded as lawful and valid, and will not be upset when that country is subdued, unless it is proved that a certain decision has been contrary to Muslim law and no school of orthodox Muslims upheld it.¹⁰

If a subject of the Muslim state, whether prisoner, trader or otherwise, commits a crime in rebel territory, no suit may be brought against him in the court of the Muslim territory, not even at the reconquest by the Muslim state of the place where the criminal act was committed.¹¹ For

1. *Al-Aḥkām as-Sultāniyah*, p. 97.

2. *Idem*, p. 100.

3. *Mabsūṭ*, X, 126.

4. Māwardīy, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ash-Shaibānīy*, *Kitāb al-Aṣl*, ch. الخوارج واهل البغى, (MS. Aya Sofia, No. 1076).

7. Māwardīy, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

8. *Ash-Shaibānīy*, *op. cit.*, same place; cf. Mas'ūdīy, *Murūj*, IV, 316 for the sayings of the Caliph 'Alīy.

9. *Sarakhsīy*, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 129.

10. *Idem*, p. 130, 135.

11. *Mabsūṭ* of *Sarakhsīy*, X, 130.

the jurisdiction of the loyal court did not extend to that place at the time.

As we shall see in the Chapter on *Quarter*, even the lowest of the Muslims, a slave even, can validly give quarter to a belligerent, and the quarter accorded by rebels to non-Muslims or even a treaty of friendship concluded with them is considered binding on the Muslim state which cannot molest them.¹ Nevertheless the classical jurists know the subtle difference between quarter or a treaty of amity and between an alliance to fight against the Muslim state. So as-Sarakhsiy says :

If the rebels asked for the help of some non-Muslim state in order to fight against the Muslim state, and they did fight, and finally the Muslim state defeated them, they could be enslaved (like ordinary non-Muslim belligerents). For the asking of help by the rebels is not like giving quarter, since the recipient of quarter enters the Muslim territory for pacific purposes, whereas these did not enter Muslim territory except to fight loyal Muslim subjects.²

(c) *Belligerent Rights of Rebels.*

Rights of full belligerency are conceded by Muslim law to rebels. As we have just seen, the judgement of their court is ordinarily not reversed after their submission. Similarly, if they collect revenue or other taxes, the people will be released from their obligation, and upon reconquest, the Muslim state may not exact the same taxes again.³ So too, if a merchant enters the rebel territory and pays customs duties, he will have to pay again on the border of the loyal Muslim territory,⁴ as if the rebel state were a foreign state. That they may conclude treaties with foreign states has already been mentioned in the previous section, and their effects too have been described. Moreover, for wrongs committed in rebel territory, the culprit cannot be tried in the court of the loyal Muslim territory.⁵

The mutual loss to life and property caused during a conflict is to be left without exacting punishment, and no retaliation or damages may be assessed even when the culprits are identified.⁶ This immunity accrues to them on account of their being a *de facto* state; otherwise if a band of robbers were to attack and plunder a city, their acts are not treated with impunity.⁷ Although Abū-Yūsuf records the opinion of some jurists to the contrary, he is definite that only the war material captured from rebels ought to be treated as war booty and cannot be returned to the relatives

1. *Mabsūṭ* of as-Sarakhsiy, X, 133.

2. *Idem*, p. 136.

3. Sarakhsiy and others in *loco*.

4. Māwardiy, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

5. Sarakhsiy, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 130.

6. *Idem*, p. 127-28, quoting a precedent of the Caliph Abū-Bakr.

7. *Idem*, p. 135.

of the rebels ;¹ other property ought to return to rightful owners or their heirs as was 'Alīy's practice.²

The subdued rebels are, however, ordered by Muslim law to return to the rightful owner what they still actually possess of the property captured from loyal Muslim subjects.³

(d) *Special Privileges of Rebels.*

Unlike a non-Muslim state, no tribute can be taken from rebels if, for some reason or other, the Muslim state is willing to make peace with them. And if at all anything is taken, it must be ascertained to whether it was private property of rebels or the property of the state, collected or captured by them : if it is government property, then the Muslim state may expend it for purposes for which it was intended ; and if it is the private property of the rebels, then the Muslim state has no right to appropriate it, but must return it, sooner or later, to its rightful owners.⁴

Save in defence, weapons unnecessarily destructive are not to be used against the rebels.⁵

Regarding a rebel force, 'Alīy is reported to have ordered :

When you defeat them, do not kill their wounded, do not behead the prisoners, do not pursue those who return and retreat, do not enslave their women, do not mutilate their dead, do not uncover what is to remain covered, do not approach their property except what you find in their camp of weapons, beasts, male or female slaves : all the rest is to be inherited by their heirs according to the Writ of God.⁶

واذا هزمتموهم فلا تجهزوا على جريح ولا تقتلوا على أسير ولا تتبعوا موليا ولا تطلبوا مدبرا ولا تنكشوا عوردة ولا تملوا بقتيل ولا تهتكوا سترا ولا تقربوا من اموالهم الا ما تجدونه في عسكرهم من سلاح او كراع او عبد او امة . و ما سوى ذلك فهو ميراث لورثتهم على كتاب الله .

One of 'Alīy's commanders wrote in a despatch :

To the Servant of God, 'Alīy, Commander of the Faithful, from Ma'qil-ibn-Qais : Salutation and praise to God ! We

لعبد الله على أمير المؤمنين من معقل بن قيس . سلام عليك فاني أحمد

1. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 132.

2. *Ibid.* Cf. also, *Murūj of Mas'ūdīy*, IV, 417, *Dinawarīy*, p. 213.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Māwardīy*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Murūj of Mas'ūdīy*, IV, 316-17 ; محمد بن إبراهيم : *الاعلام بالحروب الواقعة في صدر الاسلام* ليو سف بن محمد بن إبراهيم ، fol. 86a (MS. Cairo, hist. No. 399).

encountered the dissentients who had sought help against us from the *Associators*. We killed them like the *Amalekites*¹ yet we did not transgress thy conduct : we did not kill the retreating dissentients, nor the prisoners, nor killed the wounded among them. God has given victory to thee and the Muslims. Praise unto the Lord of all the Worlds.²

إليك الله الذى لا اله الا هو أما بعد
فانا لقينا المارقين وقد استظهروا علينا
بالمشركين فقتلناهم قتل عاد و ارم
مع انا لم نعد فيهم سيرتك و
لم نقتل من المارقين مدبرا ولا اسيرا ولم
نذفف منهم على جريح و قد نصرك
اللهو المسلمين والحمد لله رب العالمين

Their dead are to be buried.³ Their prisoners are generally not to be beheaded, and if they convincingly promise to behave in future like loyal and law-abiding subjects, they ought even to be immediately released.⁴ No ransom may be demanded for the release of prisoners.⁵ Rebel prisoners, Muslims or non-Muslims, may never be enslaved.⁶ The army of 'Alīy clamoured for the enslavement of their prisoners, and 'Alīy bluntly reminded them:⁷ Well, then who will take 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet and the Mother of the Faithful?—She was the leader of an army against 'Alīy, and at the time was under his guards.

The servants and followers of their camp may only be killed in battle if they take part in actual combat.⁸

As the killing of a Muslim by the hands of a non-Muslim is religiously not allowed, it is inadvisable to enlist non-Muslims in a campaign against Muslim rebels.⁹

A woman rebel may only be killed in defence (واذا قاتلن قتلن للدفع).¹⁰

(e) *Miscellanea.*

If the rebels attack a country friendly to the Muslim state, and acquire booty which is afterwards captured by the loyal troops from the hands of the rebels, it must be returned to the original owners.⁸ The loyal subjects of the Muslim state in the rebel territory may join forces with the rebels against a non-Muslim foreign attack.⁹ If the rebels co-operate with the

1. "Amalekite" is a graphic translation. Allusion to a saying of the Prophet recorded both by Bukhārīy and Muslim, and quoted by Ibn-Taimīyah, *as-Siyāsah ash-Shar'īyah*, p. 25, 60: سيخرج قوم . . . يعرفون . . . من الدين . . . لأن ادركتهم لاقتلهم قتل عاد .

2. Yūsuf al-Andalusīy, *op. cit.*, fol. 12b.

3. Shaibānīy, *الاصول*, ch. البغى, *الخوارج واهل البغى*.

4. Māwardīy, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

5. Shaibānīy, *op. cit.*, etc.

6. Sarakhshīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 127.

7. Ibid.

8. Shaibānīy, *الاصول*, ch. *ibid.*

9. Sarakhshīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 98, 133-34.

10. Idem, p. 130.

loyal troop in a fight against a common enemy, they share in the booty with the loyal troop.¹ Although the non-Muslim soldiers of the Muslim army ordinarily do not *share* in the war-booty along with Muslim soldiers, but are given only a prize approximate to their labours, *ash-Shaibānīy*, in a stray passage, opines that if they form in themselves a strong force sufficient to act independently, or the Muslim army is not strong enough without them, then they also *share* the booty in common.² If hostages are exchanged, and the rebels murder the loyal hostages, the rebel hostages may not be punished even when that had been agreed upon, for the guilt is not theirs personally but of their government.³ The captured property of rebel which cannot be made booty, may yet be sold for convenience's sake, and the proceeds returned to rightful owners at the cessation of hostilities.⁴

(f) *Deposition of the Muslim Ruler.*

A passing reference may be made in this connexion to the possibility of deposition of a Muslim ruler by the Pillars of the State if he has become unbearably tyrannical or otherwise incapable of discharging his duties, *e.g.*, because of insanity, capture by an enemy, etc. (cf. *k. al imārah* in any law book).

In general, Muslims are exhorted in the Qur'ān⁵ and in the Ḥadīth⁶ always to obey the authorities. In an oft-quoted tradition,⁷ the Prophet has observed : " Everyone of you is a shepherd and everyone of you is responsible for those under his care. So the ruler is a shepherd and is responsible for his subjects ; a man is a shepherd and is responsible for his family ; a woman is a shepherdess and is responsible for the house of her husband ; a servant is a shepherd and is responsible for the property of his master ; a boy is a shepherd and is responsible for the property of his father—in fact everyone of you is a shepherd and is responsible for those in his care."⁸ Yet this responsibility is before God in the next world. People are exhorted to obey even tyrants ; and in a characteristic tradition, the Prophet is reported to have said : " If the ruler is just, he will get his reward and you ought to be grateful ; if the ruler is a tyrant, he will get his punishment and you ought to have patience."⁹ No wonder that in

1. *Sarakhsīy*, *Mabsūṭ*, X, p. 130.

2. *Shaibānīy*, *op. cit.*

3. *Sarakhsīy*, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 129, quoting Qur'ān, 6 : 164, also decision of Abū-Ḥanīfah acquiesced in by Caliph Manṣūr, regarding hostages of a non-Muslim state, applying pre-eminently to Muslim rebels.

4. *Sarakhsīy* and others *in loco*.

5. 4 : 59. Cf. my " Quranic Conception of State," in *The Quranic World*, Hyderabad, April 1936.

6. *Tabwīb* of 'Alīy al-Muttaqī (my private MS.), ch. Kitāb al-umārā'.

7. 'Alīy al-Muttaqī quoting in his *Tabwīb* on the authority of Bukhārīy, Muslim, Abū-Dawūd, Tirmidhīy, Ibn-Ḥanbal, Tabarānīy and others.

8. Score of other sayings of the Prophet are recorded by Ḥadīth-books, brought together in *Kanzul-'ummāl*, etc.

9. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 6 ; Ibn-Qutaibah, *Uyūn-al-akhbār*, I, 3, etc.

spite of all this the Prophet has unequivocally said: "No obedience to any creature in disobedience to the Creator."¹ It is quite in harmony with the fundamental principle of the Muslim polity that God is the real sovereign of the world, and that man is only His vicegerent.

(g) *Non-Muslim Rebels.*

So far we have discussed briefly the position of Muslims as rebels. Some peculiarities of non-Muslim subjects, when they rebel, may be profitably added.

Rebellion by purely non-Muslim subjects will be treated as rebellion only in case their territory is surrounded on all sides by the Muslim state. Non-Muslim rebels of a province fronting non-Muslim territory are placed by Muslim jurists in the same position as ordinary non-Muslim belligerents.² The reason is, as we have seen before, that all non-Muslim peoples form one category for Muslim jurists, no matter whether politically they constitute one or several groups. In case of rebels of a frontier province, the supposition is that they may have relations with the adjoining non-Muslim state.

Non-Muslim subjects will, however, receive the same privileges as ordinary rebels, in spite of their being of a frontier province, when they are not the leaders of the rebellion but only join hands with the local Muslim rebels.³

CHAPTER VIII

International Highwaymen and Pirates

IN early Islamic literature there is scarcely any separate mention of pirates. Ibn-Sa'd⁴ mentions one piratical incident of Abyssinians in the time of the Prophet, the details of which are lacking. Generally pirates are included in highwaymen. As Ṭabarī⁵ says, there is no difference between the highwaymen of the country or foreigners, so far as their treatment is concerned. Of course, we are concerned here only with the case of international pirates and highwaymen.

Nearly all the details of the treatment accorded to them are deduced from or based upon the following verses of the Qur'ān, which were

1. *Tabwīb* of 'Alīy-al-Muttaqī, from Ibn-Ḥanbal, Tirmidhīy, Abū-Dāwūd, etc.

2. *Fatāwī Tātārkhāniyah*, ch. Rebels.

3. *Sarakhsiy*, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 128.

4. *Ṭabaqāt*, 2/1, p. 17-18.

5. *Tafsīr*, VI, 135.

originally revealed, it is said,¹ regarding some international brigands and highwaymen (of a country allied to the Muslim state) :—

The only reward of those who make war upon God and His Messenger and strive after discord in the land, will be that they will be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternate sides cut off, or will be banished from the land. Such will be their degradation in the world, and in the Hereafter theirs will be an awful doom ; save those who repent before ye overpower them. For know that God is Forgiving, Merciful. (5 : 33-34).

By the unanimity of commentators on the Qur'ān, the warring people referred to in the verses are highwaymen, dacoits and the like. According to law-books, their treatment is :

1. For murder accompanied by plunder, beheading followed by crucifixion.
2. For murder only, beheading.
3. For plunder only without loss to life, the amputation of hand and foot on alternate sides.
4. For only banding together with the intent of plunder and murder, but having as yet committed nothing of the kind, discretionary punishment may be inflicted.

The banishment mentioned above is one of the discretionary punishments. It is interpreted either as imprisonment, expulsion from the State, externment, or confinement to a border district with all its hazards. However, expulsion from the state is never upheld if the culprits are of the Muslim faith, lest they apostatise or join forces against the Muslim state.²

If subjects of a Muslim state commit highway robbery in a foreign country even against Muslim subjects, their case may not be heard in a Muslim court³ though they may be extradited if there is treaty to that effect. On the other hand, if foreigners enter Muslim territory and commit depredation on passers-by, their case may be heard in the Muslim court.⁴ In a learned discussion, Ibn-Taimīyah⁵ says that even if the highwayman is superior in status to the murdered person,—if, for example, he is a Muslim, a free man or a Muslim subject, and the murdered person is a non-Muslim, a slave or a foreigner residing in the Muslim territory—the murderer must be sentenced to death. Citing a precedent, Ibn-Taimīyah refers to the fact that the Caliph 'Umar inflicted capital punishment upon the watchman of a gang of highwaymen.

1. *Tafsīr*, VI, p. 132-33 ; *Aṣl of Shāibānīy* (MS. Wafā-'Atif, Istanbul), Vol. II, fol. 40a, ch. قطع الطريق.

Cf. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsīy, IX, 134.

2. *Māwardiy*, *op. cit.*, p. 102-06 ; *Kasānīy*, *Badā'i'*, VII, 94-95 ; *Sarakhsīy*, *Mabsūṭ*, IX, 135.

3. *Sarakhsīy*, *Mabsūṭ*, IX, 203-04, *Aṣl of Shāibānīy*, ch. قطع الطريق, fol. 41a.

4. *Shāibānīy*, *Aṣl*, ch. قطع الطريق (MS. Wafā-'Atif), fol. 40a.

5. *السياسة الشرعية*, p. 36-37.

Special Features of their Treatment.

Generally speaking, the treatment of highwaymen is the same as that of rebels. Yet the following differences¹ may be noted :—

1. They, unlike rebels, may be pursued in every case.
2. The aim of the expedition must be to exterminate them.
3. They are held responsible for every act of theirs, whether committed before the encounter with them or during the fight with government forces itself.
4. Pending result of investigation, they may be detained in prison.
5. The taxes collected by them will be considered as mere usurpation and the tax-payer may again be taxed. Obviously he will have a right to the property recovered from the possession of the highwaymen.

As the Qur'ānic verse quoted above enjoins, if individually or *en masse* the gang submits itself to the authorities before Government can lay hands on them, and gives assurance of repentance and future good behaviour, the members may be pardoned. In this case, no action may be brought against them for their past crimes against life and property.

CHAPTER IX

War with non-Muslim Foreigners

WAR is defined by Muslim jurists as the expending of ability and power in fighting in the path of God by means of life, property, tongue and other than these.² And to realise this, Muslim doctors enjoin: "First to preserve one's own power and then to break that of the unbelievers and to subjugate them."³ As war to Islam does not allow any self-seeking aggrandisement at the expense of others, but simply to establish a theocracy on earth, no wonder at the insistence upon the point of view of the soldiery being quite selfless. The slightest desire for worldly gain pollutes the purity and mars the nobleness of *jihād*. *Jihād* is to be waged solely for the purpose that "the word of God shall alone prevail" (من قاتل من العيا).⁴ (لتكون كلمة الله هي العليا). Otherwise Paradise would not be the reward of such a soldier.

1. Māwardīy, *op. cit.*, p. 104-05.

2. Cf. *supra* ch. 3, "definition of war."

3. Sarakhsīy شرح السيرة الكبرى, I, 127 (كسر): لان حقيقة الجهاد في حفظ قوة أنفسهم اولا ثم في قهر المشركين و كسرهم (شركتهم).

4. Bukhārīy, 3 : 45, 55 : 10, 57 : 8 and 10, 97 : 28 ; Muslim, 33 : 149-151 ; Tirmidhiy, 20 : 16, Nasa'iy, 25 : 21, Ibn-Mājah, 24 : 13, Ṭayalisiy, No. 486-8 ; Ibn-Hanbal, IV, 392, 397, 401, 405, 417 bis. Cf. Qur'ān, 9 : 40, 8 : 39, 5 : 54.

CHAPTER X

Declaration of War

IN a defensive or punitive war, obviously, there is no need of declaration or notification to the other party of the military action. When otherwise, Muslim jurists¹ hold :—

When Muslims encounter unbelievers to whom Islam is an unknown thing, Muslims must not attack before inviting them to accept 'the Unity of God' as an article of faith, or to agree to pay the protection tax (*jizyah*)—unless they belong to a nation from whom it is not accepted and who have to choose between Islam and the sword—(this refers to all apostates and idolators of the Arabian Peninsula regarding whom the Qur'ān lays down : "Fight them unless they embrace Islam")—and if they are fought against and blood is shed, no previous warning having been given, the *Shāfi'ite* school of thought holds that the Muslim state has to pay for each human life, destroyed in the fight, as much blood-money as is prescribed for a Muslim killed unintentionally. The *Hanafite* school, however, leaves the blood of such unbelievers with impunity. But if such a nation understands fully what Islam means, warning and excuse may again be made—though this is not compulsory. For they know why they are attacked, and an ultimatum may hinder the achieving of the aim. With this kind of people, however, the Muslim state may fight without first inviting them to accept Islam or pay protection tax.

Instructions of the Prophet are quoted to support this view.² Upon careful scrutiny, however, the above exposition of law does not seem to apply except to cases of individual encounters between bands of two belligerent states. The main question of the general declaration of war upon the enemy government does not seem to have been settled. For this also we may refer to the practice of the Prophet, that safe and perennial source of Muslim law. So, in three kinds of cases, the Prophet seems to have waged war without previous notice :

1. Fresh encounters of an enemy with whom no peace is made, though the forces of the two parties separated from each other from time to time. The expeditions against the Meccans are an instance.

2. Preventive war (against the threatened aggression of a foreign state with whom no treaty relations exist). The wars of Banu'l-Muṣṭaliq, Khaibar, Hunain are all of this kind.

3. Punitive and Retaliatory war (to punish a state for a breach of treaty). The attack on Banū-Qainuqā', Banū-Quraizah, Mecca, etc. are instances thereof.

1. Sarakhsy, السير الكبير, I, 57-58.

2. For instance *Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim* (ed. Istanbul), V. 139-40.

In all other cases, previous declaration is necessary, and especially so against the threatened violation of treaty by a state with whom treaty relations exist. So the Qur'ān lays down :

And if thou fearest treachery from any folk, then throw back to them (their treaty) on a par. Lo ! God loveth not the treacherous. (8 : 58).

And as-Sarakhsīy comments on this verse in the following terms :

On a par, that is, you and they are on a par with regard to knowledge. And thus we learn that it is not permissible to fight them before throwing back (the treaty) and before their knowing that.¹

Further discussion will be found in a subsequent chapter on truce and armistice.

CHAPTER XI

Effects of the Declaration of War

PROBABLY due to the practice prevalent in the time of classical jurists in countries adjoining Muslim territory, all enemy persons and property were considered as in a state of War. Although treatment differs from category to category, as we shall see in due course, no one can claim complete immunity. Every able-bodied man² was considered a potential combatant, and even women and children could be taken prisoner.

I. *General Effects.*

Obviously all friendly relations come to an end between the belligerent states as well as their subjects. Envoys are recalled. The public forces of the state get the right to fight the enemy and inflict damage according to their laws of war. Officials and private citizens, all are prohibited from giving the enemy any help, comfort or information. The case of Ḥātib,³ who attempted to send information to the enemy regarding Muslim designs, and the consequent trial, form a classical example of the time of the Prophet. The constitution⁴ of the city-state of Madīnah during the early years of Hijrah also enjoins the same thing (vide § 20, 43). The Qur'ān also clearly lays down : "Let them find you rigorous"⁵ and again : "Be rigorous with them."⁶ Nevertheless it is characteristic of the

1. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 87.

2. See *supra* chapter XIII, 2.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 809-10 ; Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1626-27.

4. For text, see Ibn-Hishām, p. 341-44 or my *Corpus*.

5. Qur'ān, 9 : 123.

6. *Idem* 9 : 73.

Qur'ānic teaching to emphasise the following regarding the Quraish, the bitterest of the enemies of Islam at the time :

" . . . And let not your hatred of a folk who (once) stopped your going to the Inviolable Place of Worship (*i.e.* Ka'bah in Mecca), seduce you to transgress ; but *help ye one another* unto righteousness and pious duty. Help not one another unto sin and transgression, but fear God. Lo ! God is severe in punishment." (5 : 2).

Far from banning all co-operation with the enemy, this Qur'ānic command urges that co-operation must be made regarding charitable and pious matters. Commentators of this verse refer to cases which were the occasion of the revelation of this command, cases in which Muslims were justified in taking counter-measures against their enemy but were prevented on humanitarian grounds.

2. *Effects on Commercial Relations.*

I have not been able to find much material on this important subject in the compendia of Muslim law. A few cases of classical times may, therefore, be profitably quoted.

(a) Sa'd-ibn-Mu'ādh says that he was a friend of Umaīyah-ibn-Khalaf *alias* Abū-Ṣafwān. If Umaīyah passed through Madīnah, he stayed with Sa'd, and if Sa'd passed through Mecca, he stayed with Umaīyah. When the Prophet came to Madīnah, Sa'd went to Mecca for the 'Umrah-pilgrimage and stayed with Umaīyah, and told him to find some suitable hour for accomplishing the circumambulation of the Ka'bah. So they went out at about noon. Abū-Jahl met them, and asked Umaīyah : O Abū-Ṣafwān, who is this with thee ? He said : Sa'd. Then Abū-Jahl turned to him and said : Don't I see thee circumambulating with peace in Mecca in spite of the fact that ye have given asylum to innovators (*i.e.*, Muslims) and pretend that ye will help them and aid them. By God, hadst thou not been with Abū-Ṣafwān, thou wouldst not have returned to thy people in safety. Sa'd loudly retorted : By God, if thou preventest this, then I shall prevent thee in what is much worse for thee : thy passage through the people of Madīnah.¹

(b) 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān-ibn-'Awf says : I concluded a pact with Umaīyah-ibn-Khalaf in order that he might protect my belongings in Mecca and I protect his belongings in Madīnah. When I wrote my name " 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān, " he said : I do not know this, but write thy pre-Islamic name. So I signed " 'Abd-Amr. " When it was the day of Badr . . .²

Both these cases refer to very early days of Hijrah, before the battle of Badr, which occurred in the year 2 H. Therefore not much im-

1. Bukhārī, 64 : 2 (ch. Wikālah).

2. Idem, 40 : 2 (ch. Maghāzī).

portance must attach to them, the more so on account of the fact that there is no evidence of their having happened with the knowledge and approbation of the Prophet.

(c) Thumāmah-ibn-Uthāl was a chieftain of Yamāmah. Early in the year 6 H., he was taken prisoner by a Muslim detachment, and brought to Madīnah. Here the gentle treatment of the Prophet impressed him so much that he embraced Islam. On return journey, he passed through Mecca and heard some abusive cuts on his conversion. He said : Not a grain of Yamāmah can now be imported into your city, unless the Prophet directs otherwise. A famine is said consequently to have ensued in Mecca. The Meccans were constrained humbly to beseech the Prophet to lift the ban, which he graciously did.¹—Although many details of this case lie in darkness, it is sufficient for us to conclude that it all depends upon a government to direct its subjects whether and how far they may trade with an enemy.

(d) The Prophet himself once sent a quantity of the dates of Madīnah to the Meccan magnate, Abū-Sufyān, and required in return hides. This is said to have occurred at a time when hostilities were continuing between Mecca and Madīnah.²—This further strengthens our conclusion that it all depended upon state policy what things were to be declared contraband of war and trade, and which not.

3. *Effects on Trusts and Debts.*

Although international credit of 1300 years ago can scarcely be compared with modern magnitudes, still we may be guided by a few classical cases and provisions of positive law in general terms.

(a) When the excesses of the Meccans had reached their climax, and they had actually plotted against the life of the Prophet and consequently he left Mecca to seek safety in Madīnah, he bade his cousin, 'Alīy, to return all that was entrusted to the Prophet by his infidel and actually belligerent co-citizens.³ There is no doubt that the Meccans could be considered at that time as belligerents.⁴ We do not think the action of the Prophet would have been different at the height of his power.

(b) During the war of Khaibar, the Prophet ordered Aswad, a slave of a Khaibarite Jew, who had come to embrace Islam along with all the sheep and goats of his master which he tended as a shepherd :

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 997-8 ; Ibn-'Abd-al-Barr, No. 278 ; Ibn-Hajar, Isābah, No. 961 ; *Ta'rikh al-Khamīs*, II, 3 ; cf. Ibn-Sa'd, V, 401.

2. *Sarakhsīy*, شرح السير الكبير I, 70 ; Idem, مبسوط, X, 92.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 334 ; Ibn-Sa'd, 3/1, p. 13 ; Mas'ūdīy, *at-Tanbih*, p. 233.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 323-24 : *والله ما أنا منه على الوثوب علينا عن قل اتبعه من غيرنا* : وهو نوا أنه قد أجمع لهم . . . *تأيمره على حربنا* also p. 296 for provision in the pact of 'Aqabah ; cf. Ibn-Sa'd, 1/1, p. 148-50 :

Go to a safe distance and then frighten the herd so that it takes its usual way home to its master.¹

(c) During the reign of the Caliph 'Umar, Hims was occupied by Muslim troops and the usual taxes were levied and collected from the inhabitants. Later, military exigencies required the evacuation of the city. Thereupon the Muslim commander ordered all taxes to be returned to the inhabitants, saying : We promised to protect you. Since we can no longer do that, we have no right to your payments.²

The Qur'ān commands :

i. Lo ! God commandeth you that ye restore deposits to their owners, and if ye judge between mankind, that ye judge justly. (4 : 58).

ii. . . . And if one of you entrusteth to another, let him who is trusted deliver up that which is entrusted to him and let him fear God. (2 : 283).

In the sayings of the Prophet we find :

i. The sword erases all obligations except the debt³ (السيف محاء للذنوب إلا الدين).

ii. Whoever is entrusted with a deposit, let him deliver it up to the one who entrusted it to him.⁴

No doubt responsibilities and obligations may be renounced on the ground of retaliation,⁵ yet one's burden should not be placed upon another who is innocent.⁶

However, it has not been possible for me to trace any precise practice regarding the subject during the later Muslim Empires.

4. *Effects on Treaties.*

Scarcely any book on Muslim law or politics discusses the theoretical aspect of this question. Yet it is obvious that mere declaration of war cannot affect all the treaties that were concluded between the parties at war with each other.

Treaties which have achieved their aim, for instance the fixing of boundaries and the like, are not affected by mere declaration of war. We

1. *الأكتفاء في مغازي المصطفى* by al-Kilā'iy, fol. 75b of Berlin MS.; Ibn-Hishām, p. 769-70.

2. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 81, Balādhurīy, *Futūh*, 173, Azdiy, *Futūh*, p. 137-8, De Geoeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 2nd. ed., p. 103-4.

3. Sarakhsiy, *السيرة الكبرى*, I, 20.

4. Occurring in the oration of the last Pilgrimage, text in my *الروايات السياسية* on the authority of Ibn-Hishām, Tabariy, Ya'qūbīy and *البيان والتبيين* of Jāihz.

5. Qur'ān, 16 : 12, 1 : 38, 40 : 40, 42, 40, 6 : 161 ; etc.

6. Qur'ān, 6 : 165, etc. (ولا تزر وازرة وزر أخرى).

are not concerned here with changes that the war under discussion may bring out regarding questions previously settled.

On the other hand, treaties of friendship and good-neighbourliness, alliance and mutual assistance and the like, are rendered null and void if such contracting parties choose to declare war upon each other.

Apart from these two obvious kinds, there are treaties which remain suspended during friendship and are enforced only when hostilities involve the contracting parties in battle. This refers to treaties for mutual conduct during war. Such treaties are old enough to be mentioned by *ash-Shaibānī*¹ who gives many fictitious cases of such treaties regarding the treatment of prisoners of war, cutting off of the water-supply, devastation of occupied or evacuated country and the like.

There are treaties which are individually disposed of at discretion : they are cancelled, suspended or modified. This refers to treaties of trade and commerce, import duties and the like.²

In modern times there are treaties which though suspended during a war, automatically revive at the conclusion of peace if the ex-belligerents retain their independence. Such are treaties for the exchange of post and telegrams and similar things.

So far we have referred to bilateral pacts. Multilateral treaties give greater complexity to the problem when some of the parties remain neutral and others join the conflict on one or the other side. There may even be cases when, neutrals apart, all the remaining parties of a former treaty join a war *en bloc* against a country alien to the treaty in question.

Obviously the nature of the convention or the contents of the treaties constitute the decisive factor. We possess no data to rely upon except a few cases of the Orthodox Practice.

The classical treaties require an exhaustive study. Here I content myself with the citation of a few cases of the time of the Prophet.

(a) When the Prophet migrated to Madīnah he found there chaos and anarchy. It was he who constituted³ a city-state there on a loose confederal basis. The Meccan refugees formed one unit ; Arab tribes of Madīnah consisting of Muslim and non-Muslim clans all joined individually ; and the Jewish tribes also entered the federation, each tribe forming a separate entity. The internecine feuds among Jews as well as Arabs of Madīnah had not yet welded them into solid blocks, and in fact in pre-Islamic days some Arab tribes had allied themselves with some Jewish ones in order to secure themselves against another block of Arab and Jewish tribes all living within the precincts of a valley about fifteen miles long and as wide. Apparently this separate and individual adherence to the confederation was the reason why the pact remained intact even when some Jewish tribes came to war with the Muslims of

1. Cf. *Sarakhsī*, السيرة الكبرى I, 200-05.

2. Cf. *supra*, "Effect on Commercial Relations."

3. Text of the constitution in *Ibn-Hishām*, p. 341-44, etc.

the city-state. This refers to the clans of Qainuqā'.¹ Later still, when other Jewish tribes came into bloody conflict with the Muslim, the other Jews of the city either remained neutral or even helped the Muslims against their co-religionists.² After the expulsion of certain Jewish tribes from Madīnah, the Prophet demanded of some of the remaining Jews, on the ground of this very pact which constituted Madīnah into a city-state, to participate in contributing towards the payment of the blood-money for a certain case of homicide.³

(b) Another case of a multilateral treaty in the time of the Prophet is the famous one of Ḥudaibīyah⁴ between Mecca and Madīnah to which some tribes had adhered on either side. When the Meccans once molested the tribe adhering to the Muslim side, the whole pact of non-aggression and trade-facilities was considered by the Muslims null and void.

How to conclude, amend or annul the treaties will be dealt with later.

CHAPTER XII

Treatment of Enemy Persons

AT the outbreak of a war, enemy persons might be found either in Islamic territory, having come there by permission previously, or in their own territory, or in the war zone. Treatment of these different categories differs considerably.

1. *Enemy Resident Aliens.*

By *Musta'min* in Muslim legal terminology one means a person who temporarily resides in a foreign country, by its permission. There are, in Arabic, no different terms which distinguish between a Muslim going to non-Muslim territory and a non-Muslim coming to Muslim territory, nor even between a subject of an allied state (who is otherwise called *Muwādi'*, but for the purpose of this Chapter he is also a *Musta'min*) or unallied or even belligerent state. All are alike called *Musta'min* which literally means one who seeks protection.

Such a foreign resident in Muslim territory is as safe at the outbreak of war between his state and the Muslim state as before.⁵ According to the terms of the passport he might return home whenever he liked; he might even take with him all his property. Contraband is certainly

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 545-46; my *La Diplomatic Musulmane*, I, 26.

2. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 23.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 652, Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 40-41, Tabariy, I, 1449-50.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 747-48 and my *Corpus*.

5. Kāsānīy, *أحكام*, VII, 107, ll 15-16.

excepted yet anything he had actually brought with him he might take back.¹ Newly bought contraband of war has to be sold or otherwise disposed of in Muslim territory itself. Generally a resident alien can go from Muslim territory in whichever direction he chooses, yet a big detachment of them would not be allowed to go to some other country which is at war with the Muslim state when it is feared that they would join forces there against the Muslims.² They can, however, return to their own country unmolested even when it is at war with the Muslim state.³ For to detain them would be violation of pledge. If a *musta'min* acts as a spy, he forfeits his immunity. This also happens if a *Musta'min* of a belligerent state becomes an ordinary belligerent immediately after leaving Islamic territory, and his immunity that he enjoyed during his stay in the Muslim territory comes to an end.

2. *Enemy at Home.*

Enemy persons living in their homes have to suffer the severities of siege and other incidents of war. When their town is conquered and occupied by Muslim forces, their treatment depends on the terms of surrender and capitulation or general proclamation by the officer commanding. Other details will follow.

3. *Enemy in the War Zone.*

In the actual war zone not only the enemy combatants but even others could not claim absolute security. Of course, Muslim soldiers have to take care that they do not fire directly on neutrals, women and minors and other non-combatants, yet if any damage is done to them unintentionally, no responsibility is to be placed on the Muslim army.

As far as war is concerned, no distinction is made between an enemy subject and foreign allies taking part in the fight. But distinction is made between able-bodied combatants and followers of the army, contractors, traders, physicians, reporters and others who do not take part in actual fighting. The wives and children of enemy combatants also share some of the severities of war, as will be described below.

1. Sarashiy, *Mabsūf*, X, 91-92.

2. Idem, *شرح السيرة الكبير*, IV, 121-22: ولو ان قوماً من اهل الحرب دخلوا الينا بأمان ثم ارادوا ان يخرجوا الى دار حرب اخرى لكونوا معهم يقاتلون اهل الاسلام فلا ينبغي للمسلمين ان يكتوهم من ذلك وان كان الداخل واحداً او اثنين لم يمنع من الرجوع الى دار حرب اخرى للتجارة معهم لان بهذا القدر لا يزاد قوة اهل هذه الدار على قاتلنا بخلاف ما اذا كانوا اهل منعة.

3. Kāsānīy, etc., *in loco*.

CHAPTER XIII

Acts Forbidden

IN actual fight the following acts are forbidden to a Muslim army as regards enemy person and property.

1. Unnecessarily cruel and torturous ways of killing. The Prophet has said in this connexion : " Fairness is prescribed by God in every matter ; so if you kill, kill in a fair way."¹

2. Killing non-combatants.² Combatants are only those who are physically capable of fighting (المقاتلة من له بنية صالحة للقتال).³ Women,⁴ minors,⁴ servants and slaves who accompany their masters yet do not take part in actual fighting,⁵ the blind,⁶ monks,⁷ hermits,⁸ the very old,⁹ those physically incapable of fighting,¹⁰ the insane or delirious¹¹—these are authoritative examples thereof.

3. Prisoners of war are not to be decapitated.¹² Details of their treatment will be given in a separate chapter.

4. Mutilation of men as well as beasts.¹³

5. Treachery and perfidy.¹⁴

6. Devastation, destruction of harvest, cutting trees unnecessarily.¹⁵

7. Slaughtering animals more than what is necessary for food.¹⁶

8. Excess and wickedness.¹⁷

9. Adultery even with captive women. As regards a free enemy woman, the violator is to be stoned to death or whipped according to

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, (ed. Istanbul), VI, 72.

2. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsīy, X, 64.

3. *شرح السير الكبير*, IV, 78.

4. *Idem*, I, 59, 34. Exceptions in special cases, المحيط البرهاني, III, ch. V, p. 266, on the authority of *Shāibānīy*.

5. *شرح السير الكبير*, IV, 79-80.

6. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsīy, X, 69.

7. *شرح السير الكبير*, I, 33.

8. *Idem*, III, 190.

9. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsīy, X, 6.

10. *Idem*, p. 69.

11. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsīy, X, 69.

12. Cf. *infra*, ch. 15.

13. *شرح السير الكبير*, I, 78, *Tirmidhīy*, 19 : 48, *Abū-Dāwūd*, 15 : 110.

14. 'Abd-al-Jalīl, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, p. 558, ch. Wafā'al-'ahd ma'a al-mushrikīn (MS. Bashīr Āghā, Istanbul, No. 366), sayings of the Prophet collected together. Cf. *Qur'ān*, 17 : 34, etc.

15. *شرح السير الكبير*, I, 27, 34 ; *Qur'ān*, 2 : 205.

16. *شرح السير الكبير*, I, 36.

17. *Idem*, I, 37.

whether he is married or unmarried. If, however, she is a captive, he is to receive discretionary punishment *and* to be fined as much as a مهر مثل (i.e., what his nearest female relatives would have received as bride-money) which would be added to the general booty.¹

10. Killing enemy hostages, even if those of the Muslim state have been murdered by the enemy, and even if there is express agreement that hostages may be beheaded in retaliation.²

11. Severing the head of some fallen enemy and sending it to higher Muslim authorities is regarded as improper and disliked (مكروه). The first Caliph issued orders forbidding it.³

12. There is no instance in the time of the Prophet when a massacre was allowed after vanquishing the enemy or otherwise occupying a place. The conquest of Mecca provides a fine example. After all those innumerable physical tortures and proprietary damages which the Muslims had received at the hands of their Meccan enemy, when the Prophet conquered the city, he declared a general amnesty excluding expressly about half a dozen named persons, who were declared outlaws to be killed wherever found. They were state criminals having committed murder and apostasy or similar offences. Later these also were pardoned, except three who were killed by Muslim soldiers without referring again to the Prophet.⁴

13. Killing parents, except in absolute self-defence, even if they are non-Muslims and in the enemy ranks. There are more cases than one in which the Prophet forbade persons who had asked for permission to kill their non-Muslim parents on ground of hostility to Islam.⁵

14. Killing peasants when they do not fight and the result of war is indifferent to them.⁶

15. Traders, merchants, contractors and the like are to be spared if they do not take part in actual fighting.⁷

16. Burning a captured man or animal to death. Once the Prophet despatched a band with the instruction to arrest a culprit and burn him alive; but he immediately recalled them and ordered them not to burn the criminal, but simply to kill him; for, he said, only the Lord of Fire can punish with fire.⁸

1. Māwardiy, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

2. Idem, p. 84, *Mabsūt* of Sarakhsīy, X, 129.

3. Sarakhsīy, *Mabsūt*, X, 131; شرح السير الكبير, I, 78.

4. Ibn-Hishām, p. 818-19; Ṭabarīy, *Hist.*, I, 1639ff.

5. شرح السير الكبير, I, 75-76, III, 192, 183.

6. Idem, IV, 79; for order and practice of Abū-Bakr, cf. Ṭabarīy, I, 2026, 2031; for 'Umar cf. Ibn-Rushd, *إدانة المجتهد*, I, 311, *Kharāj* of Yahyā-ibn-Ādam (ed. Brill), p. 34.

7. *Kharāj* of Yahyā, p. 34: جابر قال كانوا لا يقتلون تجار المشركين cf. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 122 for similar kind of non-fighting followers in Muslim army.

8. Tirmidhīy, II, 298, ch. الحرق بالنار; شرح السير الكبير, III, 214; Bukhārīy, 55:149; Ibn-Hishām, pp. 468-9.

17. It appears that in classical times of Islam, it was a prevalent practice among non-Muslims to take shelter behind enemy prisoners.¹ I have not found a single instance where Muslims were accused of this cowardly act or when they forced their prisoners to fight against their own nation.

18. The Mālikite jurist, Khalīl, expressly says that poisonous arrows are unlawful (نبل سم حرام).² Jurists of other schools have not referred to the subject, so far as I know, owing apparently to non-employment of similar weapons by enemies in the countries where they lived.

19. Acts forbidden under treaties. Many fictitious cases of this kind are mentioned by ash-Shaibānī,³ which shows that it was common practice in those days to agree what not to do in the conduct of war regarding prisoners, devastation, cutting off the water-supply and the like.

It is to be noted that acts prohibited under treaties are forbidden only so long as the treaties last.⁴ Other prohibited acts form part of the injunctions of positive Muslim law, and they cannot become allowable even in reprisal; the immediate criminals and not their countrymen are to be considered responsible.⁵ Muslims are not allowed to hold slogans similar to: "We are not bound to keep faith with the Gentiles,"⁶ enunciated, according to the Qur'ān, by Jews and reiterated by Papal bulls during the Middle Ages.⁷

A selection of Instructions to Commanders, issued by the Prophet and later Caliphs, will be found in an appendix at the end of this monograph.

CHAPTER XIV

Quarter

QUARTER, which is based upon a Qur'ānic verse (: "And if anyone of the Associators seeketh thy protection [O Muḥammad], then protect him so that he may hear the word of God, and afterwards convey him to his place of safety"⁸), is defined by jurists as:

1. Cf. Abū-Ya'la' السلطانية , p. 25 (MS. Istanbul and Damascus). The expression ترس باسارى is met with frequently.

2. مختصر خليل , ch. Jihād; cf. however, *infra*, .XVII, Note 2.

3. شرح السير الكبير , I, 200-05.

4. المسلمون عند شرو طهم , (Qur'ān, 9: 7), فما استقاموا لكم فاستقيموا لهم , شرح (a Ḥadīth quoted by شرح السير الكبير , I, 185).

5. Qur'ān, 6: 164, 17: 15, 35: 18, 49: 7, 53: 38.

6. Qur'ān, 3: 75.

7. Cf. *supra*, Part I, Ch. X, paragraph 9.

8. Qur'ān, 9: 6.

Quarter means the practice of refraining from opposing them (i.e., the belligerents) through killing or capturing, for the sake of God.¹

الامان التزام الكف عن التعرض
لهم بالقتل والسبي حقا لله تعالى

Quarter might be granted to enemy persons when they solicit it individually or *en masse*. If surrender is unconditional, they become prisoners of war, and their property booty. This occurs generally when they are besieged, or fought in the open and reduced to great straits. In a conditional surrender, capitulation as it is termed, if conditions were accepted by the conqueror, those conditions must be faithfully observed, and Muslims must abide by their conditions (والمسلمون عند شروطهم).²

Quarter might also be granted to enemy persons without their soliciting it, through a general proclamation. So at the time of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet made it known that all those persons were safe who entered the court of Ka'bah or the house of their chief Abū-Sufyān, or who shut up the doors of their houses,³ or laid down their arms.⁴ From this general amnesty a few were specifically excepted for their non-military offences.

The modes and expressions of quarter are discussed in great detail by Muslim jurists,⁵ which shows the great importance they attach to the fulfilling of terms accepted in good faith.

According to an oft-quoted Ḥadīth of the Prophet, even the lowest of the Muslims may grant quarter which will be binding on the totality of the Muslim state.⁶ So this right is possessed not only by the combatants, potential or active, but even by others incapable of fight,⁷ by the sick⁷ and the blind,⁷ and even by slaves.⁸ The Prophet, more than once, rendered the quarter given by women valid.⁹ Naturally minors, the insane, and those under enemy control (e.g., prisoners, tourists, etc.) are excepted,¹⁰ so long as they are under non-Muslim jurisdiction. Their incapacity terminates as soon as they reach a place outside non-Muslim jurisdiction: Muslim territory or no-man's land. (Cf. *supra*, Part 2, Ch. 3 last para).

1. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, I, 189.

2. Ibid., I, 185, on the authority of the Prophet.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 814.

4. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsīy, X, 39; *Asrār* of Dabūsīy, fol. 146b (MS. Waliuḍḍīn, Istanbul, No. 1402); *Tanbih* of Maṣ'ūdīy, p. 267; *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 131; *Kharāj* of Qudāmāh-ibn-Ja'far, ch. 19, §9 (MS. Istanbul).

5. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, I, 189-362; فتاوى عالمگیری, *in loco*.

6. Do I, 168-69.

7. Ibid., I, 189; Kāsānīy, VII, 107.

8. Do I, 171-72, quoting a case of the time of the Caliph 'Umar. See also Ṭabarīy, *Hist.*, I, 2567-68.

9. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, I, 191-92, Tirmidīy, II, ch. خراج لاني يوسف; امان المرأة, p. 127.

10. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, I, 192; Idem, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 71.

Non-Muslim soldiers of the Muslim army, allies or otherwise, and even non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim State are denied this right of granting quarter,¹ except when authorised by competent Muslims.² It is admitted that the commander of the Muslim army might notify that the enemy might not be given quarter by an individual Muslim other than the commander himself. Without such previous notification, the enemy might not be deprived of the right of soliciting quarter from individual Muslims.³

Quarter might for good reasons be revoked, but in such cases the enemy concerned must be allowed to return to the same position of safety and resistance as he was in when the quarter was granted.⁴

Quarter might even be temporary or conditional. The Prophet accorded Mu'āwiyah-ibn-Mughīrah three days to quit Madīnah.⁵ Jews of Khaibar were told that their quarter would be forfeited if they hid their property.⁶

Quarter is sometimes granted for persons absent, and necessary assurances are provided in order to create confidence. On one such occasion the Prophet sent his turban.⁷

If a quartered belligerent is unwittingly molested, right to damages accrues.⁸ The case of the two persons from Banū-ʿĀmir may be cited here, as an instance of the time of the Prophet, which happened just before the battle of the Jews of Banū-an-Naḍir of Madīnah.⁹

Generally speaking quarter is strictly a personal matter, and not transferable. If not expressly otherwise mentioned, it did not protect even the grantee's family, less so his property. This applied, however, only when one was in immediate danger.¹⁰ On the other hand, when one was safe in his home, and quarter was solicited, then it automatically included life, property, wives, children of minor age, unmarried daughters and sisters, mothers and grandmothers, and aunts of both the mother and father's side.¹¹ In case of license to trade, even the servants and slaves used to be included in the time of classical jurists.¹²

1. Sarakhsīy, السیر الکبیر, 1, 172.

2. Ibid., I, 291-92.

3. Ibid., I, 356-59.

4. Ibid., I, 357.

5. Kāmil of Ibn al-Aṭhīr, II, 127-28 (after the battle of Uhūd); السیر الکبیر, 1, 328.

6. Sarakhsīy, I, 185-87.

7. Tabariy, Hist., I, 1645.

8. (مسائل الا مان) ذخیرة برهانية, ch. XI.

9. Ibn-Hishām, p. 652; Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 40-41; Tabariy, Hist., I, 1449f.

10. Muḥit by Raḍiyuddīn as-Sarakhsīy, I, fol. 602b-603a (MS. Waliuddīn).

11. Ibid.; Sarakhsīy, السیر الکبیر, I, 233-38.

12. Sarakhsīy, ibid.

CHAPTER XV

Treatment of Prisoners of War

THIS subject naturally falls into two parts, *viz.*, Muslim soldiers or other subjects made captive by the enemy, and the subjects and soldiers of the non-Muslim power taken prisoners by the Muslims.

I. *Muslim Prisoners.*

A Muslim prisoner is bound to observe faithfully his parole and honour.¹ If, however, he had given no parole, he is at liberty, if he likes and is able, to escape or otherwise do harm to his captors.²

As regards Muslim subjects, it is the duty of the Muslim state to seek their release by giving money from the public treasury.³ The Qur'ān clearly lays down that a portion of the state income is to be allotted for *freeing the necks*,⁴ which is interpreted⁵ as aiding the prisoners and slaves to get themselves freed. There are clear traditions of the Prophet also to the same effect recorded by Bukhārī and others, for instance : "Manage the release of the prisoner" (فكوا العاني).⁶ As regards practice, I have not found any precedent of the time of the Prophet when ransom was paid for the release of Muslim prisoners. Exchange of prisoners will, however, be dealt with later. The Caliph 'Umar, however, ordered : "Every Muslim prisoner in the hands of non-Muslims must be relieved by means of the Muslim state-treasury."⁷ Regarding later times, al-Maqrizī records and describes more than half a dozen general releases of Muslim prisoners by their enemy.⁸ Historians of foreign countries have also recorded it. Finlay, for instance, says : "Regular exchange of prisoners with the Muslims commenced as early as the reign of Constantine V, A.D. 769. In the year 797 a new clause was inserted in a treaty for the exchange of prisoners, binding the contracting parties to release all superannuated captives on the payment of a fixed sum for each individual."⁹

Their wills and testaments, when received in Muslim territory are to

1. Sarakhsī, idem, IV, 223, citing actual cases of the time of the Prophet.

2. Ibid., p. 219ff.

3. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 121.

4. Qur'ān, 9 : 60.

5. See any commentary on the Qur'ān *in loco*. Also Ibn-Taimīyah, *op. cit.*, p. 17 : (في الرقاب يدخل فيه)
(إعانة المكاتبين واقتداء الأسرى)

6. Bukhārī, 56 : 171.

7. *Kharāj* of Abū-Yūsuf, p. 121 : (كل أسير كان في أيدي المشركين ففكاكه من بيت المال المسلمين)

8. *Khīṭaṭ* of Maqrizī, ch. Dār aṣ-Ṣanā'ah. Cf. *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Aṣḥir, VIII, 269, anno 326.

9. Finlay, II, 89, cited by Khudā Bakhsh in the English translation of Von Kremer's *Orient*, p. 323, note.

be valid for the property of the deceased Muslim prisoner situate under Muslim jurisdiction.¹

2. *Enemy Prisoners captured by Muslims.*

As regards taking prisoners, there are two Qur'ānic verses :

i. Now when ye meet in battle those who disbelieve, then it is the smiting of the necks until ye have routed them ; then making fast of bonds ; and afterwards either grace or ransom till the war lay down its burdens. (47 : 4).

ii. It is not for any Prophet to have captives until he hath routed (the enemy) in the land. (8 : 67).

—(In both these verses the verb *اثخن* occurs which means to route, to dominate, to subjugate. Cf. for this expression *History of Ṭabariy*, I, p. 1855, l, 11, and also the *Tafsir* of the same author *in loco*. Cf. also *تاويلات القرآن* by al-Māturīdīy (d. 333), who commenting on the latter verse gives it similar meaning :

حتى يثخن في الارض , اى يغلب . حتى اذا اخذ الفداء وسرحهم بعد ما غلب في الارض ليكون رجوعهم الى غير منفعة و شركة (مخطوطة لالهلى في استانبول و ذخيره ذوالقدر جنگ، جامعه عثمانيه).

According to Muslim law, a prisoner *qua* prisoner cannot be killed. Ibn Rushd even records a consensus of the Companions of the Prophet to the same effect.² This does not preclude the trial and punishment of prisoners for crimes beyond rights of belligerency. For this we possess the high authority of the practice of the Prophet when two prisoners of the battle of Badr were beheaded by his order.³ Muslim jurists clearly recognise that a prisoner cannot be held responsible for mere acts of belligerency :

Similarly there is a unanimity that belligerents would not be held responsible for damage they inflicted on Muslims regarding life and property. This would be so even when they embrace Islam or become Muslim subjects. For they did that conscientiously and in accordance with the dictates of their religion and at a time when they were authorised to do that. So they were on the same footing as Muslims. The same is true regarding the capture of property.⁴

وكذلك اهل الحرب لا يضمنون
بالاجماع ما اتلفوا علينا من الاموال
والنفوس وان اسلموا او صاروا
ذمة لتاويلهم و تدنيهم و منعهم
و كانوا كالمسلمين وكذلك اخذ المال

1. Sarakhsīy, *شرح السير الكبير*, IV, 229.

2. *بداية المجتهد*, I, 351 (ed. Muṣṭafā Bābi Press).

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 458. Both were inveterate foes of Islam ; their release was dangerous for Islam.

4. Dabūsīy, *Asrār*, fol. 148a.

Treatment during captivity has been the subject of liberal provisions. As regards the prisoners of Badr, the Prophet ordered : " Take heed of the recommendation to treat the prisoners fairly " ¹ (استوصوا بالاسارى خيراً). The consequence was that many Muslim soldiers contented themselves with dates and fed the prisoners in their charge with bread.² Abū-Yūsuf remarks that prisoners must be fed and well treated until a decision is reached regarding them.³ They are not to be charged for their food, the cost of which is to be borne by the capturing Muslim state.⁴ The Qur'ān lays down : " Lo ! the righteous shall . . . [go to Paradise] . . . (because) they perform the vow and fear a day whereof the evil is wide-spreading, and feed with food the needy wretch, the orphan and the prisoner, for love of Him, (saying) : we feed you, for the sake of God only ; we wish for no reward nor thanks from you." ⁵ Prisoners are to be protected from heat and cold, and the like. If they have no clothes, these might be provided—as was the practice of the Prophet.⁶ If they are in any trouble or discomfiture, this is to be done away with as far as possible, for which also there is authority of the practice of the Prophet.⁷ He has the right to draw up wills for the property at home.⁸ Obviously these would be communicated to the enemy authorities through a proper channel. Among prisoners, a mother is not to be separated from her child,⁹ nor other near relatives from each other.¹⁰ The position and dignity of prisoners are to be respected according to individual cases.¹¹ A tradition is also attributed to the Prophet : " Pay respect to the dignitary of a nation who is brought low." ¹² There is no evidence in early Muslim history of exacting labour from prisoners. If they tried to escape or otherwise violate discipline, they might be punished.¹³ If they succeeded in their attempt to escape and reach safety (مامن) and are again captured, their previous offence of escaping might not be ground for punishment,¹⁴ except perhaps the breach of parole.

1. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1337-38.

2. Ibid.

3. *Kharāj*, p. 88.

4. Ibid.

5. Qur'ān, 76 : 5-9.

6. Bukhārīy, 56 : 142, Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 111.

7. *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, II, 99. See also ch. Prisoners of Badr, etc. in any Seerat-work.

8. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, شرح, IV, 229.

9. Ibid., IV., 241-43.

10. Ibid.

11. For treatment of the daughter of Muqauqis, cf. Maqrīzīy, خطط, I, 297 ; تحفة الاحباب (MS. Berlin) : ان لا ولاد الملوك شانا ليس لغيرهن : etc.

12. Jāhīz, البيان و التبيين, I, 22 (ارحموا عزيز قوم ذل) ; Ibn 'Asākir : اذا اتاكم كريم قوم فاكرموه.

13. These things fall under the discretionary powers of the commanders.

14. Do do.

Muslim law leaves to the discretion of the commander to decide whether prisoners of war are to be (a) beheaded, (b) enslaved, (c) released on paying ransom, (d) exchanged with Muslim prisoners, or (e) released gratis. We shall treat them separately.

(a) *Beheading of Prisoners.*

We have already seen, prisoners surrendering on conditions are treated according to the terms of their capitulation. On unconditional surrender, mere past acts of belligerency constitute no ground for inflicting capital punishment. No doubt, crimes other than these might bring punishment on the prisoner. According to Abū-Yūsuf, a prisoner might be beheaded only in the interest of Islam, though he also records many opinions of high authority that their beheading was disliked (*makrūh*).¹ We have seen that unanimity was reached among the Companions of the Prophet not to behead prisoners of war.² In short, capital punishment for prisoners of war is only permissible in extreme cases of necessity and in the higher interests of the State.

(b) *Enslavement.*

There is no verse in the Qur'ān directly permitting enslavement, yet some indirect mention is found in the following :

O Prophet ! Lo ! We have made lawful unto thee thy wives unto whom thou hast paid their bride-money, and those whom thy right hand possesseth of those whom God hath given thee as spoils of war. . . (33 : 50).

In the practice of the Prophet, however, though few, there are instances of it. The females and children of the Jewish tribe of Banū-Quraizah were, by the decision of the arbitrator nominated by themselves, enslaved and distributed as booty.³ This arbitral award was in conformity with the Jewish personal law.⁴ The captives of the Arab tribe of Hawāzin, in the year 8 H. were distributed among the troops, but later on all of them were set free in answer to the supplication of the Hawāzinites after their conversion to Islam. This manumission was not decreed as a right, but the Muslim soldiers were prompted by the personal example of the Prophet, and those who would not liberate their share, were compensated by the state-treasury.⁵ A little earlier, the Arabian tribe of Banul-Muṣṭaliq

1. *Kharāj*, p. 121.

2. Ibn-Rushd, *بدایة المجتهد*, I, 351.

3. Ibn-Hishām, p. 689.

4. Deuteronomy, XX, 10-14.

5. Ibn-Hishām, p. 877-78, Ṭabarī and others *in loco*.

had also incurred the same fate of losing females and children to the Muslim army. This time the Prophet married a girl from among the captives, who happened to be the daughter of the chieftain of the tribe, after liberating her. And the Muslim soldiery was persuaded to free all the enslaved persons.¹ The prisoners of Banul-'Anbar were set free either gratuitously or on ransom.²

The policy of the Prophet reached a climax when, as is said, he decreed that Arabs could not be enslaved (لارق على عربى).³ The Caliph 'Umar issued orders that peasants, artisans and professionals of belligerent countries should not be enslaved.⁴ The Qur'an exhorted liberation of slaves,⁵ and provided that the income of the Muslim state should partly be allotted for the manumission of slaves.⁶ Another verse⁷ was interpreted by the Caliph 'Umar⁸ to mean that if a Muslim slave wanted to work and thus pay off his value to his master, the master was not in a position to refuse the offer.

Thus it may be inferred that though Islam has done much to minimize slavery, it has not abolished it altogether. *Certainly* it is not obligatory always to enslave prisoners of war, yet it cannot be denied that the supreme commander of an army has the choice to accord the prisoners either enslavement or any other treatment. A word of caution may not be out of place. *Slave* in Islam does not convey the same idea as in other civilisations. For a slave of a Muslim has a right to equality with his master in food, clothing and dwelling. It cannot be denied that it was an easy method of proselytising non-Muslims which is the prime policy of a Muslim state.⁹

For treatment of and laws governing slaves in Islam, I may refer to my monograph رومى اور اسلامى ادارہ غلامى, published by the Law Union of the Osmania University, which contains also a bibliography.

(c) Ransom.

The Qur'an has legalised releasing prisoners of war on ransom (cf. 47: 4) and there are many instances in the life of the Prophet of the liberating

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 729.

2. Ibn-Hishām, p. 983.

3. *Mabsūṭ* of Sarakhsī, X, 118.

4. *Kanzul-'Ummāl*, Vol. 2, p. 314.

5. Qur'an, 90: 13, 2: 177; freeing of slaves is an atonement of many an offence for which cf. Qur'an 4: 92, 5: 89, 58: 3.

6. Qur'an, 9: 60.

7. Qur'an, 24: 33 (فَكَاتِبُهُمْ إِنْ عَلِمُوا فِيهِمْ خَيْرًا).

8. Shiblī, *al-Fārūq*, citing Bukhārī.

9. In the archives of Pondicherry, that jāgīr bestowed by the Nizām on the French East India Co. there are still preserved the proceedings disposing of the command of the emperor of France received to the effect that "all people in French possessions be forced to baptise their slaves within a short time. But Islam does not allow compulsion to convert even slaves to Islam."

of them with various kinds of ransom and compensation. So they were required sometimes to teach a number of Muslim boys calligraphy;¹ sometimes money in gold or silver was demanded;² sometimes other goods, for instance spears³ and munition of war, were accepted. It is not our concern whether the ransom was paid by the prisoner from his private purse or he was aided in it by his friends or government. The Caliph 'Umar II released full one hundred thousand prisoners and acquired the city of Malāṭīyah from the Byzantines.⁴

(d) *Exchange of Prisoners.*

Of Exchange, a special kind of ransom, there are many instances in the life of the Prophet: sometimes one for one,⁵ at others one for more.⁶ In later times, it developed into a complicated institution involving the release of thousands of prisoners at a time. In certain treaties the value of the ransom of prisoners was fixed in definite sum of money.⁷

It is natural that vehicles employed for the purpose of conveying exchangeable prisoners—cartels as they are called—should be immune during their journey to and fro.⁸ It is also obvious that during the time of this immune journey they should not take part in hostilities on pain of losing that immunity.

(e) *Gratuitous Release.*

The Qur'ān has recommended this when hostilities have ceased (cf. 47: 4). There are not a few instances of it in the life of the Prophet. From the battle of Badr until his death, one comes across gratuitous releases of prisoners every now and then.⁹ There were also cases of release on parole that they would no more take part in hostilities against Muslims.¹⁰

Before the booty—in which prisoners, according to Muslim law, are included—is distributed among the capturers, the commander is free

1. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 14; *Musnad* of Ibn-Ḥanbal, I, 246-47.

2. Ibn-Ḥishām, p. 462, etc.

3. Ibn-Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, No. 8336; Kattānīy, نظام الحکومة النبوية II, 38.

4. Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad-ibn-Salāmah-ibn-Ja'far فتون اخبار الخلافة MS. Topkapi-sarai), fol. 77a.

5. Ṭabarī, *Hist.*, I, 1345-46, 1862.

6. Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim, V, 150, ch. (التفيل و فداء المسلمين بالاسرى).

7. Cf. *supra*, a few pages above, in the beginning of this section citing Finlay.

8. Cf. Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, III, 327-28 (لئلا ينسبوا الى العذر و ليطمئثوا اليهم في مثل هذا في المستقبل).

9. Ṭabarī, *Hist.*, I, 1354 for instance.

10. Cf. any biography of the Prophet, prisoners of Badr, etc. e.g., Ibn-Ḥishām, p. 471.

to deal with the prisoners as he likes.¹ But after they are enslaved and distributed, the consent² of each recipient is necessary in all those acts of the commander which affect adversely the possessory rights of the owners of the now-enslaved prisoners. The prisoners of Hawāzin provide a good precedent, when the Prophet allowed compensation from the public treasury to all those who were not willing to part with their booty of slaves. (Ṭabarīy, *Hist.*, pp. 1675-79).

CHAPTER XVI

Choice given to Inhabitants of Annexed Territory

EX-ENEMY subjects of occupied territory are expected to remain peaceful, law-abiding and in no way hostile to the conqueror. But they are not forced to become subjects of the new state if their district or country is finally annexed; but they are given a year¹ in which to quit the territory or become the subjects of the Muslim state, their new master. It is not necessary to accept all the inhabitants as subjects; some of them might be expelled. The Caliph 'Umar deprived the Jews, the Greeks and the bandits (الروم والصوت) of the choice of living in Jerusalem.³

If they wished to become the subjects of the Muslim state, they are required to pay the protection tax (*jizyah*) or whatever might be agreed upon between them and their new government.⁴ After the act of naturalisation is executed, they become ordinary subjects. For certain peculiarities of non-Muslim subjects see *supra* Part 2, Chapter 4, Section *b*.

CHAPTER XVII

Acts Permitted

NOW we will enumerate acts permitted by Muslim Law in the actual conduct of war.

1. Enemy combatants might be killed,⁵ wounded,⁶ pursued⁷ and made captive.⁸ Non-combatants might be killed in defence only and not otherwise. The jurists of the Abbasid period made an exception regarding

1. Māwardīy, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

2. *مروحة السير الكبير*, III, 39.

3. Ṭabarīy, *Hist.*, I, 2405-06.

4. For instance, the famous pact of the Caliph 'Umar with Christians of the tribe of Banū-Taghlib who resented the term *jizyah*, and agreed to pay certain other taxes in increased ratio. Cf. Abū-Yūsuf, etc. *in loco*.

5. Qur'ān, 47 : 4, 8 : 12.

6. *Ibid*.

7. Qur'ān, 4 : 104, 3 : 172.

8. Qur'ān, 47 : 4, 8 : 12.

children, women, and men incapable of fighting through old age or otherwise—these might be killed, they say,¹ if they are rulers, commanders, or advisers in tactics and strategy, and it is expected that their death would produce adverse effects on the enemy. Sometimes the Qur'ānic expression, "then fight with the ringleaders of Disbelief"² is also referred to for support in this connexion. Kāsānīy explains :

And the principle therein is that all those who are potentially capable of fighting, may be killed, no matter whether they actually fight or not. And all those who are potentially incapable of fighting must not be killed, except when they fight actually or potentially, such as by means of opinion, influence, inciting and the like.³

2. Recourse might be had to ruses.⁴ The Prophet is reported in his warlike expeditions generally to have given currency to apparently misleading things (تودية),⁵ using ambiguous expressions⁶ and the like to consternate the enemy. "War is a ruse" (الحرب خدعة)⁷ is a famous dictum in Muslim military literature which is also attributed to the Prophet.

2a. Propaganda may require a separate treatment. There are cases in the time of the Prophet when secret agents were sent who sowed discord between the different sections of the allied enemy,⁸ and who disseminated false news in order to discourage the enemy,⁹ or to extract some other benefit from the enemy.¹⁰ Once a famine was afflicting Mecca, and the Prophet sent a handsome contribution of five hundred gold coins towards the relief work. The Meccan magnates, though they dared not refuse and return the contribution, at once discerned in it a powerful weapon "to win the affection of the youngsters of Mecca" (ما يريد محمد بهذا إلا) (ان يخذع شباننا).¹¹ The famous verse of the Qur'ān on the Islamic budget¹² also allots a portion of the income for propaganda (و المولفة قلوبهم). According to Abū-Ya'lā al-Farrā', this Qur'ānic term includes four categories :

1. Those whose hearts are to be won to aid Muslims.
2. To persuade them to abstain from doing harm to Muslims.

1. Sarakhsīy, *Sharḥ as-Siyar al-Kabīr*, I, 34; cf. also *supra* "Acts Forbidden," No. 2.

2. Qur'ān, 9 : 12.

3. *Badā'i'* of Kāsānīy, VII, 101.

4. Bukhārīy, 55 : 157; Muslim, V, 143; Sarakhsīy, *شرح السير الكبير*, I, 83-86.

5. Ibn-Hishām, p. 894.

6. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1302-03.

7. Sarakhsīy, *شرح السير الكبير*, I, 83.

8. Ibn-Hishām, 683-84.

9. Ibn-Hajar, *Iṣābah*, No. 3074.

10. Tabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1586.

11. Sarakhsīy, *شرح السير الكبير*, I, 69.

12. Qur'ān, 9 : 60. cf my article in *محله نظاميه*, Hyderabad, Rabi' I, 1357 H.

3. To induce them to embrace Islam.

4. To give inducement to others through them.¹

Of course most of them will be non-Muslims, and our author has also recognised it explicitly.

3. The enemy might be attacked with all kinds of weapons.² In this matter ships and forts were regarded as the same.³ Of course unnecessary bloodshed is to be avoided. In the time of the Prophet, one comes across superior strategy and better tactics in the Muslim army as also new formations, new methods of defence. Trench warfare was not known in Hijāz before the Prophet. The element of surprise was also included as much as possible, which diminished bloodshed and procured easy surrender.⁴ The Caliph Mu'āwiyah used incendiary materials (محرقات) in his marine expeditions.⁵ S. P. Scot records that the Muslims of Spain used in the seventh century of Hijrah what might be considered a crude form of cannon.⁶ During the Crusades the Muslims used a kind of marine mine.⁷ During the same time, Salāḥuddīn managed to send his ships to ports besieged by Christians by placing pigs on the deck and clothing the sailors in Christian dress.⁸ An author of at least several hundred years ago mentions even poison gases. He says :

و اما المكيدة في الحرب كالنيران
والدخاخن والمياه المدبرة والروائح
المتنته القاتلة لخراب الحصون والقلاع
وادهاش العدو جائزة

And acts of belligerency in war, like fires, smokes, prepared liquids, and ill-smelling deadly odours (? gases), for causing damage to forts and castles and horrifying the enemy—are permitted.⁹

The name of the author is not known; the manuscript was copied in 1231 H. Various formulæ for the preparation of poison gases are given in another old MS. in Arabic.¹⁰ Attacks with smoke are mentioned and upheld by such an old author as Burhānuddīn al-Marghīnānīy (d. 616).¹¹

1. Abū-Ya'la al-Farrā', *al-Aḥkām as-Sultānīyah*, fol. 82, (MS. Istanbul).

2. Qur'ān, 8: 60 (و اعدوا لهم ما استطعتم من قوة) ; Sarakhsīy, *السير الكبير*, III, 212:

”ولا بأس للمسلمين ان يحرقوا حصون المشركين بالنار أو يغرقوها بالماء وأن ينصبوا عليها المجانيق وأن يقطعوا عنهم الماء وأن يجعلوا في ماء هم الدم والعذرة والسم حتى يفسدوه عليهم“ cf. on the contrary the opinion of

the Mālikite Khalīl, that poisoned arrows are forbidden, *supra*, “Acts Forbidden,” No. 18.

3. Sarakhsīy, *السير الكبير*, III, 265.

4. Cf. *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1939: *Les champs de bataille au temps du Prophète*; مجموعته تحقيقات, Osmania University, Vol. VII, ميدان جنگ, علميه—both by me.

5. *السير الكبير*, III, 213.

6. *History of Moorish Empire in Europe*, III, 634 (anno 1249 of Chr. era).

7. Lawrence, *Principle of International Law*, p. 511.

8. *Kāmil of Ibn al-Aṭhīr*, XII, 34; Ibn-Shaddād: *المحاصر اليوسفية*, p. 178.

9. رسالة في كيفية الحرب والا سرى والمرتين, MS. Cairo, Fiqh Ḥanafīy, No. 1080, ch., 27.

10. المكاييد الحربية, MS. Hamidié, Istanbul, No. 189, pp. 308-17.

11. المحيط الرهاني, Vol. III, ch. 23. (MS. Yāni Jāmi', Istanbul).

Ash-Shaibāniy allows surprise attacks, burning forts and flooding them with water.¹ Instruments for producing terrifying and shrill sounds as a consternater were resorted to by Arabs and other Muslim peoples.²

4. Assassination. It is allowed in Muslim law, and may perhaps be justified on the ground that often it diminishes greater bloodshed and discord, and it is resorted to as the lesser of two evils. In the life of the Prophet there are several clear instances of it. The expeditions dispatched by him against Abul-Ḥuqaiq,³ Ka'b-ibn-al-Ashraf,⁴ Abū-Rāfi'⁵ and Sufyān-ibn-Anas⁶ were successful, and the one against Abū-Sufyān⁷ failed to achieve the desired aim.

5. Instances of night attacks, too, are not lacking in the history of the time of the Prophet. Muslim historians have recorded even the very watchwords used on these occasions.⁸ On one such occasion two parties of the Muslims clashed with each other by mistake, and some blood was shed before it was discovered. The Prophet agreed that it was by mistake and it was left unpunished.⁹

6. In a previous Chapter it was stated what kind of people might not be killed except in self-defence. In the confusion of a night attack, or when catapults or other war machines cause damage from an invisible distance, the unintentional killing of such non-combatants is exempt from punishment; but soldiers must be warned not to aim at them.¹⁰

7. It is necessary sometimes, in sieges for instance, that an enemy should be fired at from a distance. Often in besieged places are found not only non-combatants but also neutrals and even Muslim subjects such as tourists or prisoners, etc.¹¹ Again, sometimes the enemy takes shelter behind women, children or even Muslim prisoners. In all such cases Muslim soldiers are enjoined simply not to aim at the non-combatants and non-belligerents.¹²

8. Enemy property may be destroyed or captured. This will be discussed in a separate Chapter.

9. The water-supply of the enemy may be cut off or in some other way may be made unusable for them. The Prophet cut it off from

1. Shaibāniy, *Asl*, ch. الجيش الذى غزا فى اهل الحرب, (MS. Aya Sofia, Istanbul).

2. Cf. *Islamic Culture*, April 1941: 'A Note on Noise as a Consternater in Islamic Armies,' pp. 240ff.

3. Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, 1379.

4. *Ibid*, p. 1372; Bukhārīy, 54: 15.

5. Ṭabariy, I, 1375-76; Bukhārīy, 54: 16.

6. Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, I, 79.

7. Ṭabariy, *Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā'*, p. 18b (MS. Istanbul), Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 68; Ibn-Hishām, p. 994.

8. Ibn-Sa'd, 2/1, p. 17, *Musnad* of Ibn-Hanbal, IV, 65, Māwardiy, p. 60.

9. Muḥiṭ Burhāniy, ch. 23; Ibn-Hishām, p.

10. Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, III, 213, Bukhārīy, 54: 146.

11. Muḥiṭ of Rādiuddīn Sarakhsīy, I, 569, citing a case from the time of the Prophet.

12. Sarakhsīy, شرح السير الكبير, III, 216, Abū-Ya'la, الاحكام السلطانية, fol. 25 a, b.

the enemy during the battles of Badr¹ and Khaibar² with great effect.

10. Food and fodder may be obtained from an enemy country.³ There are indications to the effect that the Muslim armies sent by the Prophet used to pay for what they obtained wherever practicable. So Tirmidhī records :

The meaning of the Ḥadīth is that they used to go in military expeditions and pass by people who would not sell them the requisites for cash. It was for this that the Prophet said : If they decline to sell and will not surrender except by force, then use force. It is related of 'Umar that he used to give similar instructions.⁴

معنى الحديث انهم كانوا يخرجون في الغزو فيمرون بقوم ولا يجدون من الطعام ما يشترون بالثمن وقال النبي صلعم ان ابا ان يبيعوا الا ان تاخذوا كرها فخذوا وقد روى عن عمر بن الخطاب رضاه كان يامر نحو هذا

On the other hand, there are also indications of food and fodder being obtained by what is termed requisition.⁵ Unlike other captures, food and fodder are not considered booty, *i.e.*, not shared by the Government nor divided among the whole army, but the captor becomes the sole owner.⁶

11. Individuals or localities may collectively be fined or otherwise punished for indiscipline or hostility to the occupying forces.

These are but a few cases recording law and practice. It is very difficult to give a comprehensive list of what acts are permitted. The general principle may help to a great extent that every thing not prohibited is permissible (الاصل الاباحة).⁷

CHAPTER XVIII

Spies

IN olden times spies could not have done so much harm to the other side as in modern times when spying has developed from an art into a veritable science. Nevertheless elaborate precautions were taken even in olden times to hide news from the enemy. The Prophet sometimes closed all roads to private persons⁸ (حبس الطرق) in order to prevent infiltration of news of military importance.

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 439-40.

2. Sarakhsīy, تاريخ السير الكبير, III, 213.

3. Dīnawarīy, الاخبار الطوال, p. 120: كان المسلمون اذا فنيتم ازوادهم واعلا فهم جردوا الخيل فاخذت البر حتى هبط على المكان الذي يريدون ويغيرون فينصرفون بالطعام والعلف والمواشي.

4. Tirmidhīy, I, 301, ed. Bulaq.

5. Dīnawarīy, الاخبار الطوال, p. 120. More, *infra*, under chapter "Private Property."

6. Cf. any law book, ch. Booty.

7. Cf. *supra*, Part I, Ch. VI, §10.

8. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 131.

Practically no distinction is made in Muslim law between spies of war and spies of peace. All those persons who obtain or attempt to obtain information useful to an enemy, and try to transmit it to the enemy, are considered as spies. Even a Muslim subject may play that mean rôle and incur the same punishment as an alien.

Naturally less formality is observed regarding aliens suspected of fifth column activities. Two cases of the time of the Prophet may be noted with interest.

(a) The Treaty of Ḥudaibīyah became invalid owing to its being violated by the Meccans. Great preparations were secretly undertaken to avenge the infraction of the treaty. A Muslim of old standing, Ḥāṭib-ibn-Abī-Balta'ah guessed where these preparations were directed. He wrote a letter to his friends in Mecca to the effect that preparations were ahead and that might be they were directed against Mecca, so Meccans should take precautions. He intended thereby a better treatment of his private property situate in Mecca. The letter was intercepted, and when the Prophet was satisfied that neither was the letter motivated by ill-will to Islam nor had it done any harm, he pardoned Ḥāṭib in view of his long meritorious services, including his taking part in the battle of Badr.¹

(b) Al-Bukhārī quotes a few details of an incident in which the Prophet, during a certain expedition, ordered a suspected spy to be pursued and captured, who was later beheaded.² We do not know what opportunity was given him to plead or how he came to be suspected.

Abū-Yūsuf is of opinion that non-Muslim spies, no matter whether subjects or aliens, must be given capital punishment, and those who profess Islam might be imprisoned or physically tortured.³ His contemporary aṣh-Shaibānī regards espionage as less harmful than robbery, and so he thinks that subjects of the Muslim state may not be beheaded for espionage. Regarding aliens, however, he too has no mercy.⁴

No distinction is made, as far as punishment is concerned, between a male and a female spy.⁵ Yet a minor should on no account be made to suffer the supreme penalty, say Muslim jurists.⁶

CHAPTER XIX

Uniforms

VARIOUS devices have been made to distinguish friend from foe during the frenzy of a battle. Its purpose is twofold—comfort and distinctiveness.

1. Ibn-Hishām, p. 810, Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, IV, 226.

2. Bukhārī, 56 : 173.

3. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 117.

4. Cf. شرح السير الكبير, IV, 226-27.

5. Sarakhsīy, السير الكبير, IV, 226-27.

6. Ibid.

The Prophet is reported to have worn during military marches, special cloaks.¹ There is also mention of prominent warriors wearing distinctive costumes during a battle.² Yet there is no evidence of any organised attempt in the time of the Prophet to provide all the members of the expedition with uniforms, except that he is reported to have ordered on the day of Badr that Muslims should wear distinctive signs, adding that the angels who came on that day to the help of the Muslims also wore such signs.³ A صوفه (sort of woollen crest?) is said to have been adopted by Muslims on that occasion.⁴ The life of the Prophet shows that he had an ingenious device which served both during night and day. He instructed watchwords for each campaign, and during a combat the cries of the watchword could fairly easily distinguish friend from foe.⁵

Greater uniformity of dress is reported in the time of the Caliph 'Alī.⁶ The Abbasid Mu'taṣim and Mutawakkil are reported to have raised uniformly dressed armies.⁷

CHAPTER XX

Flags of Truce

THE sign of surrender in ancient times seems to have been mere holding-up of hands and laying-down of arms. In the time of the Caliph 'Alī we come across the expression "flag of truce."⁸ But the technical branch of Muslim military science has not yet been thoroughly studied.⁹

Mention may also be made here of the raising of the copies of the Qur'ān by the troops of Mu'āwiyah in the battle of Ṣiffīn on which the opposing army held up their arms.¹⁰

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So far we have dealt with enemy persons. In the following we propose to discuss enemy property as affected by war.

(To be continued).

M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH.

1. Bukhārīy, 54 : 90.

2. Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, p. 1393, ll, 14-15 ; Ibn-Hishām, p. 448, etc.

3. Ṭabariy, *Tafsīr*, IV, 54, commenting on the verse 3 : 125.

4. *Ibid.* (اول ما كان الصوف ليومئذ يعني بدر).

5. *Musnad* of Ibn-Ḥanbal, IV, 289, also my میدان جنگ ; Ibn-Sa'd, 211, p. 17.

6. Mas'ūdīy, *Murūj*, IV, 309ff. (ed. Europe).

7. Ameer 'Alī, *A Short Hist. of the Saracens*, p. 431 (ed. 1921) : "all regulars were given light brown cloaks."

8. Yūsuf-ibn-Muḥammad al-Andalusīy, *الأعلام بالحروب الواقعة في صدر الإسلام*, fol. 14a, b.

9. See, however, Fries, *Heerwesen der Araber zur Zeit de Umajjaden*, Kiel, 1920 ; Wüstenfeld, *Heerwesen der Muhammedaner*, Göttingen, 1880 ; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. Ṭabalkhāna, etc.; Lord Munster, *فهرسة الكتب التي يرغب ان يتباعها*, lithographed 1840 ; a copy also in the Hyderabad State Library which reads a very interesting and descriptive catalogue.

10. Ṭabariy, *Hist.*, I, 3352-53.

MODERN TENDENCIES IN ARABIC LITERATURE¹

THE FACTORS THAT MODERNISED ARABIC

THE modernisation of Arabic literature began after the French invasion of Egypt in 1798. This invasion provided an opportunity for the East and West to come together and understand each other's mentality. Education began to spread as Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā al-Kabīr opened various schools after the European model. There were first opened a few schools for teaching medicine and different sciences in Egypt. During the early period of the nineteenth century, the number of schools was increasing fast.² By 1906, five hundred and five new schools, excluding village schools, were established. They gave instruction to about 92,000 pupils, of whom about 20,000 were girls.³ Under the enlightened administration of the Educational Minister, Sa'ad Pāshā Zaghlol, education began to advance still more quickly.

But it was quite later that Arab countries except Syria took to the task of spreading education. Muḥammad 'Alī's son, Ibrāhīm, had already founded primary schools in Syria. The school of Butrus Bustānī (1819-1883) also was set up. American and French Missionaries established in the year 1860 thirty-three schools which were attended by approximately one thousand pupils.⁴

The monastic college in "Ain Waraqā" in Lebanon had made a point of encouraging the study of Arabic. The educational activities of the missionaries progressed so far that they founded the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1866.⁵

The first requisite of all these educational efforts was a supply of Arabic text-books and school manuals. Eli Smith in Beirut and his colleagues decided to supply this urgent demand. They secured the services of two

1. This essay is intended to give a general outline of the subject-matter.

2. By 1882 there were 5,397 primary and secondary schools of Government in Egypt. They gave instructions to 142,217 pupils. See *History of Arabic Literature* by George Zaidan, Vol. IV. p. 27, Second Edition, 1937.

3. See *Modern Egypt* by the Earl of Cromer, p. 880.

4. *The Arab Awakening* by George Antonius, p. 42.

5. See further information in the *History of Arabic Literature* by George Zaidan, Vol. IV. p. 37-44.

scholars, Naṣīf Yazīji and Butrus Bustānī, whom they commissioned to compile manuals on a variety of subjects for the use of schools. In Egypt this task of compiling text-books and translating foreign works was being carried on by Ṭaḥṭāwī, Abdullāh Bāshā Fikrī and 'Alī Mubārak Bāshā.¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, an improvement in compilation and translation had been made by the establishment of Arabic printing presses in Constantinople (1816) and in Cairo (1822), both of which brought out books of literary and scientific value in Arabic. The printing of classical works and the translation of foreign books and education generally began to increase fast. The avidity with which these books were received shows that minds were awakening to acquire knowledge.

This awakening was further accelerated by journalism, which was spreading rapidly parallel with the growth of education. Muḥammad 'Alī Bāshā al-Kabīr took a first step in this direction also, when he founded "Al-Waqā'i-al-Miṣryya" in the year 1828. In the reign of the Khedive Ismā'il, (1863-1882), the demand for daily papers, magazines and periodicals increased. Many leading personalities of the time such as Al-Baklī Bāshā, Ibrāhīm Al-Dasūki, Basharah Taklah and later on Sheikh 'Alī Yūsuf, Syīd Jamāluddīn al-Afghānī and Sheikh Muḥammed 'Abduḥ interested themselves in Arabic journalism, which was further assisted by the later developments in the political and social conditions of Egypt. If there were printed four or five thousand newspapers in 1914, they have now increased to forty or fifty thousand approximately.² Similarly their circulation has widened so far that more than fifty thousand papers and magazines are sent every week outside Egyptian territories.

As to Syrian journalism, the Syrians were no doubt first to respond to the call of Arab journalism. They, indeed, did much to raise the standard of this branch of literature; yet as a result of the immigration of Syrian literates, the centre of Arabic literary activities shifted to Egypt.

This progress of journalism brought the man in the street in contact with European culture and civilization. The spread of European science, philosophy, art and literature led naturally to an upheaval in the political and social conceptions of Arab society. To the factors of education and journalism which were already working for the reconstruction of Arab society, was added another effective factor, namely, translation of European works into Arabic. The young men who were sent to acquire higher education in European universities began to translate European works on science, law and literature in an endeavour to renovate Arabic culture when they returned to their mother country.

As the urgencies of the time demanded from journalists and translators of European works that they should be simple and clear in their writings, they paid little attention to the grammatical and philological rules laid

1. See *Al-Wasīt* pp. 328-333.

2. See *Al-Blaḡh*, April 10, 1936, p. 8th, April 3, 1936, p. 2, for lectures delivered on The Tendencies in Modern Journalism, and the place of Egyptian Journalism, by A. Zaidan and A. Sa'id respectively.

down by classical authors. They abandoned the rhymed prose which was considered to be the only literary style of the day. In addition, the difficulties experienced in translating foreign works into Arabic compelled the writers to give up their rhetorical ornamentations. They therefore imitated sometimes the style of *Badī' al-Zamān Al-Hamdhānī*, or *Al-Khawārizmī* and sometimes the style of *Ibn Khaldūn* used by him in his famous *Prolegomena*. Further, they made free use of the Turkish words and ungrammatical idioms used in their daily conversation.

DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

SUCH deviations from the classical rules of the Arabic language made the *Sheikhs* of Azhar University and the followers of the classical school stand out against the adherents of this new school, who were rapidly increasing in number. This struggle between the old and the new schools awakened the slumbering spirits of the *Sheikhs*. As there were printing presses ready for their help, they determined to revive classical literature. By editing the manuscripts of the classical authors, they made literary Arabic accessible to the speakers of Arabic. Both the schools—the conservative *Sheikhs* and the Europeanised liberals (*Effendis*)—had now come forward to win the people over to their sides. The followers of old school wanted to bring them back to the old standard, and they indeed worked hard to bring the grammatical idiom into common use. In spite of their efforts, rhymed prose gradually gave place to the changing style. In Magazines such as *Al-'Urwatal-Wuthka* (1884), *Al-Mukṭataf*, (1886), *Al-Hilāl* and *Al-Manār* (1891), and in the works of *Sheikh* Muḥammad 'Abduh, a marked development is noticed in the style of Arabic prose. The essayists who contributed to these journals followed classical rules of grammar and literature, but they had freed themselves from the fetters of rhymed prose to a great extent. They had also put an end to the old custom of paying religious homage to linguistic form at the expense of meaning.

This change in the style of writing owes a great deal to the intellectual activities which were started by *Syyid Jamāluddīn Al-Afghānī* and *Sheikh* Muḥammad 'Abduh. One of *Sheikh* Muḥammad 'Abduh's influences, which were then at work in various directions, was the stimulus he had stirred in the direction of writing.¹ As 'Abduh's movement aimed to free the minds of the Egyptians from the fetters of traditions and to reconcile the culture of Islam with the scientific achievements of modern civilization,² he had created therefore an environment in which a new

1. See *Al-Manār*, November 6, 1093, pp. 783-784, and 775-779.

2. It was due to *Sheikh* Muḥammad 'Abduh's teachings that commentaries on the Holy Qur'ān, Islamic Jurisprudence and Islamic philosophy underwent a new system of interpretation. This new system is by itself a separate branch of study, and too elaborate to deal with here.

era of writing could develop. He had, further, made it possible for the Arabic literature and Islamic sciences to become modernised without breaking with its Islamic past.¹

Since Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abduh's movement had created a large following and had provided competent scholars from among its ranks, they organised themselves into a People's Party. When in the year 1907 the organ of this party, *Al-Jarīdah*, appeared under the editorship of Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Arabic writing adopted a definite line of development. These followers of Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abduh denounced the policy of both the conservatives and the radical liberals and formulated instead a school of moderate views between the two extremists. They aimed to prepare the nation through education, character-building and implanting a belief in independence. These scholars sought likewise to introduce the principles of Western civilization into the social and political life of the country and also into the field of literature, while preserving genuine Islamic characteristics.² As time passed by, the political discord which had arisen within the ranks of the party led eventually to the discontinuation of its organ *Al-Jarīdah* in 1914. But the spirit of intellectual progress which had been inculcated by the newspaper began to grow through press and otherwise.

The newly established University (1908),³ which had now come to play a destined role in promoting the cause of this literary revival, aided in the dissemination of modern ideas. This movement attained its full force when, in the year 1922, the students of the new school joined together in order to publish *Al-Siyāsah*, which was edited by Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal. The men of letters who gathered round *Al-Siyāsah* concentrated on the study of criticism and the history of Arabic literature. In their works and essays at the first time the spirit of Egyptian nationalism becomes prominent as against their predecessors' spirit of Arab nationalism. Even among the students of the modern school one finds two different trends of thoughts. Dr. Maṣṣūr Fahmī,⁴ Prof. Aḥmad Ameen⁵ and Muṣṭafa Abdul Rāzīk, for instance, belong to that group of writers who believe that Eastern literature can derive from the vast literary and scientific resources of the West without impairing at the same time the essential characteristics of Islamic culture. 'Abbas Maḥmūd Al-Akḥād and Ibrāhīm Abdul Ḳader Al-Mazinī have similar tendencies.

1. See *Al-Manār*, November 1, 1902, pp. 566-576 and *Risālah Al-Tauḥīd* by Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abduh, 7th Edition, pp. 22-23 and *Al-'Urwah-al-Wuthqā*, Biography of 'Abduh by Muṣṭafa 'Abdul Rāzīk, p. 28. third edition 1933, and *Maṣḥāhīr-al-Sharḥ* Vol. I. p. 288.

2. See *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* by C. C. Adam, p. 224. As the original works of modern Islamic writers are not available in Hyderabad, Deccan a secondhand source is used. For these valuable facts I am indebted to Dr. Adam's work.

3. Reorganised in 1925.

4. See his address on the East and the Western Civilization, *Al-Muḥtaṣaf*, October 1, 1930, p. 33.

5. See his lecture on 'Islam as a factor of Civilization,' *Al-Risālah*, 20th April, p. 608, and 27th April, p. 684, 1936.

At the other side of the modernist group is Dr. Ṭāḥa Ḥusain. He is chiefly concerned with applying scientific methods and Western canons of literary criticism to the study of Arabic literature. His method of criticism is not to accept anything of what the ancients said about the literary activities of the Arabs, except after scientific examination.¹ When his work on the poetry of the Pre-Islamic period appeared, a storm of hostile criticism was raised against him. As his thesis in the book is that Pre-Islamic poetry for the most part is not Pre-Islamic and as he has denied, in his capacity of a learned critic and not of a Muslim, the authenticity of the Pre-Islamic legends concerning Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il, the book was suppressed by the Egyptian Government, in compliance with the loud and insistent demand of the public.² Despite the obstacles which hampered his literary efforts, he continued endeavouring hard to free the study of Arabic from the decadent methods of classical criticism. He claims that if Arabic literature is to be developed as it ought to be, it should be freed from its connection with the theological sciences. His contention is that the scientific treatment of any branch of learning is possible only when its investigation is free from all prejudices, be they religious, political or otherwise. "I would like," he says, "to study the history of literature with a detached and critical air just as the biologist and botanist treat their respective sciences, without favour or fear." (See *al-Adab-al-Jāhili*, p. 55). His discourses dealing with the Arabic classics first appeared weekly in *Al-Siyāsah* and were published under the title *Wednesday Talk* (حديث الأربعاء)³. In these talks he has laid bare the life and poetry of Omyyad and Abbasid periods, and has, in his usual spirit of criticism, examined many aspects of the poetry of famous poets such as Abū Nuwās, Bashshār b.-Burd, Muṭī'-ibn-Iyās, Marwān-ibn-Abī Ḥafṣa, etc., and he also entered into the controversy which was then feverishly raging between the supporters of the old and new schools.⁴

It was during this period (1882-1936), in which Egypt witnessed tremendous changes in her political and social life, that European influences began to take their destined share in reshaping Arabic literature.

POETRY

THE appearance of new poetry is largely due to French influence. Students like 'Uthmān Jalāl who came in contact with French poetry translated pieces of Moliere and La Fontaine into ungrammatical folk-songs

1. For further details, see the first chapter of *Al-Adab-al-Jāhili*, by Dr. Ṭāḥa Ḥusain, pp. 1-57, third edition, 1933.

2. See *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, p. 255, published in 1933. As modern works are not available in Hyderabad, second-hand sources are used.

3. They were published in the form of a book by the press "المطبعة التجارية" in 1925.

4. See *Al-Siyāsah*, حديث الأربعاء, 13th Dec. 1922 and 8th Feb. 1924.

(Zajal). Though Zajal and similar folk-songs have become still more popular after the establishment of Egyptian theatres, film companies and Arab radio-centres, yet they have not developed and do not possess any literary importance.

The rhymes and metres are even now just the same as used in the Abbasid period. But the creative nature of Showkī (1868-1932) has produced a new measure in the following composition :

مَالٌ وَاحْتَجَبٌ وَادَّعَى الْغَضَبُ¹
 فاعِلن فعلٌ فاعِلن فعلٌ

Even the latest poet, Ibrāhīm Nājī has made use of a new metre in his "عاصفة روح" which begins with

اَيْنَ شَطَطِ الرَّجَا يَا عِبَابَ الْهَمُومِ²
 فاعِلاتن فعلٌ فاعِلاتن فعلٌ³

Though these are modifications of classical metres, yet they are new to literary Arabic. As to the diction and style of the early poets such as Al-Barūdī (1839-1904) and even Hāfiẓ (1873-1932), they followed in the footsteps of the Abbasid poets. A few patriotic lines scattered in Al-Barūdī's *Kasīdas* just as :

يا روضة النيل لا مستك بائقة و لا عدتك سماء ذات اغداق
 أصبو اليها على بعد و يعجبني انى اعيش بها فى ثوب املاق
 وكيف انسى ديارا قد تركت بها اهلاكراما لهم ودى واشفاق

show how he was being influenced by the tendencies of his age. This patriotism reaches a higher stage of development in the elegies and odes of Hāfiẓ. Not only the patriotic poetry but also his pathetic expressions and sympathy with the unfortunate poor of Egypt made him a poet of the people. Both Hāfiẓ and Showkī sang songs of Egyptian national spirit and reminded the Arabs of the past glories of Islamic and Egyptian civilization. Yet it was with Showkī that new forms and new subjects appeared in Arabic verse. Showkī, the poet-laureate of the Egyptian court, abandons the old *Kasīda* form, makes use of commonplace⁴ words and unfamiliar names borrowed from the ancient history of Egypt, new

1. See *Al-Shawḥiyāt*, Vol. II., p. 13, printed by مطبعة مصر.

2. See the Weekly *Al-Risālah*, 1935, p. 1627.

3. It can be scanned this way also فاعِلن فاعِلن.

4. See *Al-Shawḥiyāt*, Vol. I, p. 335. وَخَلَّى أَغْنَمٌ لَذِيذَ غَمُوتِي and لِيَهْنِكَ انْهَمَ زَعْوَا أُمُونا, see Antra p. 25.

words like, (مطارة , سيارة) etc.,¹ and even uses symbolic words like 'دائع و غاد'² for railway train, 'جبارالقرون'³ for Tūt Ghānkh Amen, 'الليث'⁴ for British lion, etc. He has also introduced epic and lyrical dramas into Arabic.

In spite of all these renovations, both Hāfiẓ and Showkī are not fully modernised in the European sense of the word. Dr. Muḥammad Husain Haikal sees in Showkī a fine combination of the Islamic and Western philosophies.⁵ But Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain does not agree with Dr. Haikal's argument and wants to give them (Hāfiẓ and Showkī) their due places in the ranks of classical poets. Dr. Ṭāha rejects the existence of any school of thought or poetical doctrine in the poems of Showkī.⁶ He is of the opinion that modern Arabic verse is not even equal to the high standard of the classical poetry on the ground that the modern poets are neither true to the spirit of the classical periods nor fully modernised, as they do not represent the life of the age in which they live. Dr. Ṭāha traces the cause of the present stagnation of Arabic poetry to lack of knowledge and intellectual inactivity of the poets.⁷ He is not wholly mistaken when he says that there is no modernity in Arabic poetry. Yet we find that both Hāfiẓ and Showkī composed poems on the political and social subjects which had inspired the whole nation with fervent national zeal. They had, therefore, interpreted a side of the feelings of their nation. Of course, these poets were not born with a poetic mission. They did not, like the poets of the West, give a message to the world—not even to the Arab world. They indeed did not lead the people but were led by them.

They have, however, prepared a ground for the future advance of Arabic verse. Their efforts have borne fruit and the poets of today have started writing narrative and descriptive poems.⁸ The poetical compositions of the latest poets such as: ¹²هرم خوفو¹¹, نحن و الزمن¹⁰, العراق في مصر⁹, الشكل لا يهدى

1. See *Al-Shawkiyāt*, Vol. I., p. 96.

2. Ibid. p. 135.

3. Ibid. p. 81.

4. See Ibid. p. 67.

5. See Introduction to *Al-Shawkiyāt*, Vol. I.

6. See "Hāfiẓ and Showkī" by Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain, p. 13, press, مطبعة الاعتماد 1933.

7. Ibid. pp. 25, 140, 141.

8. See "شكوى الشيخ إلى ابنه" and "تبغى أمما" composed by Alzahawi, published in *Al-Risālah* 1935, pp. 1503, 1544 and see "بنت شيخ القيله" composed by Khalil Maṭrān, published in *Al-Mukhtaṭaf*, Nov. 1932, p. 23.

9. Composed by Al-Zahawi, see *Al-Risālah*, 1936, p. 27.

10. " " see " 1936 p. 347.

11. " Shukri, see " 1936, p. 749.

12. " " see " 1936, p. 1108.

imply⁵، في قريتي⁴، الباز و القنبرة³، غريب في باريس²، عاصفة روح¹، اوبة الطيار that they have been written with a definite aim in view. These poems, though imperfect in various ways, have a unity of purpose and a continuity of thought. The best augury, however, for the future of Arabic poetry lies in the fact that these shortcomings are now fully realized. Arab scholars have not only felt them keenly, but they are also organising associations,⁶ and holding contests in order to modernise Arabic verse. A group of students have gone so far as to put an end to the classical rhymes and metres. In the year 1936 there was held under the auspices of the Society for the Publicity of General Knowledge in Alexandria a series of lectures on the Modern School of Poetry. Leading poets and scholars took part in it. All of them appealed to the poets to adopt blank verse, to get rid of the fetters of rhymes and metres and to write more epics and lyrical dramas.⁷ Whether their appeal will be successful is a matter of conjecture, but the modern tendency is that they want to introduce more European forms into Arabic while preserving the essential characteristics of Arabic verse. The greatest influence which European literature has exerted on Arabian poetry is noticeable in its freeing itself from the bondage of ancient models. Old forms such as odes, elegies, panegyrics and sonnets have not been dropped altogether, but along with them, the poets have turned to natural, philosophical, political and social subjects of common interest. The translation of the *Iliad* has indeed made it possible for the Arab poets to compose narrative poetry in Arabic. These European influences did change the direction of Arabic verse from imitating ancient models to the adoption of new forms and subjects. But the infiltration of European erudition into Arabic poetry assisted in raising the standard of Arabic prose rather than poetry.

FICTION

IT is in the field of fiction that the European influence on Arabic prose is much more conspicuous. Story-writing as an art did not exist in the Arabic literature before the modern period began. It first appeared in the form of historical novels. The early novels were not perfect so far as their Art is concerned, since they were used as an instrument for educating

1. Composed by Ahmed Rami, see *Al-Risālah*, 1936, p. 1025.

2. „ Dr. Ibrāhīm Nāji, see „ 1935, p. 1627.

3. „ Dr. Zakī Mubārak, see „ 1936, p. 1227.

4. „ Kāmil Kilanī, see „ 1936, p. 1227.

5. „ Ahmed Bey Al-Kāshif, see 1936, p. 1024.

6. The Poetry Society held in 1936 a meeting of leading poets in order to renovate Arabic verse and at the same time to preserve its main characteristics. See the Weekly *Al-Risālah*, 1936, p. 1037 for further details.

7. See *Al-Ahrām*, Literary Column, September 19 and 20, 1936.

pupils in schools. George Zaidān (1861-1914) produced several works in this field of literature, but as he also probably aimed at educating the public through the medium of novels, his style and language are journalistic rather than literary. As fiction may be called a bridge between journalism and literature, the journalists in an endeavour to widen the circulation of their periodicals and newspapers took to writing stories and serials. But since they had no such fiction in Arabian classic literature to guide them, they translated European romance. It soon attracted the attention of men of letters. These scholars, who knew various European languages, began to translate and enrich Arabic erudition with the masterpieces of French, English, German and Italian literatures. These masterpieces served as a model to those who longed to see their culture raised to the level of European standards. Arabian fiction however did not develop till some enlightened students came forward to lead the way towards artistic story-writing. Manfalūṭī in his "العبرات" Al-Zayyāt in his "آلام فرتز" and "رفائل" and Al-Mazinī in his "ابن الطيبه" established standards for the translation of European romance. These activities continued until a group of scholars led by Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal Bey, Taufiq Ḥakīm and Al-Mazinī came to turn the activities of the translators into producing fiction of purely Egyptian origin both in substance and style. *Al-Iyyām* الايام written by Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain, ابراهيم الكاتب by Al-Mazinī,¹ الاطلال by Taimūr,² and ابنة الملوك by Abi Ḥadīd can fairly be classed as original Egyptian novels. Yet there is much to be done in this new branch of Arabic literature. If there are writers like Dr. Haikal Bey who pays more attention to technique than others, there are others who have not yet mastered the art of characterisation and the relationship of character and plot. Even the materials of their plots do not often represent Egyptian society with its varying modes of living and thinking.

In spite of all these drawbacks, story-writing has helped to make literary Arabic capable of expressing conceptions of all sorts. No less significant part has been played by fiction in improving the style of Arabic prose. It is now possible to apply the quotation "the style is the man" to Arabic writers with still greater precision. Modern Arabic style is not merely a particular expression of Ibn-al-Muḥaffa', Jāḥiẓ or Ibn-al-'Amīd, but an exposition of the writers' personality. None can misunderstand the person of Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain, as it is manifested in his extraordinary command of language, attractive way of expressing a single idea in various forms until the meaning is carried home, and the European phrases and conceptions so remoulded in simple and clear Arabic that they become

1. See his short stories and serials in *Al-Risālah*, 1936, pp. 1647, 1503, 1404, 1323, 1273, 1206 and also in *Al-Risālah* 1935; *Majallitī*, March 15, 1935, p. 793.

2. See his short stories in *Majallitī*, May 1, 1935, p. 1225 and *Al-Ma'rifa*, Feb. 1933, p. 1243.

part and parcel of the Arabic language. None can mistake likewise the serious, logical and penetrative nature of Prof. Aḥmad Amīn, when it is marked in his precise, correct and balanced sentences. Similarly Al-Mazinī is known by a touch of humour and Dr. Haikal and Taufīk Ḥakīm¹ by a philosophical trend of mind. All these different styles lead us to conclude that Arabic writing has advanced and is successfully proceeding towards higher stages of perfection.

COMPARATIVE AND ANALYTICAL STUDY

THERE is another aspect of Arabic prose worthy of our consideration. The theory that Arabic literature should be studied both by scientific and artistic principles, which was originally advocated by Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain seems to have gained momentum. Egyptian men of letters have recently started comparative and analytical study of Arabic works.² Analysis of literary activities of the Arabs in the light of the intellectual tendencies of the West, and the comparison of Arab poets and writers with French and English, have produced a world of possibilities which had remained undiscovered. Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain in his "حديث الشعر و النثر" compares Arab poets with one another and points out the high place which Arabic literature occupies in the classics of the world. His *Al-Adab-al-Jāhili* الادب الجاهلي is another scientific exposition of pre-Islamic mind. Another eminent scholar Prof. Aḥmad Amīn in his *Fajr al-Islām* and *Ḍuḥal Islām* has analysed the intellectual activities of the Arabs from the beginning to the Abbasid period. Such examples are numerous indeed in modern Arabic, but the works written on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad deserve our special notice, as they indicate how extensive is the scope of writing on this new element in the language. So far the biographies of the Prophet consisted of recording events connected with his life in chronological order. Examination of the various sides of a particular character from different angles of vision was non-existent in Arabic. It is only with the advent of this new era in prose that the psychological analysis of leaders of thought has started. Dr. Haikal has initiated this kind of study. His work, *The Life of Muhammad* (حياة محمد) is not only a biography, but it also presents the author's philosophical point of view. Toufīk Ḥakīm, on the other hand, tries to portray the life of the Prophet as a dramatist does. Here is Abdul Raḥmān Bey Al-'Azzām, who delineates the characters of his great Hero (see his work *Hero of Heroes*

1. See Taufīk Ḥakīm's short stories in *Al-thaqafa*, Jan. 31, 1939 and *Majalliti*, May 1, 1935, 15th March 1935, 1st Jan. 1935. See also stories of Darini Khashba, M. Shawkat-al-Toni and M. Al-Badawi in *Al-Risāla*, 1933-1935.

2. See Fakhrī Abū-al-Sa'ood's articles on the comparative study of Arabic and English literatures in *Al-Risālah*, 1935-1936.

(بطل الابطال) in the light of the circumstances which surrounded the Prophet.

To these tendencies of comparative and analytical study, may be added the recent attempts of writers directed to the creation of original works. 'Abbās Maḥmūd Al-Aḥḥād's *Raj'at-u-Abī-al 'Alāi* (رجعة أبي العلاء), and *Ibn-al-Rūmī, his Life derived from his own Verses* (ابن الرومي وحياته) (من شعره) and Maḥmūd Shākir's treatise on Al-Mutanabbī¹ are a few examples which prove how their authors are really striving after the creation of something original. These scholars have not only depicted the lives of the poets, but have also offered solutions of the complicated problems involved in their careers. Maḥmūd Shākir's thesis on Al-Mutanabbī, for instance, is not only original but also reactionary. In this work he has shown the falseness of the idea that Al-Mutanabbī was the son of a water-drawer (see *Al-Muḥtataf*, 1st Jan. 1936, p. 21). On the contrary, he has proved that Al-Mutanabbī belongs to the 'Alawī branch of the Syed family and that the poet was in love with Saifud Dowla's sister. (Ibid. p. 130-134). These are some of the theories of Maḥmūd Shākir which have upset all the established traditions concerning the poet's life.

Such writings have also given an incentive to energetic critics who have produced an enormous literature on these new works, poets and their poetics. Their activities are so much intensified that it seems as if the nation has thrown all its weight into the literary revival. The literary efforts which were once a side issue of 'Abduh's movement have now come to the forefront. Both Governmental and private associations have been organised in order to encourage writers on the one hand and to satisfy the public demand on the other. There is an association of University Professors² and other scholars, which not only publishes and translates works of highly literary character but also compiles series of books on science, philosophy, history, etc., just like the Penguin and Home University Library publications with a view to educate the public.³ University graduates also have Unions for reviving, renovating and raising the standard of Arabic literature.⁴ These activities have been growing with still greater rapidity since the Egyptian ministry of education and the film company of the Egyptian Bank have undertaken to distribute valuable prizes in order to encourage the art of letters.⁵ The patronizing efforts of the Egyptian Government have not stopped here. They have proceeded and their efforts have been crowned by the establishment of a Royal Philological Academy (1932).

1. See *Al-Muḥtataf*, 1st Jan. 1936.

2. It was established in the year 1914. See *فائمه الكتب لجنة التاليف والترجمة والنشر* published in 1936.

3. See further details in *Al-Risālah*, Feb. 3, 1936 p. 196.

4. Ibid. p. 1037 and p. 2034.

5. See *Al-Risālah* 1936, p. 35 and 519.

REFORM OF ARABIC LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

THE aims involved in the establishment of the above-mentioned Academy are :—

(1) To preserve the main characteristics of the Arabic language, while making it capable of expressing every subject of Art or Science, so as to satisfy the needs of our day.

(2) To turn foreign and spoken idioms into proper Arabicised forms if Arabic equivalents are not found after making an exhaustive enquiry into them.

(3) To compile and publish glossaries of terms of science, art, literature, etc., to prepare later an extensive dictionary comprising all the words along with their different shades of meaning and history of their development, and to make scientific research into the dialects of modern Arabic spoken in the illiterate quarters of Egypt and Arab countries.¹

This Academy consists of eleven sub-committees which deal with the formulation of principles of grammar and modern dialect and the terms of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, sociology, philosophy, literature, fine arts, etc.² The researches of its members are published in its own magazine after having been approved by the executive council of the Academy. When the first volume (1934) of its magazine appeared, both the public and the scholars turned against it. The fault they found with the members of the Academy was that they revived dead and unfamiliar words which did not correspond to the modern literary taste of Egyptian society. So far as the terms of science and art are concerned, the people were reticent about them. But the words dealing with social affairs and common interest had become a matter of severe objection. The Egyptian social circles refused to use the new words coined by the Academy in the place of the spoken idioms, on the ground that the latter became familiar and current long before the Academy was founded.

As a matter of fact, the controversy between the spoken idiom and the literary language has been carried on from a long time. It started since the day when the movement for reforming the Arabic language began. With the decay of Arab power and civilization, a divergence between the Arabic spoken in the rural districts and the grammatical forms used by the literate class in the town had appeared. As time passed, the spoken dialect, which had considerably deviated from literary grammatical form, began to prevail and to taint the literary language with its own degeneracy. But when Arab nationalism grew strong, the people realized that the spoken dialect, different as it was in different parts of the Arab countries, would have struck a severe blow to the unity of the Arab nation and would

1. See the magazine of the Royal Academy of the Arabic language *مجلة مجمع اللغة العربية الملكي*, Vol. I. Bulāk Press, 1935, p. 22.

2. Ibid. p. 29-33.

have eventually severed their relation with the historical and literary legacy of their ancestors. Besides this, the introduction of Western sciences with their unfamiliar terminology had begun to tax the resources of the Arabic language. These two factors roused the scholars and put them to the task of reforming the language.

The first organised attempt¹ in this direction was made by the Arabic Academy of Damascus under the wise guidance of the famous scholar Kurd 'Alī Beyin 1919.² This Academy used to convene its meetings every week in order to select words and correct the grammatical mistakes prevalent in those days. As the scope of its influence was limited, the necessity of founding a greater academy was felt by the Egyptians. The Egyptian Royal Academy of Arabic language was established (1932) after a good many years of expectation.

When it opened its first session in 1934, and its researches appeared in its magazine (1935), the Egyptian people found themselves divided into two groups as to its deliberations. One of the groups asserts that the function of the Academy is not to invent words and thrust them into public usage. Nor is it its task to correct the spoken dialect and revive dead and forgotten words instead. The chief purpose of the Academy, in their opinion, is to record what the nation has already Arabicised and to find out the equivalents of the foreign words and conceptions which have taken no form whatever in the Arabic language so far.³ But the supporters of the Academy contend that if the use of foreign words is not checked in due time, they will not only overcrowd but also destroy the characteristics of the Arabic language. They further argue that the spoken idiom is unscientific and ungrammatical; it should, therefore, be brought under some classical pattern of grammatical rules. While this controversy is going on, the Academy is hopefully busy in extending the application of the grammatical rules, in expanding the meaning of certain words of the literary Arabic if this expansion does not impair their original notions, and in formulating rules for the Arabicisation of foreign words.

Side by side with the reform of language, a movement for reforming Arabic grammar and rhetoric has also come to the forefront. The students of grammar have begun to point out that Arabic syntax and grammar as they are being taught in the schools and colleges today are defective. A student, they say, who has studied *Al-Nāhw* (syntax) in *Al-Azhar* for more than ten years, is very often unable to read and write correctly.⁴ Moreover, Arabic syntax deals with the different pronunciations, different dialects

1. As to the individual efforts regarding the supply of Arabic words in the place of foreign ones, see *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, 1921, p. 251-254.

2. See *Al-Ma'rifa*, October, 1932. p. 738.

3. See its further details in the pamphlet *البدء الاولى في اصلاح اللغة العربية*, published by a prof. of the school of *Dārul-'Uloom* in Cairo. See further *Al-Risālah*, 1936. p. 82.

4. See *Al-Risālah*, 1935 p. 9 and 1936, p. 1249 and the articles by *Muṣṭafa Jawād*, published in *Al-Ma'rifa*, 1932 and 1933, p. 227.

and various readings of the Holy Qur'ān. Since a layman has nothing to do with the history of different dialects and as he knows only what he uses in daily conversation, why, then, should not the grammar be so reorganised as to regularise the current dialect and standardise it? They further find fault with the stagnancy of the Azharian tradition, which does not allow any freedom in deducing analogies from classical literature. They are, therefore, of the opinion that students should be left free to conduct research in classical literature with a view to find out wider applications of grammatical rules and principles.¹ Similar tendencies are noticed in their endeavours to reorganise Arabic rhetoric.²

To sum up, the factors which have led to the modernisation of Arabic literature are : (1) the rapid growth of education, (2) translation of European works and (3) the rapid development of journalism. As the movement of Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abduh had created a congenial atmosphere for literary revival, Arabic writing has developed and achieved a considerably high standard. The activities which were directed towards the critical study of Arabic literature and its history by the professors of the new Egyptian University, the members of Dr. Haikal's circles and by Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain have reached their full development since the controversy between the old and new schools has ceased. Although poetry is still lagging behind advanced prose in the literary race, yet new forms and subjects have been introduced into both poetry and prose. As to the movements proceeding to reform the Arabic language, grammar and rhetoric, the Egyptian literary and social circles are still divided into the supporters and opponents of the reformation.

Briefly speaking, whatever the tendencies of the Arab peoples may be as to the advancement of the whole of Arabic literature, I, for my own part, believe that the development or degeneration of any literature is closely related with the culture and civilization of the people whom it represents. If a nation reaches a civilized stage its literature also indicates a standard corresponding to the progress of its people, and as marked progress is clearly noticeable in almost all sides of Arab culture and Egyptian civilization, it is not therefore mere hope to say that Arabic literature is well on the way to achieve the perfection which its all devotees so anxiously desire.

M. A. M. KHAN.

1. See essays of Prof. Muṣṭafā Jawād, published in *Al-Ma'rifa*, 1932 and 1933.

2. See *Al-Hilāl*, 1st January, 1936, p. 265.

MUSIC IN MUSLIM INDIA

MUSIC has been a subject of controversy among the Muslim jurists. The orthodox school maintains that it has been prohibited, whereas liberal thinkers claim that it has been permitted.¹ Whether Islam prohibited it or not is for theologians to discuss, but it is a fact that Muslims have been great lovers of music. Wherever they went, they carried their love of this fine art with them.

Before the advent of the Muslims in India, an Arabo-Iranian music was already in vogue in the Muslim world,² and this art was being attended to seriously. The tabor (*daff*), tambourine (*tambūr*), reed-pipe (*na'y*) and lute (*ūd*) were the instruments already introduced in music.³

With the Muslim soldiers and colonists of Sindh there must have come Muslim musicians to India. Unfortunately history is silent on this point. We only know this much that Muḥammad bin Kāsim (96 A.H.) was greeted with music by the Sumas of Sindh (*Chāchnāma*, Elliot, page 191). Probably it was here in Sindh that Arabo-Iranian music of the Musalmans began to influence the Hindu music and *Naurūz*, *Zangola* and *Hejaz* forms were incorporated by the Indians under the names of *Nurochoka*, *Jangla* and *Hejaj*. Raja Navvāb 'Alī Khān, a notable writer on Indian music, traces the origin of these forms in Hindu music since the time of Naushirawān, but their very names betray that they came through Muslim channels, and at a time when Iran had already been Islamised.

The advent of Khawāja Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī (588 A.H.) and the popularity of the Chishtī order supplied a platform for the free contact of Islamic and Hindu music. Khawāja was popular both with Hindus and Musalmans, and music was almost a tenet of faith with the followers of the Chishtī order. Khawāja's band of *Karvāls* sang every evening.⁴ This movement greatly encouraged the spread of music, though the

1. A learned monograph on this subject was published by Maulānā Aḥmad Mukarram Chiriakōtī. The author tried to prove on the authority of historical facts and celebrated Muslim divines that music was not forbidden by *Shari'at*.

2. *Kitāb ul-Aghānī* (Vol. I, page 1815) reports that Ibn Muḥriz, the son of an Iranian captive, combined Arab and Iranian melodies, and fixed and settled the rules. He taught the Arabs the use of the lute.

3. De Goeje, *Frag. Hist. Arab*, Vol. I, page 40.

4. *Siyar ul-Aqtāb*, page 103.

orthodox class tried to suppress it.

The popularity of music had a set-back with the establishment of the Slave dynasty. When Shamsuddīn Iltutmish came to power a ban on music was ordered under the influence of Qāḍī 'Imād, Sa'duddīn and Min-hāj Sirāj and Qāḍī Ṣāḍik.¹ The officials were vigilant enough to prosecute those who indulged in it. But soon afterwards Qāḍī Ḥamiduddīn Nāgorī was deputed to Delhi to propagate the *Chishtī* order. His arrival at the Capital encouraged the Muslims to take interest in music. State officials came forward to prosecute the Qāḍī. The Sultān himself tried the Qāḍī, who in his statement asserted that music might be prohibited for worldly people (*ahl-i-qāl*) but not for the devoted ones (*ahl-i-ḥāl*). Further he alluded to that music party at Baghdād where the Sultān, when a slave, served as a light-burner, before coming to the throne of Delhi. This statement is said to have influenced the opinion of the Sultān, who withdrew the ban. Since then musical soirees were organised for *durbars*² and people began to indulge in them publicly.

The son and successor of Iltutmish, namely Ruknuddīn Fīrūz, was a great lover of music³ and his *durbar* became a centre of celebrated musicians and dancers of both sexes.

In spite of the royal patronage of music, the orthodox class continued its vehement opposition. With the accession of Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn Balban, we find some lessening of this hostility. When the Sultān recovered from a serious ailment, he ordered a public feast accompanied by music throughout his Empire.⁴ Celebrated musicians and singers graced his court.⁵ It was during the reign of this Sultān that Amīr Khusrāu, the great poet and musician of Mediæval India, came into prominence. The Amīr lived until the early years of the reign of Muḥammad Tughlak, and his contribution to Indian music needs particular attention. Some biographers of Khusrāu assert that he also wrote a treatise on that fascinating science. If he did really write such a treatise, it is very unfortunate that it has not come down to us, for a book on that subject would have supplied very valuable information on the development of Indian music. The Amīr himself contributed much towards the fusion of the Iranian and Indian systems of music. He gives us only fragmentary and incidental accounts in his numerous works. In *Nuh Sipihr*⁶ he says "Indian music, the fire that burns heart and soul, is superior to the music of any other country. Foreigners even after a stay of thirty or forty years in India, cannot play a single Indian tune correctly. Indian music charms not only men but beasts also. Deer have been hypnotised and hunted simply by music!" In another work, while speaking of his own achievements in music,

1. *Siyar-ul-Awtāb*, pages 146-160.

2. *Firishta*, Vol. I, page 67 (pers. text).

3. *Tārīkh Mubārakshāhī*, page 21 and *Firishta*, Vol. I, page 67.

4. *Tārīkh Mubārakshāhī*, page 41.

5. *Firishta*, Vol. I, page 76.

6. *Third Sipihr*, Buhar Lib., Calcutta MS.

and referring to a musical competition with a celebrated musician of his time, Gopāl Nā'ik, he says,¹ that he could defeat his opponent proving his own mastery of both poetry and music ; that he had already composed three volumes of poetry, and if he were to write on music, he could have composed three volumes on that science too. In his *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*² he gives interesting details about contemporary musicians, and the musical instruments, and mentions Muḥammad Shāh, Kunjashk, Khalifa Husainī Akhlāk and Turmatī Khātūn. The latter was introduced to the royal court through Amīr's influence. She was, subsequently placed in charge of all the Iranian and Indian Court musicians. *Paikan*, 'ajab-rud, chuhra (?), duhul, chang, rabāb, daff, nay, tanbur, dastak, dastan, shahnāī, bablik, damsarfī (?) and batīra are some of the instruments mentioned by the Amīr and used in his time.

Tradition has credited Khusrau with the invention of several new melodies compounded of Iranian and Indian tunes. That he had thoroughly studied the science of music, is abundantly clear from his writings. He seems to have been quite familiar with the Iranian system and to have mastered all its intricacies.³ He also knew the Indian system well.⁴ Musical contests appear to have been a favourite pastime of his day, and apparently he took a keen interest and active part in them.⁵ It is quite reasonable, therefore, to believe that he made some attempts to combine the Iranian and Indian systems, and to evolve new melodies characteristic of the Indo-Muslim culture of India. It is difficult to determine exactly the modifications introduced by him. According to *Ragdarpan*⁶—an old work in Persian on Indian music, supposed to have been a translation of an older work, under the patronage of Raja Mansingh during the reign of Akbar, Khusrau had invented the following new melodies, *Mujir*, *sāzgārī*, *aiman*, 'ushshāk, *muwāfiq*, *ghazan*, *zilaf*, *farghāna*, *sarparda*, *bakhāra*, *firodast*, *mun'am* (ā), *kaul*, *tarāna*, *khayāl*, *nigār*, *basit*, *shahāna*, and *suhila*. Wājid 'Alī Shāh⁷ describes Khusrau as *naik* of *khayāl* as opposed to that of *Dhrupad*, and his disciples as "*Khayālīs*." According to him Khusrau invented the tunes known as *tarāna*, *chhand*, *parband*, *gīt*, *kaul*, *kilbanah*, *naksh* and *gul*. Thus we find that he could not become popular with the supporters of the classical system, and his independence led to the rise of a schismatic school.

During Balban's reign, Multan also became a centre of music. Firishṭa⁸ reports that accomplished *Ḳavvāls* were present there in those days.

1. *Ghurraṭul Kamāl* (Br. Mus. MS. 21104, F. 314).

2. Also called *Rasā'ilul-I'jāz*, Second Chapter or *risāla* (Nawal Kishore Ed.).

3. *Kirānus-Sa'dain*, page 163, *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*, Chapter (*risāla*) II, page 280.

4. Ibid. page 288, and *Nuh Sipihar*.

5. *I'jāz*, Chapter II, page 180, where the author mentions the arrival of the musicians from *Khōrāsān*, and invites Indian musicians to compete with them.

6. Cf. Shibli, *Sh'irul 'Ajam*.

7. *Ṣautul-Mubārak*, page 42. See also *Ā'in-i- Akbarī*, text II, 138-139.

8. *Firishṭa*, Vol. II, page 406.

One 'Abdulla, a famous singer of Turkey, came there and began to enliven the assemblies of Sheikh Bahāuddīn Zakariya.

During Kaiqubād's reign, music became the order of the day.¹ Amīr Khusrau has given us vivid descriptions of some of the royal assemblies in his *Īrānūs-Sa'dain*, and we notice the importance and popularity of music everywhere.

Jalāluddīn Khaljī proved no less a patron of music. Amīr Khusrau writes,² "The King was not without the pleasure of music. Sometimes he listened to the verses of my companions, and sometimes sought new and fresh melodies from the musicians. On one side, I sang the praises of the generous, and on the other the skilful Muḥammad Shāh intoxicated the senses with his musical performances." Maulānā Zīāuddīn Baranī³ heaves deep sighs after recollecting in his old age the memory of Jalālī durbars, where musicians like Muḥammad Shah Changī, Futūḥā, daughter of Kafāi, Nuṣrat Khātūn and Mehr Afrūz played.

During 'Alāuddīn's reign the presence of Sheikh Nizāmuddīn Awliyā at Delhi helped the cause of music. There was no quarter in the City where after twenty days or a month there was no gathering of devotees listening to Sufist music and weeping in ecstasy.⁴ The King himself was a great patron of music. Malik Kāfūr invaded southern India and carried a prominent golden idol, as booty of war, to Delhi, from the temple of Koyilolahu. The priests of the temples when informed that the idol was not destroyed but preserved in the Imperial storehouse, approached the Sultān, secured audience, and displayed their skill in music and dancing. The Sultān was highly pleased with their performances and promised them rich rewards. The priests begged for the idol as thier reward and were given it.⁵

At this period we find that timbrels were favourite instruments of music, but the *Mazāmīr* was in great disfavour, and Sheikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya disapproved its use.⁶

Mubārak Khaljī also does not seem to have neglected music. *Nuh Sipihar*⁷ records a *jaṣhn* at the birth of his heir-apparent when beautiful dancing girls, Iranian and Indian, displayed their skill.

With the accession of Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlak, the orthodox again got the upperhand, and music was banned. The puritan monarch looked askance at the musical parties held at Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya's monastery. Jealous Sheikhs represented to the monarch that music was absolutely

1. Badāūnī, Vol. I, pages 158 and 161.

2. *Miftāḥul Futūḥ*, (India Office Lib. MS. 1186).

3. Baranī's *Firūz Shāhi*, pages 199-209.

4. Ibid. p. 343

5. This information is supplied by Professor S. K. Aiyangar in his 'South-India and her Muhammadan Invaders,' page 116, on the authority of a book called *Koyiloluha* which deals with all benefactories made to this temple at Srirangam.

6. *Afḍal-ul-fawā'id* of Khusrau.

7. The Seventh *Sipihar* of *Nuh Sipihar*.

prohibited by the law of Islam. The King one day asked Nizāmuddīn Auliya to explain his conduct and justify himself in the presence of divines and *‘ulema*. The Saint carried himself bravely and successfully through the ordeal, and Tughlak Shāh had to let him go free, although he was not quite satisfied with the arguments advanced by the Saint.¹

Fortunately the hostility against music did not continue long. With the accession of Muḥammad bin-Tughlak a sovereign learned enough to interpret Muslim laws himself, a musical entertainment composed of both males and females is said to have been instituted for the royal durbar. A respectable official named Amīr Shamsuddīn Tabrizī was designated as *Dāroghai Arbāb Nishāt* and was placed in charge of this concert. Muḥammad had twelve musicians in his regular service. There were one thousand slave musicians besides.² Occasionally a *nautch* was held at the Imperial palace. Ibn Baṭūṭa mentions one held on the occasion of the marriage of the Emperor's sister.³ While speaking of Delhi of Muḥammad's time Ibn Baṭūṭa mentions of *Hauz Khāṣ*. He found a number of musicians living in the pavilions around the *Hauz*. He was told that the female singers living there recited the congregational prayers (*tarāviḥ*) during the month of Ramaḍān in an adjacent mosque. Female Imāms conducted those prayers where only female musicians prayed.⁴ But we find that the profession of music was looked down upon by the general public. When Muḥammad promoted a meritorious son of a musician to a high office, Baranī condemned his action as encouragement to low-born people and *muṭrib bachas*.

The Deccan had been a noted seat of music since the Hindu period. Muḥammad's transfer of the capital to Daulatabad added an impetus. Ibn Baṭūṭa⁵ reports that Daulatabad had a quarter named *Ṭarabābād*. There were shops on both sides of the road. Every shop had a house at the back, to which there was an opening on the side lane. The shops were well furnished, and a cradle hung there, on which musician girls sat finely dressed. There was a tower in the central place of the bazar. The *chowdhri* of the musicians came every Thursday after 'Aṣr prayers. All the musicians of the quarters, both male and female, came and paid their respects to the *chowdhri*, by displaying their skill. Such ceremony continued till sunset when the *chowdhri* left the place.

Muḥammad's successor, Firūz, though an orthodox and puritan in outlook, was not averse to music. His accession to the throne was celebrated by entertaining the public for twenty-one days with music.⁶

1. Firishṭa, Vol. II, page 397.

2. Quatremere, *Notices des manuscrits*, XII, page 185.

3. Ibn-Baṭūṭa, De-fet-Sang Ed.

4. Ibid., Vol. III.

5. Ibid.

6. See 'Afif.

Badāūnī reports¹ that Fīrūz while proceeding towards Kangra picked up a number of valuable books from Jawala Mukhi temple, some of which were on the science of music and the dance. They were all translated into Persian at the instance of Fīrūz Shāh.

Saiyids who came to power after the fall of the Tughlaqs do not appear to have neglected music. Mubārak Shāh, the well-known Saiyid king of Delhi, was noted for his love of music.²

Later the rise of the Mahdavi movement was responsible for a check to the popularity of music.³ About the interest taken by the Lodis we have little information. The early Sūrs had to be cautious. They had to take a hypocritical attitude. Publicly it was banned, but the Makhdūmul-Mulk, the head of the religious department, was notorious for indulging in music but took pains to keep it secret.⁴ But this state of affairs could not continue long. With the accession of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr, nicknamed 'Ādlī, music became the order of the day.⁵ The King was a master of music. Tansein, the celebrated musician of Akbar's Court, and Bāz Bahādur bin Sazāwla Khān, another distinguished musician, claimed to have received lessons from him in music. He freely entered into competition with his contemporary musicians, and came out successful. He paid considerable attention to this science and tutored a set of students in this art. Badāūnī has accused him of neglecting state duties because of his excessive interest in music.⁶

With the Timūrids probably came the Imperial music (*naubat*) which consisted of drums, hautboys, and trumpets played by musicians sitting in the upper storey of the main gate, called *Nakār Khāna*. It was a mark of sovereignty, and also served to announce some good news. Apparently the orthodox class did not object to it, as we find later that even Aurangzēb who revived the ban upon music, permitted it.

During the reign of Bābar and Humāyūn, the first two Timūrids, even the ladies of the royal house played music accompanied by instruments.⁷ Sheikh Khoran was a celebrated musician of India, who flourished during the reign of Bābar.⁸ Bairam Khān, the well-known official and grandee of Humāyūn's court, was noted for his skill in music.⁹ Another celebrated musician, also a well-known poet, is Haidar Tūniyai.⁹

Unorthodox Akbar was himself a student of music, and patronised this science most liberally. Abul Faḍl writes : " Indian, Iranian, Turanian

1. Badāūnī, Vol. I, page 249.

2. Tārīkh Mubārak Shāhī, page 211.

3. Sheikh Mubārak, an admirer of the founder of the Mahdavi movement and his detestation of music make an interesting reading. See Khāfi Khān, Vol. I, page 199.

4. Badāūnī, page 401.

5. Ibid, page 434. Khāfi Khān, Vol. I, page 108.

6. Badāūnī, page 418.

7. Humāyūn Nāma by Gulbadan Begum.

8. Badāūnī, Vol. I, page 337.

9. Ibid. Vol. I, page 480.

and Kashmirian musicians of both sexes were engaged in the Imperial service, and they were grouped into seven. Each group played and displayed its skill on some particular day of the week. Abul Faḍl has enumerated more than forty names of Hindu and Muslim musicians of the period, and refers to their contributions to this fine art. The celebrated Tansein was of course the chief of the age.¹

It is difficult to say whether it is flattery or fact, but the court historian reports that Akbar was himself conversant with music and composed two hundred new modes which were the delight of hearers. The most excellent were the *Jalāl Shāhī*, the *Mehameer Kurget* and *Naurūzī*.²

Cultured Jehāngīr continued the patronage of music, and musicians received liberal gifts and rewards on all ceremonial occasions, when their display of skill added life to festivities.³

Shāh Jehān, though he pretended to some amount of orthodoxy and tried to reform some of the irreligious ways in court-life, left music undisturbed. Indeed, he took care to patronise it. On all ceremonials such as at anniversaries of a royal birth or the *Naurūz* festival, 'fairy-like beautiful and rose-cheeked dancing girls enchanted the audience with their music, dancing and playing on the *daf* and *chang*.'⁴ In 1046 Hijri, the marriage of Prince Aurangzib was settled with the daughter of Mīrzā Shāh Nawāz Khān, and Shāh Jehān was pleased to sanction the payment of ten lacs of rupees to the prince. The marriage was celebrated in *Dhīl-hijja* with great pomp and grandeur. The prince did not appear to have developed puritanism at the time, because musical parties and dancing added to the interest of the celebration.⁵

The popularity of music had a definite set-back during the reign of Aurangzib. The King was not hostile to music till the fourth year of his reign, because we find evidence of musicians taking part till then in court festivities and ceremonies.⁶

Sheikh 'Isā of Burhanpur and Mīr Murtaḍa of Multan were vehement in their protests against music.⁷ The King, who was already under the influence of Mujaddid Alf Thānī's movement, yielded to the orthodox demand, and dismissed all musicians from his court.⁸ The musicians thrown out of employment took out in procession an effigy representing music, in a coffin, for burial. The procession paraded through the principal streets of the capital, its followers simulating lamentation. The Emperor happened to see it and was informed that music being dead, musicians were carrying the corpse to the grave. The cold Emperor

1. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, page 263, (pers. text, Asiatic Society Ed.).

2. *Ibid.*, page 47.

3. *Khāfi Khān*, page 323.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, page 399.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, page 543.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, page 125.

7. *Khāfi-Khān*, Vol. III, pages 556 and 561.

8. *Ibid.*, and *Siyar*, Vol. IV, page 139 (Eng. translation).

remarked, 'And so they may, but let them take care lest, contrary to the law of God, the dead should move in the grave or pretend to speak or sing.'

This ban led to a good deal of controversy throughout Muslim India, and we find numerous books written at this period about the legality of music. Diyānat Khān, a grandee of the court, wrote several treatises on the lawfulness of music.¹

The success of orthodoxy was short lived. After Aurangzīb, Bahādur Shāh came to power. He loved music, and once asked the Dutch to display their performances before him. Three Dutch musicians are said to have played at night in the royal court, on the violin, harp and hautboy, before His Majesty and the royal ladies, who were seated behind a curtain.² One Sharfuddin of Burhānpūr was noted for his skill in music throughout India at this period.³

During the sovereignty of Jehāndār Shāh, the musicians and dancers were not only liked and loved by the Emperor but they were raised to *manṣabs*.⁴

Jehāndār Shāh was succeeded by Farrukh Siyar. We do not know much about his interest in music. His minister Syed 'Abdullah enjoyed music and dances publicly and patronised those who sang the praise of *Ahl-e-bait*.⁵ But the *ulema* were again averse to music. It is reported that the *ulema* of Lahore were inimical towards Muḥammad Salīm Ṣābirī—a *Sūfī*, only on account of his love for music. Even in the Deccan we find Sheikh Nizāmuddin Walī holding musical parties, but within closed doors.

Muḥammad Shāh took keen interest in music. The Kashmiri School of music under Lal Mian made a great name at this period. This school supplied musicians and dancing girls to the grandee of the State at fabulously high salaries.⁶ When Nādir Shāh invaded India, music was in demand in polished and cultured circles. The invader himself enjoyed the dances and songs of celebrated musicians. One Indian dancing girl, Nurbai, so much fascinated him through her musical performances that he ordered her to be paid four thousand rupees, and directed that she should be taken in his train to Iran. It was with the greatest difficulty that she could save herself from this last mark of favour.⁷

Not only the central Government, but other provincial and independent Muslim States took keen interest in music and patronised it. Since the days of Muḥammad Tughlak, Daulatabad had become a centre of

1. Rieu has noticed them in his *Supplementary Cat.*, page 114.

2. Diary of Erutcoenrād Graaf, see *Later Mughals*, Vol. I by W. Irvine.

3. Khāfī Khān, Vol. II, page 667.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, page 689.

5. *Siyar*, Vol. I, page 21, (Cal. Ed.).

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, page 293 (Eng. tr.).

7. *Bayān Wāq'ī* of Abdul Karīm Kashmīrī, page 56, as quoted by Irvine in his *Later Mughals*, Vol. II.

music.¹ The tradition was well continued by the Bahmanid Muslim dynasty. Alā'uddīn Bahman Shāh is said to have brought one thousand *murlis* (dancing girls) from a Hindu temple of the Carnatic when the latter was conquered by the King.²

In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani (whom Firishṭa wrongly calls Maḥmūd Shāh) three hundred celebrated musicians well known for their singing the poems of Amīr Khusrāu and Mīr Ḥasan, visited Aḥsanabad, and received generous patronage from the Sultān.³ Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn of the same dynasty is said to have been murdered because of his admiration of a beauty skilled in music.⁴ Firūz Shāh Bahmanī was noted for his piety. 'He was guilty of no offence against the rules of religion but listening to music.' He suffered it as 'music lifted his mind to contemplate the divinity.'⁵ The same Sultān, while treating with the Rāja of Vijaynagar, embodied one clause in the treaty to the effect that the Rāja would offer 'two thousand male and female slaves accomplished in singing and dancing.'⁶

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur is said to have written a well-known book on music, called *Nauras*. The celebrated poet Zāhūrī wrote an introduction to this work.⁷

Similarly Sultān Muḥammad II in Gujarat⁸ and Sultān Husain Sharḳī in Jaunpur have been mentioned in books of history as ardent patrons of music and as musicians.

After the break-up of the Timūrid power, the Navvābs of Oudh came forward to save the Indo-Muslim culture from decay. Music was not neglected. Navvāb Āṣafuddaulah of Lucknow was a great patron of music. We are to note here that the State religion was Shī'a, which did not permit any ambiguous interpretation of the laws of music. Consequently the Shī'ite *ulema* unanimously tabooed it. Still the will of the rulers and the nature of mankind had their own way. In spite of the opposition from the *ulema*, the court influence had a success among the masses, who soon found an excuse and an outward legal form for it. *Merthias* were recited

1. Vijyanagar, the neighbouring Hindu State, was also a noted seat of learning. Maulānā Kamāluddīn Abdur Razzāk who visited India in 845 A.D. records in his *Maṭla'us-sa'dain*, that there was a large number of girls skilled in music. The quarters of these girls were to be noticed near each gate of the city. For the proper education of women of the royal palace, in this fine art, on the walls of halls different poses of dance were engraved and portrayed. The designs of those panels showed the positions at the end of dances. This was to teach the women so that if they forgot the position in which they had to remain, they might look at one of the panels where the end of the dance was depicted. (*Narrative of Pae's Foreign Empire*, by Sewell, page 289).

2. Scott's tr. of Firishṭa, page 12.

3. Ibid., page 23.

4. Ibid., page 63.

5. Ibid., page 69.

6. Ibid., page 86.

7. *Basātīnus-Salāṭīn*, pp. 249-50.

8. *Mir'at Sikandari*, page 268.

in commemoration of the historical tragedy of Karbala. Musicians under state patronage made the *merthiā* a vehicle to popularise music. They began to sing poetical lines of *merthiā*. It had soon its desired effect and the music in the form of *soz* and *nauha*, became the order of the day with the *Shī'ah* masses. Then came the celebrated lover of culture and refinement, Wājīd 'Alī Shāh. His musicians were responsible for the introduction of *Tappah* and *Thumri* in music. How far this contribution was an improvement is a matter of controversy and people hold opposed opinions.¹

In Bengal, though we find 'Alīverdī Khān taking no interest in music, still with his successors, Sirajuddaulah, Mīr Ja'far, Mīr Kāsim and all the grandees of the State, music was the principal source of amusement. The interest in music and dance was carried even to the camps of war and often at the expense of official duties!² In recent decades, since the rise of the Faraidī movement³ in the middle of the nineteenth century A.D., music has been completely stamped out from Eastern Bengal. But in Western Bengal Murshidabad still displays its old interest in music, and boasts of some excellent musicians.

In a word, the Musalmans displayed such zeal for this fine art that within a few centuries they monopolised it, and today in almost all the noted durbars of Indian States which have survived down to our own time, musicians in service are mostly Muslims. A casual observer might even be tempted to think it an art of the Musalmans only.

S. N. HAIDAR RIZVI.

1. *Guzashtā Lucknow* by Maulānā Abdul Ḥalīm Sharar, gives a contemporary and detailed account.

2. *Siyar*, Vol. I, (pers. text), page 221, Cat. Ed.

3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal* for 1896 and 98, article by Mr. J. P. Wise.

TWO HISTORICAL LETTERS OF THE GREAT ĀṢAF JĀH I

I

LETTER FROM NIZĀM-UL-MULK ĀṢAF JĀH I TO SAWAI JAI SINGH II
OF JAIPUR

(Āṣaf Jāh protests his loyalty to the Delhi throne)

FORMERLY you repeatedly wrote to me about the increase of your dignity and that of the Maharana, and about the spreading of the Marathas and their plundering of the countries of Rāmpurā and Khādaoda and their arrival on the frontier of Bundi and Kotā, near your own territory. These misguided people have spread through the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, and the harm and loss that they have inflicted on the peasantry are too well known to need my writing about it. It has been reported to the Emperor that these people raid Gujarat and Malwa at my suggestion and instigation. The Emperor has repeatedly sent me his royal letters to prevent this.

All the necessary exertion in this matter I have performed. And I have again and again written to Sāhū (Rājah) giving him the counsel that it was not good that the Marathas should go out to plunder the countries of Malwa and Gujarat, but that it was displeasing to the Emperor—so that Sāhū should urge his troops not to cross the Narmada. Although he was thus pressed and threatened, nothing at all resulted from it, and the soldiers of Sāhū, who do not listen to his words nor are under anybody's control, did not give up their raids.

Therefore, with a view to carrying out the Emperor's order, pleasing you my friend, and increasing your power and that of the Maharana, I have, with God's help, called to my side Rajah Sambhaji [of Kolhapur]—who is Sāhū's rival—conciliated him and engaged [him] in punishing and destroying Sāhū. Sultaṇji Rao [Nimbalkar], who was the General (*Sar-i-Lashkar*) of the enemy's army, came and saw me, and was appointed to command Rajah Sambhaji's army. By the grace of God I am hopeful that other partisans of Sāhū will desert him for my side and his party will come to an end according to our heart's desire.

When after my fight with Mubārīz Khān [at Shakarkheda, October 1724], in the course of making a settlement of the Subah of Haidarabad, my army marched towards Chicacole, Bengal being very near that place, all my followers were urging me thus: "Your enemies, out of their selfishness and greed, have made false charges against you to the Emperor, and they are not refraining from their hostility to you and obstruction of

your work. Now is the opportunity ; quickly go to Bengal and seize that province." Many similar steps were suggested to me.

As my sole aim is to be a loyal and devoted servant of His Majesty, I did not admit such a project even to my mind—not to speak of carrying it out.

As at this time autograph letters of the Emperor have repeatedly reached me telling me to chastise Sāhū and solemnly promising and vowing that in every event the imperial troops would be sent to assist me and that His Majesty would not at all allow the mischievous obstruction and false suggestions of my enemies to influence him, I have—solely in order to please the Emperor and silence the tongues of my enemies and put them to shame—taken on my shoulders this grand enterprise, greater than which nothing can, in the estimation of the Emperor, be a proof of my truthfulness, loyalty and devotion. If it were not so, it would be highly inexpedient for me to make a rupture with the Marathas at a time like this. In spite of the fact that in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb and former reigns, the Marathas did not possess so much strength and predominance, what vast amounts of treasure were then spent in the wars between these two sides, and how many high Rajahs, mansabdars paid in cash or by jagir, and war material were employed ! And now that the Marathas have permanently planted their predatory claws in all the imperial territory and their strength and power have increased beyond all limit, I have challenged them to battle solely out of reliance on the grace of God and the Emperor's favour and aid.

II

LETTER FROM ĀṢAF JĀH I TO ABDUN NABĪ KHĀN

THE accursed Baji Rao, finding the province of Gujarat unoccupied by defenders, laid siege to Baroda, a city that is in the hands of dispersed¹ (*i.e.*, mutually antagonistic) people.

I reflected that if, God avert it, this rebel got Baroda, it would be a great disgrace and loss, and our work would be ruined while his intrigues would become perpetual in that subah and the ways of the followers of Islam would be completely upset. Therefore, out of the spirit and pride of Islam and fidelity to [the Emperor's] salt, I decided upon this religious duty, that after crossing the Narmada I should engage at full gallop in rooting this dark-natured wretch out, and thus perform the tasks of holy war (*jihād*) in cutting off the roots of disturbance. Immediately on hearing rumours of the approach of the Islamic army by way of Ali Mohan, the wretch, casting off all at once his plans of dominion, withdrew from the siege [of Baroda] and with a view to interposing a long distance between

1. "فرقه مو ذبه" (cf. Persian text) means wicked sect. (Ed., I.C.).

the Islamic army and the rebel horde, in terror of the Muhammadan army, and in utter bewilderment, at midnight quickly crossed the Narmada and entered the limits of the Deccan. Through his short sight, seeing that the Muslim army was very distant from him, he began to disturb the pargana of Ankleswar and plundered and burnt the country, dry and irrigated alike.

Therefore, this follower of Muṣṭafa's precepts [*i.e.*, Āṣaf Jāh] from the ford of Akbarpur, near the fort of Mandu, sent off his baggage and camp with the big guns to Burhanpur, and by favour of the strength and power of God, with great rapidity and in a short time I arrived at Nandurbar; a second time disburdened myself by leaving there other surplus baggage and artillery, which were hindering my rapid marching in spite of their being necessary things, and by forced marches reached the environs of Surat in a few days.

As they hindered the rapidity of our marching, I, for the third time, left all my light guns also, with other belongings, at the village of Kathor [opposite Kamrej]. Our army, making many stages in light kit, arrived near the enemy's horde, after performing great exertions, traversing long distances, and enduring hunger and thirst, owing to the failure of transport animals and porters—because for two or three successive days little food came to hand and we had often to traverse waterless deserts and wildernesses, hills and declivities, difficult of passage.

We surprised the Marathas in their negligence and ignorance of our whereabouts, and they fled away in the utmost disorder. The dead were countless. Our troops made spoil of their property. The Marathas never turned their faces towards us, but fled. During their confused flight they were plundered by the Kolis and Bhils in the jungles and deserts; especially at night when the rebels lost their way, much booty fell into their (Bhils' and Kolis') hands and the wretches suffered total losses.

The Marathas, when fleeing in terror, had to cross an arm of the sea, when many of them were drowned in the water and some, after abandoning their horses to destruction in the creek, themselves fled away half-dead. At the time of their arrival in a dark night on the bank of the creek the strange fate overtook them that their front ranks were slain by the waves and their rear by my soldiers.

To put it briefly, the Islamic army from the Akbarpur ferry (near Mandu), by forced marches traversing the wilderness of Khandesh, Surat and Konkan, owing to the abundance of trees, seldom found any path to take, but just in the nick of time arrived near Surat and drove the Marathas away to the neighbourhood of Daman, which is a Portuguese possession and a city of Konkan or the extreme western limit of the Deccan; and these beasts, like ants and snakes took refuge in narrow places with dense trees and strait paths into which the imagination cannot penetrate.

Therefore, I turned my reins to the left side of the path of these wretches, intending to fall upon them as soon as they entered Balaghat

from Tal Konkan and to chastise them at the right time. The subah of Gujarat has been freed from the disturbances created by Baji Rao, and the subah of Malwa too has remained safe from that wretch's mischief-making, and the holy port (Surat)—which is "the gate to the House of Allāh" and the place of embarkation for the pilgrims to the holy cities (of Islam),—has been saved from falling into the clutches of the villain. If my Ghāzīs (warriors in the cause of Islam) had not made such extreme exertions, the holy port would have fallen into the possession of the rebel and the gate to the House of Allāh would have been closed, the Muslims would have been excluded from pilgrimage to the House of Khudā, and total loss would have fallen on the imperial Government. But through the auspiciousness of the efforts of the holy warriors the villains have been crushed, the cities have remained safe, and the cursed one (Baji Rao) in the utmost humiliation has fled away.¹

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از طرف نواب آصف جاه نظام الملك بهادر

بخدمت مہاراجہ سوای جی سنگھ

ہواغالب

سابق مکرر رتبہ افزائی دولت مہارانا جیو و آن منبع الشان بلند مکان و انتشار مرہٹہ در حدود و تاخت و تاراج نمودن ملک رامپورہ و خادودہ و رسیدن آنها بسرحد ہوندی و کوٹہ کہ از آنجا سرحد ملک آن سموالکآن قریب است نوشتہ بودند - جامعہ ضالہ در صوبہ مالوا و گجرات آوارہ شدہ است - آسیب و اذیت کہ بحال رعایا می رسانیدند از غایت اشتہار احتیاج بنوشتن نیست - ذہن نشین مردم حضور پر نور شدہ بود کہ این جامعہ باشارہ و ایمائی این جانب در گجرات و مالوا انتشار می نمایند

1. This campaign of Āṣaf Jāh I is described only in *Mira't-i-Aḥmadī* (Baroda ed. ii., 134-135) and in a few lines. The route and dates of Baji Rao's movements are given in his itinerary as printed in Marathi in Vad's *Selections from the Peshwa's Diaries*, Balaji Baji Rao, Vol. II. p. 232. From this latter source we learn that Baji Rao I came from Maharashtra through Baglan, Baswada and the Surat district (6-29th Dec. 1730), crossed the Baba Piara Ghat to the north bank of the Narbada (on 1st. Jan. 1731), raided the Baroda pargana (7-17th Jan.), then crossed the Mahi river to Nadiad, Kaira, Ahmadabad (Haveli), Modha, Kapadbhaj, and Thasra (18th. March), next recrossed the Mahi to Godhār, Savli, Dabhoi, Antoli and Baroda (being near Baroda fort, then defended by Barmaji, the brother of Pilaji Gaekwad, 7-9th April), recrossed the Narbada at the Baba Piara ford, (10th April), passed through Ratanpur (11th April), and the Broach district (12-28th April), and finally reached Poona on 14th May.

Hence the date of the present letter is circa 3rd May 1731.

فرامین و احکام مطاعه در سدّ این باب متواتر شرف صدور یافت - و آنچه لازمه سعی و کوشش بود درین باب بتقدیم رسید - و ساهو مکرر به نط و نصیحت نوشته شد که رفتن مرهئه برای نهیب و غارت نمودن ملک مالوا و گجرات خوب نیست ، خلاف مرضی مقدس است ، بافواج خود تاکید نماید که دریای نریده عبور نکنند - هر چند تاکید و تهدید کرده شد اصلا بعمل نیامد - و افواج ساهو که درگفته او و در اختیار هیچ کس نیستند ممنوع نشدند -

بنا بر اطاعت حکم والا و پاس خاطر محبت مائر و پایه افزائی شوکت مهارانا و آن منبع الشان بعون عنایت الهی راجه سنبهاجی را که مدعی ساهوست باستالت پیش خود طلب داشته به تنبیه و استیصال ساهو پرداخته شد - سلطانجی راو که سرلشکر فوج مخالف بود آمده ملاقات نمود - برلشکر راجه سنبهاجی مقرر نموده شد - بعنایت الهی امید است که رفقای دیگر ساهو جدا شده بیاوند و سلک جمعیتش گسیخته شود و بفضل الهی کار حسب دلتخواه صورت یابد -

بعد جنگ مبارز خان که بتقریب بندوبست صوبه حیدرآباد فوج ظفرموج بسمت شیکا کول عازم شده بود از آنجا بنگاله نزدیک و قریب بود - مردم همه بحد شده بودند که مخالفان برای غرض و گرمی بازار خود سخنان دروغ بعرض بادشاه رسانیده اند - قابوی خوبست زود به بنگاله رسیده بضبط آن پرداخته شود - و همچنین مقدمات بسیار درمیان آمده - از آنجا که همت نیت مصروف بر دولتخواهی و فدویت جناب والا بود اصلا این خطر مخاطر خطور نکرد ، تا بوقوع چه رسد ؟

بنابراین که درین ایام متواتر فرامین بدستخط خاص درباب تنبیه ساهو وعهد و پیمان و قسم که در همه باب امداد و اعانت لشکر ظفر اثر خواهد شد و کار شکنی و اغوای مردم به هیچ وجه بعمل نخواهد آمد ، محض پیاس مرضی مبارک و بند ساختن زبان مخالفان و شرمندگی ساختن آنها ، این قسم مهم عمده را التزام نموده شد که بالاتر ازین دلیل بر صدق اخلاص و فدویت این جانب در خیال والا نمی باشد ، والا در همچو اوقات با مرهئه برهم زدن بصلاح مناسب نبود - با وصف این که در عهد خلد مکان و عهد سابقه این قدر قوت و استقلال و کثرت نداشت - چه قدر خزاین صرف بکارهای این جانبین و راجه های عمده از منصبداران نقدی و جاگیردار و مصلح در خور کار تعیین بوده اند - الحال مرهئه رگ و ریش فساد در همه ملک قائم نموده زور و قوت آنها از حد افزوده بود - محض نظر بر افضال الهی و عنایات و اعانت بادشاهی است -

(۲)

خط نواب آصف جاه بنام عبدالنبي

باجی راو شقی.....عرصه صوبه گجرات را خالی دیده بروده که در قبضه تصرف فرقه موزیه است محاصره کرده بود - نظر بر این که خدا نه کرده اگر بروده بتصرف آن مدیر درآید اشد و اقبح است و کار ضایع می شود و ریشه فساد در آن صوبه استحکام می پذیرد و فتور کلی در شعار ملت احمدی راه می یابد * بغیرت و حمیت اسلام و پاس حق نمک عزیمت این ناهج منهج شریعت غرا مصمم ساخته بود که از دریای نریده عبور نموده جلو ریز باستیصال آن ظلمت سرشت پردازد و مراسم جهاد ولوازم قلع ریشه فساد بتقدیم آید ، که مدیر باستماع آمد (؟) لشکر اسلام از راه الی موهان سرشته استقلال یک قلم از کف داده، دست از محاصره کشیده، باین نیت که از لشکر اسلام تا انبوه مدیران فصل بعد بمیان آید ، مقهور که در تسخیر بروده استحکام تها نه مسطور [مشغول بود] نیم شب از هول و هراس جنود محمدی دست و پا گم کرده بسرعت از نریده گذشته بمحدود دکهن در آمد ، و از کوته اندیشی لشکر اسلام را دور دیده در پرتکات انکلیس رابت فتنه و فساد بر افراشت ، و نا ثره جور و ستم را مشتعل ساخته تر و خشک را بر آتش پندار (ها) می سوخت -

لهذا این پیرو سن مصطفوی از گذر اکبر پور که متصل قلعه ماندوست بهیر و بنگه را باتوپ های کلان به برهانیپور فرستاده بحول و قوه الهی باستعجال کثیر در مدت قلیل خود را به ندر بار رسانیده اشیای زیادی دیگر ولوازم آتش خانه زاید که با وصف ضرورت مختل و مانع طی مراحل بود ، ثانیاً در آنجا گذاشته بطریق ایلغار در اندک فرصتی بحوالی بندر مبارک سورت رسید ، و از وفق احترازی که در ایلغار بود تنمّه توپ خانه سبک را نیز که مانع سرعت سیر بود ثالثاً بالتمام باشیای دیگر در موضع کاتور گذاشته شد -

لشکر اسلام بمجد و جهد و تحمل مسافت و محق گرانی و کرسنگی و از کار رفتن مراکب و باربرداری لآبدی که دو روز سه روز قوت لایموت کم دست بهم می داد ، و اکثر اوقات از دشت و بیابان گم آب و جبال و عقاب دشوار گذار عبور و مرور اتفاق می افتاد ، جریده و سبک بعد قطع مراحل نزدیک با انبوه مدیران رسید - تیره بختان از سرعت مجاهدان در عین بی خبری بغتة آشوب قیامت کلمح البصر بلوا قرب دیده دفعه از خواب مرگ غفلت جسته مانند اموات بنفخ صور خبر وحشت اثر آمدن عساکر اسلام اقتان و خیزان ، من بعثنا من مرقدا گویان رو بعرضات هزیمت و فرار آوردند ، و ندای جانگداز ”هذا ما وعد الرحمن و صدق المرسلون“ از عالم غیب شنیده شد - شورش

که شور قیامت بیاد رفت ، بصولت و سطوت مجاهدان ارشد بسرعت و اضطرابی که در عین فرار لیل و نهار از آن فریق تیره روزگار ظهور می نمود نعبه امارات ساعت و ساعات و علامات حشر در انبوه آن خسران الارض معانته می شد - از فرط وداد و گرمی بازار حشر و فرار ماده های آتشین بجه می انداختند - و در اثناء تعاقب بجه تازه از شکم مادیان برآمده مرده بسیار و بی شمار در مشاهده آمد -

پیش قدمان عرصه نبرد تیز جلوی کرده بآنها رسید و اخذ غنائم میکردند ، و مدبران از بس که مغلوب قهر الهی بودند رو باین طرف نمی کردند و عار فرار را ذریعه نجات خود می دانستند - در تشویش فرار کولیان و بهیلان بجنگل و بیابان در شهر (؟ لشکر) ادبار نصیبان درآمده دست برده های نمایان کردند - خصوص بشبها که گمراهان سراسیمه می رفتند و راهها گم می کردند غنائم متکثره بدست آنها افتاده و خسارت های کلی بعد بران عاید شد - اولئك هم الخاسرون چنان از بیم ستیز و آویز در اثناء گربزراه مغار دریای شور رسیده از شدت هول و هراس دم ازدهای شمشیر غازیان که مثل عصای موسوی باطل السحر و کید سامری نزدان است ، مانند فرعون و فرعونیان خود را به آب می زدند و غریق می گشتند - برخی اسپان را در غرقاب هلاک گذاشته نیم جانی سلامت می بردند - هنگام ورود آنها در شب تاری برکنار شعاب مذکور حالت عجیبی رو می داد که پیش رو آنها موج لجج مرک بود ، و از پی سر افواج قاهره مستعد طعنی و ضرب -

ملخص کلام این که لشکر اسلام از گذرا کبر پور نواح ماند و بطریق ایلغار از دشت و صحرای خاندیس و سورت و کوکن از تراکم اشجار راه مرور کمتر داشت در نواح بندر مبارک بسر وقت مدبران کفار تیره درون را پیشرو انداخته بسواد دمن ، که از مسافات فرنگ و بلاد کوکن که منتهای حدود غربی دکن است رسانیده و آن بهایم سیرتان مانند مور و مار و سایر حشرات الارض از شدت تراکم اشجار و ضیق طریق در تنگ نای که مجال جولان خیال نبود ، خزیدند -

لهذا عنان عزیمت بجانب یسار سمت فرار آن فرقه تیره روزگار منعطف گردید که از طریق وسیعه هنگامی که از تل کوکن به بالاگهات برآید بحول و قوت قوی مطلق بسر وقت مدبران رسیده تنبیه پردازد - صوبه گجرات از فتنه باجی راو تهی گشت و صوبه مالوا نیز از شرشی مزبور مصئون ماند ، و از بندر مبارک که باب بیت الله و معبر زائران حرمین الشریفین است ، دست تسخیر و تصرف مفسده کوتاه شد - اگر مساعی موفوره غازیان معرکه آرا ظهور نه می شد بندر

مبارك به تصرف مدبر می رفت و باب بیت الله مسدود می شد، و محمدیان از زیارت خانه خدا محروم می ماندند، و خسارت کلی به سرکار والا عاید می شد -

به برکات کوشش مجاهدان مفسد زایل شد و اماکن محفوظ ماند - و شقی در کمال ذلت و خواری و خفت و ننگون ساری گریخت - مرید قدرت خاك تیره مذلت بر سر [sic.] او دل ساحش

JADUNATH SARKAR.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN- ENGLISH VOCABULARY

د

داد

داد جستن : “ To exact justice.” (M., II, 533).

شیخ را گفتند داد جان ما توازین صوفی بجوای پیشوا

They said to the Shaikh, “Exact justice for our souls from this Şūfī, O, chief.”

In Sh. N., III, 1459 is used apparently in the sense of باعدل
“ Keeping the mean course,” in which is perfection : “ inclining neither
to افراط “ excess,” nor to تفریط “ deficiency.” (Sh. N., III, 1459).

همه دانش او راست و ما بنده ایم که کهنده وهم فزاینده ایم
جهاندار یزدان بود داد راست که نفزود در پادشاهی نکاست

All wisdom is His, and we are (but) his slaves, for we diminish and also increase.

God, the maintainer of the world, keeps the mean course, for he neither increases nor diminishes in His Dominion.

—“ Justice.” (Sh. N., IV, 1876).

گرایدوں که این پادشاهی مراست پرستنده باشیم و با داد راست

If this sovereignty is (to continue) mine, I will be your worshipper and (act) with justice.

دارنده : “ The Possessor, the Holder (of all), God.” (Sh. N., IV, 1874).

جهان جوی و گردی و یزدان پرست مداراد دارنده باز از تو دست

You are ambitious of conquest, a hero, and a worshipper of God. May the Possessor (of all) withhold not His hand from you.

[Words of Khusrau Parvīz to Bahrām-e Chūbīn].

داستان

داستان زدن : "To consider, to discuss." (Sh. N., IV, 1849).

بفرمان او پس زباں برکشاد سخنبا یکایک همه کرد یاد
بدو شاه گفت این چه شاید بدن همه داستانها ببايد زدن

At his command he began to speak : he narrated all the matters in detail.

The King said to him, "What can this be ? All this must be considered."

—(Sh. N., IV, 1915).

که با موبد نیک دل پاکرای زدیم از بد و نیک هر گونه رای
زهر گونه داستانها زدیم براں رای پیشینه باز آمدم

As to the good and bad, in every way, I have consulted with a benevolent Mūbid of good judgment.

We have discussed (the matter) in every wise ; we have gone back upon our former judgment.

—(with prep. به) : "To speak" (of), (in sense of "to count upon"). (Sh. N., I, 443).

چوئیتی تپی مانداز داستان تو ایدر بیودن مزن داستان

Since the world has become void of the good, do not speak of your remaining here.

داشتن

داشتن : "To represent." (Sh. N., IV., 1758, and 1760).

1758 :

زکار آگاهان موبدی نیکخواه چنان بد که برداشت روزے بشاه
که گاهی گنه بگذرانی همی بیدنام آن کس نخوانی همی
همان را دگر باره آویزش است گنه گار اگر چند با پوزش است

It happened that a faithful Mūbid, an experienced reporter, one day, represented to the King :

At one time you pass over an offence, you do not make ill mention of the author of it.

(But) on another occasion (a person) is held responsible for it (by you) however much he, the offender, offer excuses."

1760:

دگر باره برداشت مرد می پشاه ز شاهان دگرگونه خواهد سپاه
کدامست کو بایدت روز جنگ ز شیران اسپ افکن تیز جنگ

Again, a certain man represented that the King willed his army to be different from those of other Kings.

"What sharp-clawed lions must you have," (said he), "tamers of horses, on the day of battle?"

داغ: "Affliction, trouble." (Cf. داغ داشتن in Steingass).

—A "blemish." (Cf. داغدار in Steingass).

دامن زن (with i'zāfat): "Fanning", (e.g., fire or flames). (Zend Dynasty by 'Alī Rizā. ed. Beer. p. 40).

جعفر خاں بعد از ورود بشیراز اورا احضار و مشارالیه باقامه معاذیر چند در ورود تعلل می نمود
این معنی دامن زن آتش غضب جعفر خاں شده

Ja'far Khān after his arrival at Shīrāz summoned the above-named personage, but the latter by advancing various excuses managed to put off his coming, and this fanned the fire of Ja'far Khān's anger.

دانا دل (as): A "learned, or wise man." (Sh. N., IV, 2017).

ازان مرز دانا سری را بجست که او پهلوانی بخواند درست

He sought a learned man of that country, (i.e., Persia), who could read Pahlavi well.

دانش

دانشی (as adjective): "Learned," or "wise." (Sh. N., II, 503).

پس آنگاه پیران فرستاده یکی دانشی مرد آزاده
فرستاد تا آورد شاه را فرستاده ببرید آن راه را

Then Pirān sent an envoy, a wise man of noble character,

(With instructions) to bring the Prince; and the envoy travelled on his road.

داور

داوری : "Contention, case in dispute." (Sh. N., III, 1483).

کنون این که گفتیم پاسخ دهید دریں داوری رأی فرخ دهید

Now give an answer to what I have proposed : offer a happy opinion in this disputed case.

[Bahrām Gūr, contesting the succession with a usurper, has proposed that the crown should be his who dares to take it from between two lions]

—A "case," a "matter." (Sh. N., I, 462).

تو دانی که من دوستدار توام بهر نیک و بد ویژه یار توام
نباید که فردا گمانے بری که من بودم آگه ازیں داوری

You know that I am your friend : in all good or bad (fortune) I am your special associate.

I should not wish you to have afterwards any suspicion that I was aware of this matter.

[Garsivaz has been sent by his brother Afrāsiyāb to bring Siyāvash before him. The Turanian King is simply suspicious, and there is no case "in dispute"].

دخول : Used in sense of مدخل "Mode of conduct ;" (as it were, "entering" upon business), in Maṣnavī, II, 428.

شب بخواب اندر بگفتش هاتنی که خریدی آب حیوان و شنی
حرمت این اختیار و این دخول شد نماز جمله خلقت قبول

At night, in sleep, a voice from Heaven said to him, "You have bought The Water of Life, and spiritual restoration.

(In) honour of this choice and this mode of conduct (of yours), the prayers of all the people have found acceptance.

—"An approach towards, an introduction to." (M., II, 359).

آن بهاران مضمهرست اندر خزان در بهارست آن خزان مگریز ازان

That spring is involved in autumn : that autumn is an introduction to the spring ; flee not from it.

—"For, with a view to, for the purpose of." (M., II, 375).

رجف کرد اندر هلاک هر دعی فهم کرد از حق که یا ارض ابلعی

(The earth) has quaked for the destruction of every villain ; and it understood (the command) of God, "*O earth, swallow up thy water.*"

[The verse refers to the engulfing of Korah, and to the subsidence of the waters of the Flood].

—(M., II, 452) :

پس زمین تیره را دانی که چند دیدن و تمیز باید در پسند

Then you may know how much looking and discrimination the dark earth requires for the purpose of (its gaining your) approval.

[Cf. the *Ḳur'ān*, LXVII., 3).

—"For, from, instead of." (Ch. M., p. 162).

باعت فارسی زبانان که الف را قلب بیا کنند چون حجاز و رکیب و احتریز در حجاز و رکب و احتراز و نحوآن.

According to the usage of Persians, who convert 'Alif' into 'Yā ;' as *hijēz*, or *rikēb*, or *ihtirēz* for *hijāz*, or *rikāb*, or *ihtirāz*, and so on.

دراز

دراز شدن : "To become difficult." (*Sh. N.*, II., 522).

بدو گفت کیخسرو ای رزم ساز کنون کار من بر تو بر شد دراز

Kaikhusrāu said to (*Gīv*), "O warrior, my business has now become difficult for you."

[*Pīrān*, the *Vazīr* and general of *Afrāsiyāb*, with an army, has overtaken *Kaikhusrāu*, who has only *Gīv*, the Persian hero, to defend him. The business is evidently not "long" but "difficult."

Cf. too کار دراز کردن (*Steingass*).

استادن : "To set to work." See under

آمدن : "To turn out, to happen to be." See

آوردن : "To translate." See

دربار : (*dur-bār*) : Raining pearls." (*M.*, II).

خوردن : See under خوردن.

درد

دردخوردن : "To endure pain ;" (e.g., through manliness). (*Sh. N.*, I, 356).

بزد گرز و آورد کتفش بدرد بپچید و درد از دلیری نخورد

He struck him with the mace and hurt his shoulder. He suffered pain, but endured it with manliness.

درد افتادن (with prep. به) : For "pain to affect;" (e.g., the body). (M. I, 549).

این جنین مرا آن جنین را سجده کرد کز سجودش در تنم افتاد درد

This embryo inclined in worship before that embryo, so that pain affected my body through that inclination.

درد آمدن (with prep. به) : For "pain to affect;" (e.g., the body). (M. I., 471, 2.).

گفت پشتم درد می آید عظیم : : : : : : :
گفت از پیریت ای شیخ نزار : : : : : : :

(The old man) continued, "Severe pain affects my back." (The physician) said, " (That too) is from age, O attenuated old man."

[I am understanding به before پشت in accordance with the T. Com., who renders کلودر درد و الم ارقمه عظیم otherwise به might be understood before درد].

درد دل کردن (or زدن or گفتن) : "To lament." (Vullers).

درس

درس گو : A "teacher." (M., II., 499).

آدم انبئهم بأسماء درس گو شرح ده اسرار حق را موبو

(Adam was) a teacher (as enjoined by the words), "Adam, inform them of the names (of all things), an explainer, he, in detail of the secrets of God."

[I agree with the H. Com., against the T. Com., that درس گو is here a compound noun and not an imperative].

درس گفتن (or دادن) : "To teach." (Steingass).

درس داشتن : "To teach." (Ch. M., p. 137).

.... خاصه مردے چون بو حنیفه که کمتر فضل وے شعراست و بے اجرے و مشاھرہ درس
ادب و علم داد

Especially a man like Bū-Ḥanīfa (Iskāfī), whose least accomplishment is poetry, and who without emolument or pay teaches literature and learning.

درس خواندن (or گرفتن) : "To learn." (Steingass has "to teach").

درست

درست آمدن : “ To strike as true.” (Sh. N, I, 458).

چو افراسیاب این سخن باز جست همه گفت گرسیوز آمد درست

When Afrāsiyāb had considered this matter, all that Garsivaz had said struck him as true.

درست بودن (with دا of person) : For one “ to be sure or convinced ” of a thing. (Sh. N., IV, 1739).

مرا این درست است کز پند من تو دوری و دوری زپيوند من

I am convinced of this that you are averse to my counsel and to union with me.

درست شدن (with, e.g., بدست کسی) : “ To be well achieved ” (by). (D. Sh., p. 21).

وفردوسی را بنظم شاهنامه ایماء و اشارات می کرده که این کار بدست تو خواهد شد.

And (Asadī) went on suggesting to Firdausī that he should compose the Shāh Nāma, saying that the work would be well achieved by him.

—(with prep. بر) : “ To be established or proved ” (against). “ To be fixed ” (upon). (Sh. N., I, 393).

بکاؤس گویم که این از منست چنین کشته بر دست اهریمنست
مگر کاین شود بر سیاوش درست کنون چاره این ببا یدت جست

I will tell Kā'ūs that this infant is mine ; that it has been killed so by Ahriman.

Per chance this may be fixed upon Siyāvash ;—now you must effect this (for me).

—(or درست گشتن) (with دا) : “ To be settled ” (by). (Sh. N., I, 457).

سه روز اندرین کار دای آوریم سخنهای بهتر بجای آوریم
چو این کار گردد خرد را درست سرشته آنگاه بایدت جست

Let us deliberate for three days upon this matter, and advance the best arguments (we can).

When the matter has been settled (in our minds) as wisdom dictates, then you must seek some means (of dealing with it).

[Lit., “ has been settled by wisdom”].

کردن : “To ascertain.” (Sh. N., IV, 1836).

ز ایرانیان هر که نزدیک تست که کردی بدل راستی شان درست
بدی نامه در نام ایشان ببر زرنجی که بردند یابند بر

Whatever Persians there are with you whose loyalty you have ascertained in your heart—

Inscribe their names in your letter, that they may gain the fruit of the toil they have borne.

—“To follow,” (in the sense of “to trace out”). (Sh. N., III, 1480).

همین پادشاهی که میراث تست پدر بر پدر کرد شاید درست

This sovereignty which is your inheritance can be traced out through father to father.

(. درشتی See “Robust, burly.” : درشت

Robustness, burliness.” (Gulistān, I, 15). : درشتی

اے کہ شخصے منت حقیر نمود تا درشتی هنر نپنداری

O you, to whom my person appeared mean, beware of taking burliness as merit.

[“Merit,” هنر here “military merit, bravery.” Cf. the L. “virtus”].

شکستن : “To be fused or mingled together.” (Cf. در شکستن). See under شکستن.

درفش

شدن : “To become notorious.” (Cf. علم شدن). (Sh. N., I, 457).

برو بر بهانه ندارم بید گراز من بدو اندکی بد رسد
زبان برکشایند بر من مهان درفش شوم در میان جهان

I could not allege against him any evil deed ; if I should do him any ill.

The great men would be loud in blame of me, I should become notorious throughout the world.

کشیدن (اندر) در کشیدن : "To withdraw, to retire." See under کشیدن.

کشیدن (در) اندر کشیدن : "To pass," (as time. v. n.). See under کشیدن.

درنگ

درنگ آوردن : "To delay." (Sh. N., II, 515).

فرنگیس گفت اردرنگ آوریم جهان بردل خویش تنگ آوریم

Farangīs said, "If we delay, we shall be reduced to difficulty and distress."

دست

دست باختن (with prep. به) : "To raise one's hand against." (Sh. N., IV, 1796).

میان تنک خوں ریختن را بیست به بهرام آذر مهان باخت دست

He made full ready to shed blood ; he raised his hand against Bahrām Āzar Mahān.

دست بر دست گذاشتن : "To pass from hand to hand." (Sh. N., IV, 2002).

چو موبد چنین گفت برداشتند همه دست بر دست بگذاشتند

When the Mūbid had spoken thus, they took up (the bowl), and all passed it from hand to hand.

دست بردن (with prep. به) : "To touch, handle." (Sh. N., IV, 1754).

بدین درج و این قفل نابرده دست نهفته بگویند چیزی که هست

Without touching this casket or the lock, let them say what thing is concealed in it.

—(with prep. به) : "To treat with violence." (Sh. N., I, 339).

بگیرش ببر زنده بردار کن وزو نیز مکشای با من سخن

زگفتار او گیورا دل بنخست که برده برستم بدین گونه دست

(The King shouted), "Seize him, take him off, and put him living on the cross ; and henceforth speak not of him to me."

At his words Giv's heart was wounded—that he should treat Rustam with such violence.

نشستی کنون در دثری چون زنان پراز خون دل و دست بر سر زدن (بسر بر زدن) دست بر سر زدن : “To be perturbed, dismayed.” (Sh. N., IV, 1834).

نشستی کنون در دثری چون زنان پراز خون دل و دست بر سر زدن

Now, like a woman you have settled down in a stronghold, with heart afflicted and (with mind) perturbed.

دست بهم دادن : “To be joined together.” (H. T., p. 309).

دست زدن (with prep. به or بر) : “To touch.”

دست رسیدن (as میسر شدن) (with با or به of the person): “To be possible,” “(for one) to have the power.” (M., II, 352).

گفت حق تست بزین دست رسید این سزای آنکه از یاران برید

He responded, “You are right ; beat me ; you have got the power (to do so). This (is) the fit requital for him who separates from (his) friends.”

دست ساویدن (with prep. با) : “To engage” (in). v. n. (Sh. N., IV, 2014).

مسا ئید با آرز و با کینه دست بمنزل مکن جائیگاه و نشست

Do not engage in greed or hostility ; do not take up your abode and settle in a caravansera.

دست سودن and دست ساویدن : See سائیدن

(دست ساویدن See too) : (Sائیدن) دست سودن (Sh. N., IV, 1911).

بچیزی که بر ما نیاید شکست بکوشید با او بسائید دست

Use effort and engage in matters so far as I may not suffer detriment.

دست گشادن : “To take in hand” (any matter). (Sh. N., I, 386).

کنون از بزرگان زنی برگزین نگه کن پس پرده کی نشین
بخان کی آرش دگر نیز هست ز هرسو بیادای و بگشای دست

“Choose now a wife from those who are great ; sit behind the curtain of the King and look.

“There are others too in the palace of Kai Ārash—settle (the matter) and take it in hand from any quarter (you will).

[Kai Ārash was a younger brother of King Kai Kā’ūs, who is speaking here].

———“To exert oneself, to make efforts.” (Sh. N., I).

همه دست بکشی تا یکسره چو گرگ اندر آیند پیش بره

Make all effort, so that (the troops) may suddenly fall (upon them) as wolves upon the lambs.

دستی کردن (with accus.): “To work at, to treat.” (Cf. دستی ساختن in Steingass). (Ch. M., p. 54).

و مشتمل است بر اصول او کتاب او قلیدس نجار که ثابت بن قره دستی کرده است.

And the work of Euclid of Magara which has been treated by Sābit b. Ḳurra, embraces the principles of it (i.e., geometry).

[I am suggesting مجاره or مکاره for نجار since Euclid has been called “Megarensis,” through confusion with the philosopher of the same name, but not a “carpenter”].

دستخوش: “Manipulated, kneaded.” (M., II, 526).

چون نه کامل دکان تنها مگیر دستخوش می باش تا گردی خمیر

When you are not a perfect (master), do not take a shop by yourself alone. Submit to be kneaded, in order that you may become paste.

[See the Maṣnavī, Book II, Translation and Commentary by C. E. Wilson].

دسترس (with prep. به): “Resource” (in). (Sh. N., IV, 1819).

ز پیشین سخن و آنکه گفتی ز پس بکفتار دیدم ترا دسترس

From your previous words and what you have said subsequently, I see that your resource is in speech (alone).

دستگاه

دستگاه وجود: “The outer senses and the inner.”

[For the latter Steingass is defective, see in the present Supplement under حواس].

دغائی: “Filled with sticks and straws or other rubbish.” (M., II, 109).

ظاهر و باطن ندارد حبه مفلسی قلبی دغائی دبه

He has not a single grain, visible or hidden; he is an insolvent, a good-for-nothing, a bag of rubbish.

دفع

دفع گفتن : "To put off with words." (M., II, 439).

دفع شان گفت و بسوی غزو تاخت با دغا یان از دغا نردی بباخ

He put them off with words, and hastened on his expedition. With cheats he played a cheating game of backgammon.

———"To meet one with objections, to make difficulties, to have still something to say." (M., II, 516).

گفت یارب دفع من می گوید او و آن گرفتن را نشان می جوید او

(Shu'ail) exclaimed, "O Lord, he meets me with objections, and seeks signs of that calling to account!"

دفعش : A "precurer of women."

دفعشی : "Precuring women." (Maulānā Umīdī).

کوه دلال و دفعشی بتر بهتر از شاعری و من لائی

Melius est pueris et puellas perducere quam versus condere idem que gloriari.

[The F. Persian-Turkish Dictionary explains by the word پازنک (i.e., pāzanak), but Vullers (followed by Steingass), evidently reading پاژنگ (pāzhang), gives an erroneous interpretation. The F. explains as follows:

دفعش----یعنی پازنک که عورت پازنکه دینلور اوغلان پازنکه کوه دلال دیرلر .

[Vullers reads گوه دلال and منلائی .

دق زدن (as دق گرفتن) (with prep. بر) : "To cast reproach" (upon), "to object" (to). (M., II, 459).

سیناثم چون وسیلت شد بحق پس مزین بر سیناثم هیچ دق

Since my sins have been a means of reaching God, then do not object to my sins.

سیناثم : "To sully one's mind with a dark thought or suspicion." (Sh. N., I, 415).

همه یاقی جنگ خیره مجوی دل رو شنت ز آب تیره مشوی

You have gained everything, do not wantonly seek war ; do not sully your brilliant mind with dark suspicion.

[Rustam is trying to disabuse King Kai Kā'ūs of his suspicions of Siyāvash, his son, and to dissuade him from war with Afrasiyāb who has made friendly overtures].

دل از گرد شستن : "To get clear view of things." (Sh. N., I, 384).

زمانی همی با دل اندیشه کرد بکوشید تا دل بشوید ز گرد
گمانی چنان برد کو را پدر پژوهد همی تا چه دارد بسر

For a time (Siyāvash) set his mind to think ; he tried to get a clear view of the matter.

He had a suspicion that his father (Kāi Kā'ūs) was seeking to fathom what he had in his mind.

دل بستن (with prep. در or به) : "To turn one's mind" (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1913).

بقیصر چنین گفت پس رهنمای که از فیلسوفان پاکیزه رای
بباید تنی چند بیدار دل که بندگان ما درین کار دل

Then the Kaiṣar's adviser thus spoke to him, "Of the philosophers of judgment bright,

Of mind alert, some should be (here), to turn their minds with us to this affair."

دل خون شدن : For "the heart to perish, to die within one," (from terror). (M., II, 86).

شیر گفت ار دوشنی افزون شدی زهره اش بدردیدی و دل خون شدی

The lion said, "If the light were increased, he would be terrified, and his heart would die within him."

دل گرفتن : "To get impatient." (H. I, p. 307).

دل بجای داشتن "To have one's wits about one." (Sh. N., I, 485).

بدو گفت کاین دل ندارد بجای ز سر پر سمش پاسخ آرد ز پای

He said to him, "This person has not his wits about him ; I ask him about 'head' and he answers about 'foot.'"

نور دل (The intellectual faculty) (قوت عاقله). (Lit. "the light of the heart or mind"). (M. I, 252).

نور نور چشم خود نور دلست نور چشم از نور دلها حاصلست
باز نور نور دل نور خداست کوز نور عقل و حس پاک و خداست

The light of the light of the eyes is the light of the mind ; the light of the eyes is derived from the light of the mind.

Again, the light of the light of mind is the Light of God, which is clear of the light of intellect and sense and separate from it.

[Turkish Commentator : نور دل که قوت عاقله در اکا نور خدا منظم او لقزین هر انسانده وار در دون المجانین استعدادلری مقداری .

The light of the mind, which is the intellectual faculty, though without the addition of the Light of God, is present in all men, except the insane, according to the extent of their capacity].

دلالت

بدلالت (ba-dalālat-e) : "Under the guidance of, led by, actuated by." ('A. M., p. 103).

معنی تواجد استدعا و استجلاب و خداست بطریق تذکر یا تفکر یا تشبه باهل و جد در حرکات و سکات بدلالت صدق .

For translation see under تشبه (tashabbuh).

دم (dam)

دم : "Words." *Passim*.

— "Spirit and fire." (See باد و دم).

دم رستخیز : "The ferment of the Resurrection."

دم زدن (with prep. از or without the prep.) : "To boast" (of). (Vullers). Steingass omits government of verb.

دم شمردن (with prep. بر) : "To count the breaths of any one's life ; i.e., to give him short respite. (Sh. N., II, 523).

یکی داستان زد هر بر ثیان که چون برگوزنی سرآید زمان
زمانه برودم همی بشمرد بیاید که بر شیر نر بگذرد

A fierce lion has said, "When time is coming to a close for a stag, Fate gives it short respite: it comes upon the male lion in its passage."

دمگیری : "Difficulty of breathing." (M., II, 472).

گفت ضعف معده هم از پیری است گفت وقت دم مرا دمگیری است

(The physician) said, "Weakness of stomach also is from old age."

(The patient) said, "When I breath I have a difficulty in breathing."

دمیدن

بر دمیدن : "To be excited." (Sh. N., IV, 1817).

بیامد بگفت آنچه دید و شنید سر شاه ترکان ز کین بردمید

He came and told what he had seen and heard; the brain of the King of the Turks was excited by animosity.

—————"To rush forth, to speak up." (Sh. N., III, 1468).

چو بهرام گور آن شتر مرغ دید بکردار باد هوا بر دمید

When Bahrām Gūr saw the ostriches, he rushed forth like the wind.

[Occurs often in this sense, but the spurring up may be supposed to have been accompanied by excited cries].

دم (dum)

دم دراز (Sometimes metaphorical): "Lengthy." (M., III., 178).

تو مترس و مهلتش ده دم دراز کو سپه کرد آر و صد حيله بياز

Fear not; give him a lengthy respite. Say to him, "Collect an army, and practise a hundred stratagems."

[Supposed words of God to Moses about Pharaoh].

در دم شدن (with prep. به): "To be followed (by)." (Ḥadīka, p. 10, l. 22).

پایه اول اندرو حلمست کو بتحقیق خواجه علمست

شده در دم بدیگری پایه خرد جان و صورت و مایه

The first step towards it, is constancy, according to the verification of the lord of knowledge.

This is followed by another step : the wisdom of the soul and of the body.

[The author is speaking of the steps towards spiritual perfection. Major Stephenson translates حلم as "serenity," but the sense is rather "constancy, steadfastness, long-suffering"].

دوختن

دوختن (with بر) : "To stick" (to), "to be fixed" (upon), "to throw it" (upon) (M., II, 472).

گفت ای احمق برین بر دوختی از طیبی تو همین آموختی

(The patient) said (to the physician), "O fool, you throw it (all) upon this ! Have you learned nothing of medicine but this ?"

دور (daur)

از دور زمانه زیستن : "In a temporal or worldly way," e.g.,

"To live as in the world or time" (Ḥadīkā, p. 32).

تا ز دور زمانه خواهی زیست تو ندانی که اندر آنجا چیست

So long as you live as in the world, you will not know what is there (i.e., what is in your soul).

[Only annihilation as to the world and self can make you cognizant of the Deity].

دوغ

بدوغ افتادن : "To be deceived, deluded" (Lit. "to fall upon butter-milk"). (M., II, 343).

چون که بی سوگند گفتش بد دروغ تو میفت از مکر و سوگندش بدوغ

Since without an oath his words are lies, do not be deluded by his deceit and oaths.

[Cf. دوغ خوردن].

دوغ زدن : "To try to delude" (Lit. "to invite to butter-milk"). (M., II., 428).

رو مگس میگیر تا تانی هلا سوی دوغی زن مگسها را صلا

Come now ! go and take flies as far as you can ; try to delude flies. (Lit. "invite the flies to some butter-milk").

دهلیز (dihliz)

دهلیزی : “Outer, superficial.” (Lit. “pertaining to the vestibule”).
(M., II, 558).

سرکه دا گر گرم کردی ز آتش آن چون خوری سردی فزاید بی گمان
ز آنکه آن گرمی او دهلیزی است طبع اصلش سردی است و تیزی است

Though you eat vinegar by fire, it undoubtedly adds coldness (to the system) when you drink it ;

Because that heat of it, (which is caused by fire), is (only) superficial ; its original nature is cold and tart.

دیه (as دساه or دیبا) : “Flowers.” (Lit. “Brocade”). (Sh. N., I, 442).

هوا خوشگوار و زمین خوبرنگ ز دیه زمیش چو پشت پلنگ

The air was wholesome and the earth beautiful with colours : the soil with flowers was like the leopard's back.

دیدار کردن (دیدن کردن) (with prep. با) : “To pay a visit.” (Sh. N., I, 431).

سپاوش باسپ دگر بر نشست بینداخت آن گوی تلخی ز دست
پس آنکه بچوگان برو کار کرد چنان شد که با ماه دیدار کرد

Siyāvash mounted another horse ; he threw up the ball a little. Then struck it with the polo-stick, so that it paid visit to the moon.

دیدن : “To anticipate.” (Sh. N., I, 411).

کسی کو ببند سرانجام بد ز کردار بد بازگشتن سرزد

It behoves him who anticipates an evil issue to desist from evil action.

——— “To meet,” in the sense of “to cope with.” (Sh. N., I, 430).

ز هر کس شنیدم که چوگان تو نه ببند گردان میدان تو

(I have heard from every one that the heroes cannot cope with your polo-stick in the ground where you play).

دیر

دیر ساختن : “To delay.” (v.n.). (Sh. N., I, 465).

اگر دیر سازی تو جنگ آورد دو کشور بمردی بچنگ آورد

If you delay, he will make war ; by his valour he will take possession of the two countries.

دیر کردن : " To delay " (in coming), " to come late." (L. A., I, 202).

وقتی مقربان او دیر کردند چون رسیدند گفت

Once his intimates came late ; when they arrived, he said : (Here follows a quatrain).

دیر ساز : " Ancient." (Sh. N., IV, 1711).

بدیدم که این کتبد دیر ساز نخواهد همی لب کشادن براز

I have seen that this ancient Dome will not speak of (its) secrets.

[The " ancient Dome " is the Sky. ساز has the sense of ساخته 'made,' as in بد ساز " ill-made "].

———— " Slow to decide ; deliberate." (Sh. N., IV, 1763).

یکی گفت کای شاه کبتر نواز چرا گشتی اکنون همی دیرساز
چنین داد پاسخ که با بخردان هانیم و هم نیز با موبدان
چو آواز آهرمن آید بگوش نماند بدل رای و با مغز هوش

One said, " O, King, cherisher of your subjects, why have you now become slow to decide and deliberate ?"

He answered, " With the wise and the Mūbids I am at one—

If the voice of Ahriman is listened to, neither judgement remains in the mind, nor intelligence in the brain."

دیری : " A long time." (Ch. M., p. 102).

اسکافی را در همان منصب برقرار داشت و بر مرتبش بیفزود ولی دیری نکشید که اسکافی مریض شده
این جهان را پدرود گفت .

(‘Abdu’l-Malik) retained Iskāfī in the same office, and raised his position ; but no long time elapsed before Iskāfī fell sick and bade adieu to this world.

دیری کشیدن : For " a long time to elapse." (See دیری).

دیر یاب : " Of long date." (Sh. N., IV, 1857).

چو بهرام را آن نیامد پسند همی بد ز گفتار خواهر نژند
دل تیره ز اندیشه دیر یاب همی تحت شاهی نمودش بخواب

Since they did not meet Bahrām's approval, he was angry at his sister's words.

His heart, darkened by considerations of long date, showed him the kingly throne (even) in dreams.

دیگر ---- دیگر : "One thing—the other thing." (M. II, ?).

دیوار

پیش دیوار کردن : "To put outside the walls, to banish." (Sh. N., IV, 2049).

مگر مرگ را پیش دیوار کرد که جان پدر را چنین خوار کرد

He must have banished death (from his consideration) to treat his father's life as of so slight account.

دبوان ادب (Cf. ادب گاه and ادب کده) : A "seat of culture," a "royal court." (M., II, 553).

قاصدی دانا ز دبوان ادب سوی هندستان روان کرد از طلب

(The King) sent a learned envoy from the royal Court to (go to) India in search (of the tree).

ذ

ذخیره

ذخیره کردن : "To save up." (نوبهار 1917, No. 59, p. 3).

ذمیم "Disparaged." (Redhouse). (M., II, 225 ; Commentary).

یکسواره می رود شاه عظیم در کف طفلان چنین دریم

The great King rides alone and unattended ! so incomparable a pearl is in the hands of children !

Turkish Commentary :

عجب در که بویله بر شاه عظیم یکسواره کید رو بویله درینیم کف طفلانده ذمیم در .

It is marvellous that so grand a King should ride alone and unattended, and that so incomparable a pearl should be in the hands of children disparaged !

[i.e., the commonalty cannot appreciate so great a saint as the perfect Šūfī, and neglect and disparage him as children would a precious pearl].



راز

راز راندن "To reveal a secret or secrets." (Sh. N., IV, 1851).

ازان پس گرانمایگان را بخواند بسی رازها پیش ایشان براند

Afterwards he summoned the nobles and chiefs, and revealed many secrets to them.

راست

راست داشتن (with prep. با): "To make accordant" (with). (Sh. N., III, 1484).

هان راست داریم دل با زبان ز کژی و تاری به پیچم روان

I will also make my heart accordant with my tongue ; I will turn my soul from what is false and dark.

——(with prep. با): "To hold as equal" (to), or, "the same" (as). (Sh. N., IV, 1910).

که هرچند کاین پادشاهی جداست ترا باتن خویش داریم راست

For although this is a separate Kingdom (from yours), I hold you as the same as myself.

راست شدن "To be rightly conducted," (as policy or deliberations). (Sh. N., III, 1504).

چو مهتر یکی گشت شد رای راست بیفزود خوبی و زشتی بکاست

When the ruler was one, the policy was rightly conducted ; good was increased, and evil was diminished.

——"To be concluded," (as deliberations). (Sh. N., *passim*).

راست کردن "To adjust, to put into a suitable position." (Sh. N., IV, 1812).

سپهد برانگیخت اسپ ای شگفت بنوک سنان زان سری برگرفت
همی راند تا نیزه را کرد راست بینداخت آن سربدان سوکه خواست

The general spurred up his horse and with the point of his lance lifted a head from the (basket).

He rode on till he had adjusted the lance, and then cast the head in the direction he wished.

——“ To establish firmly.” (Sh. N., IV, 1892).

هر آنکه که او خویشتن کرد راست نژندی و کثری بیوم شهاست

As soon as he has established himself firmly, distress and perversion will be (the lot) of your country.

[The country is that of the Eastern Empire, to which Khusrau Parvīz is fleeing from his father's Court].

گشتن (with prep. با) : “To become on a level” (with). (Sh. N., I, 431).

خروش تیبره ز میدان بخواست همی خالک با آسمان کشت راست
از آواز صبح و دم کره نای تو گفتی بجنبید میدان ز جای

The roll of the drums arose from the polo-field ; the earth became on a level with the sky.

From the clashing of the cymbals and the blare of the trumpets the plain seemed to move up from its place.

راندن : “ To speak.” (Sh. N., I, 457),

سپهدار توران ورا پیش خواند و کار سیاوش فراوان براند

The general (and ruler) of Tūiān summoned him to his presence ; he spoke much to him concerning Siyāvash.

——(with prep. بر) : “ To impress ” (upon). (Sh. N., IV, 1749).

هر آن درکزان نامه بر خواندی همه روز بر دل همی راندی

Every section of the book which he read—he impressed it every day upon his mind (as he read it).

[The book is the Fables of Bīdpāy, which Barzūy, Nūshērvān's envoy to the Indian King, is allowed to read only in the latter's presence].

راه

داه : “ To adopt the habit ” (of). (Sh. N., IV, 1852).

نبايد که داه پلنگ آوریم که باهر کسی رای جنگ آوریم

We must not adopt the habit of leopards and resolve to fight with everyone.

راه برگزیدن : “ To be of opinion.” (Sh. N., I, 419).

چو کشور سراسر پرداختند کروگان و آن هدیه ها ساختند
همه موبدان برگزیدند راه که ماباز گردیم ازین کینه گاه

Since they have cleared out of the whole country, have given hostages and presents,

The Mūbids, all, have been of opinion that we should turn away from this field of contention.

· راه جستن : "To wish to come." (Sh. N., I, 422).

پرسید کاین را چه درمان کنم وزین راه جستن چه پیمان کنم

He asked him, saying, "What course shall I follow in this? what means shall take as to (his) wish to come?"

بخوبی راه نمودن (with از of the person): "To indicate as good, to speak well" (of). (Sh. N., IV, 2047).

بزرگان که بودند در پیش شاه ز شیرین بخوبی نمودند راه
که چون او زنی نیست اندر جهان چه در آشکار و چه اندر نهان

The grantees who were in the presence of the King all spoke well of Shīrīn,

Saying, "There is no woman like her in the world, whether in public (conduct) or in private."

· راه آمدن : "To come away." (Sh. N., I, 422).

اگر خود جزایش نبودى هنر که از خون صد نامور با پدر
برآشفست و بگذاشت تحت و کلاه بکتر سپرد و خود آمد براه
نه نیکو نماید ز راه خرد کزین کشور آن نامور بگذرد

If he had no merit but this, that, for the lives of a hundred famous men,

He had been indignant with his father, and had abandoned throne and crown, leaving them to one younger, and himself coming away,

It would not look well to the eyes of wisdom that that illustrious (Prince) should leave this country.

[The hundred famous men are the hostages given by Afrāsiyāb, and whom Kai Kā'ūs, the father of the Prince Siyāvash, wishes to execute].

· راه (with اضافت) : "For." (Sh. N., III, 1480).

چو منذر بنزدیک جهرم رسید بدان دشت بی آب لشکر کشید
سرا پرده زد راه بهرام شاه بگرد اندر آمد ز هرسو سپاه

When Munzir arrived near Jahram, leading his army to that waterless plain,

He pitched a tent for Prince Bahrām Gūr, and the army came round from all sides.

[Cf. در راه کس نهادن "To put at one's disposal"].

راست : "Truthfully." (Sh. N., IV, 2017).

بدو گفت قیصر که خسرو کجاست بیا بدت گفتن بمن راه راست

The Kaiṣar said to him, "Where is Khusrau Parvīz? You must tell me truthfully."

رای

رای آوردن (with prep. به) : "To resolve to go" (to). (Sp. ch., p. 81).

سکندر بتاریکی آورد رای که خاطر بتاریکی آید بجای

Alexander resolved to go into the darkness, since the mind is tranquilized by darkness.

[Alexander is in search of the Water of Life which lies in the darkness. The distich is from the *Sikandar Nāma* of Nizāmī].

رای پیش آوردن : "To deliberate, to consult together." (Sh. N., III, 1413).

ز مانی غم پادشا هی برد خود و موبدش رای پیش آورد

For a time (each day) he should bear the tail of sovereignty : he himself and his minister should consult together.

رای جستن : "To consult (another)." (Cf. استشاره).

رای دیدن : "To think proper, to think the best plan." (Sh. N., II, 506).

برانگیخت دل آرمیده ز جای تهمتن همان کرد کو دید رای

(Zavāra) roused his heart which was at rest, and Rustam did as he (Zavāra) thought proper.

[Zavāra has urged his brother Rustam to devastate Tūrān in revenge for the murder of Siyāvash].

رای رفتن : For : "opinions to be given." (Sh. N., IV, 1731).

بیا مد دو فرزانه نیک رای میانشان همی رفت هرگونه رای

Two wise men of good judgment came, and between them opinions of every kind were given.

دای زدن (with prep. در) : “To express an opinion” (upon). (M., II, 233).

دوستان در قصه ذوالنون شدند سوی زندان و دران دای زدند
کاین مگر قاصد کند با حکمتیست او درین دین قبله و آیتست

The friends went to the prison in view of Zu'n-Nūn's affair, and expressed a certain opinion upon that (case).

They said : “Possibly he does this of set purpose, or there is some mysterious reason for it ; for in this religion he is a ‘Kibla’ and a miracle.

—(with prep. به) : “To resolve to go” (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1692).

بسغد اندرون بود خاقان که شاه بگرگان همی دای زد با سپاه

The Khākān was in Sogdiana, when the King (Nūshīrvān) resolved to go to Gurgān with his army.

[“Gurgān,” the ancient Hyrcania].

دای گفتن : “To exchange opinions.” (Sh. N., I, 456).

ز بیگانه پردخته کردند جای نشستند و گفتند هر گونه دای

They cleared the place of strangers, and sat down and exchanged opinions of all kinds.

رجاحت (rajāḥat)

رجاحت نمودن (with prep. بر) : “To be preferable” (to). (L. A., I, p. 265).

از روح پاک برده خوبی تو لطافت بر عقل کی نموده اخلاق تو رجاحت

Your beauty has derived its delicate grace from the pure (Universal) Spirit ; your moral qualities are preferable to (those of) the Universal Intellect.

[From Rashīdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Isfīzār].

رخنه

A “maker of gaps or fissures.” (H. P., p. 96).

گفت ای رخنه بند راه گشای دولت بر مراد راه نمای

She said, “O you who make fissures and who open roads, you whom good fortune guides to his desire.”

[See the “*Haft Paikar*,” Translation and Commentary, by C. E. Wilson].

رسمًا “Actually ; ” i.e., “as regards the actual performance of the official duties,” (Opposed to اسمًا “Nominally”). (Ch. M., p. 102).

و او را دیوان رسایل بنیابت ابو عبدالله بنشانند و دیوان رسایل اسمًا با ابو عبدالله بود و رسمًا با اسکافی .

And (the Amīr Nūḥ appointed him to the secretarial department as deputy to Abū ‘Abdu’llāh ; and this department, though nominally under Abū ‘Abdu’llāh, was, as regards the actual performance of the duties under Iskāfī.

[Iskāfī ; i.e., Abu ‘l Kāsim ‘Alī Iskāfī of Nīshāpūr, a noted secretary].

رسیدن

در رسیدن (with prep. به or with که) : “To ascertain.” (Sh. N., IV, 1814).

فرستیم يك مرد تا در رسد که او نیکخواهست اگر مرد بد

I will send a person to ascertain if he is a friend or an enemy.

رشد (rashad, a form of رشد rushd) : “The right way, rectitude.” (M. II, 491).

تا که آن بوسوی بستانت کشد تا نماید مر ترا راه رشد

In order that that scent may draw you to the Garden ; that it may show you the right way.

[“The Garden” is the World of the Divinity, عالم لاهوت].

رشدیه : A “high school.” (Beck’s Pers. Gr., p. 485).

زنی فارغ التحصیل از ژیمناز (رشدیه) اناث تفلیس برای تدریس دختران و پسران خرد سال حاضر است .

A lady who has finished her studies in the high school for girls in Tiflis, wishes to give instruction to young children of both sexes.

رشدیه : A suburb of Tabriz.

رعنا

رعنائی : “Conceit.” (L. A., I, 141). From a poem by Bahā’u’d-Dīn Muḥammad of Baghdād).

فضایلی که مرا هست در فتون هنر اگر بگویم نوعی بود ز رعنائی

If I should speak of the excellence I have in various branches of learning, it would be a species of conceit.

رفتن : “ To be committed,” (as an offence). (Sh. N., IV, 1902).

تو دانی که من هر چه گویم بدو نه پیچد ز گفتار من هیچ رو
نخواهم گناهی که رفت از تو پیش به بخشد ز گفتار من تاج خویش

You know that whatever I say to him—he will in no way reject my words.

I will ask him to overlook the offence that was committed by you before—he would give his crown at my words.

—(with prep. در) : “ To be allowed ” (as regards). (M., II., 491).

مسجد اهل قبا کان بد جماد آنچه کفو او نبند راهش نداد
در جمادات این چنین حیفی نرفت زد دران ناکفو میر داد تفت

The mosque of the people of Qubā, which was an inorganic object—he did not admit that which was not its like to association with it.

Such a wrong was not allowed as regards inorganic substances : the lord of justice set fire to that unlike building.

—(with prep. در) : “ To be applicable, referable ” (to). (M., II, 539).

این وسط در با نهایت می رود که مرآن را اول و آخر بود

This middle is referable to the finite, because (the finite) has a beginning and an end.

—(with prep. در) : “ To interfere ” (in), “ to use authority ” (as to). (M., II, 424).

جا هست و غافلست از حال شان چون رود در خون شان و مال شان

He is ignorant and unaware of their affair ; how can he interfere in their lives and property ?

رکعت (rak'at) : “ One complete act of worship, of a prescribed number and order of postures, motions and recitations.” (Redhouse).

رندیدن : “ To gnaw.” (M., II, 501).

نفس موشی نیست الا لقمه رند قدر حاجت موش را عقلی دهند

The soul of the mouse is nothing but a gnawer of morsels : they give an intellect to the mouse to the extent of his needs.

رنگ

رنگها : “Manifest facts,” (as of intellect). (M., II, 368).

عقل خود را می نماید رنگها چون پری دورست ازان فرسنگها

Intellect shows itself as in many manifest facts ; but, like a fairy, it is leagues distant from them.

[Intellect, as an entity, is distinguished here from its manifestations. The fairy was supposed to be invisible].

(رُی) (rū) (See دُی) .

بروی کسان : “For mere effect.” (Sh. N., IV, 1853).

سخن هرچه گوئی بروی کسان شود باد و کردار آن نارسان

Whatever speech you use for mere effect is thrown away, and the result of it is as nothing.

—— ———(Sh. N., III, 1414).

نباید که باشی فراوان سخن بروی کسان پارسائی مکن

You must not be profuse of speech ; exhibit no piety for mere effect.

دوارو (ravārau) : (Used for بانگ دوارو in Sh. N., I, 484). “A trumpet blast announcing the approach of a great man.”

دوارو برآمد که بگشای راه که آمد نوآئین گو تاج خواه

A warning blast arose (to signify), “Come, clear the way ! a wondrous hero, claimant to a crown, arrives.”

روح

روح امین “The faithful spirit.” (Applied to Muḥammad in *Masnavī*, I, 184).

نام احمد چون حصاری شد حصین تا چه باشد ذات آن روح امین

The name of Aḥmad is as an impregnable fortress ; then what must the essence of that faithful spirit be !

روز

روز اندر روز آمدن : “To go on indefinitely,” (as some proceeding). (Sh. N., III, 1450).

تودل خوش کن و شهرچندین مسوز نباید که روز اندر آید بروز

Be reconciled, and do not devastate the country so. (This strife) must not go on indefinitely.

روزگار

روزگار بردن : "To lose time, to delay." (Ch. M., p. 135).

مدۀ زمان شان ازین بیش و روزگار مبر که اژدها شود از روزگار یابد مار

Do not allow them any more time, do not delay ; for a snake, if it gain time, will become a dragon.

روزگار پیچیدن : "To become unfortunate." (Lit. "to twist fortune"). (Sh. N., I, 471).

به بینیم پاداش این زشت کار به پیچی بفرجام ازین روزگار

We shall see the requital of this evil deed ; you will become at the end unfortunate through it.

[On the analogy of روزگار سیاه کردن, but the expression might mean "to turn fortune away," (e.g., from oneself)].

پی روزگاران بید سپردن (sapardan or sipardan) : "To pass the time, to live unfortunately." (Sh. N., IV, 1805). See. سپردن .

روشن : "Sincere, frank, strict ; almost, rough."

ای دل آنجا رو که با تو روشنند و ز بلاها مر ترا چون جوشند

Go, O heart, to the place where they are sincere with you, and are to you as a coat of mail against trials and afflictions.

[i.e., Go to the spiritual guide, who is sincere, and do not attend to the blandishments of worldly people].

—"Lighted up, illuminated, enlightened," (as the body by the soul, or men by guidance). (Sh. N., III, 1456).

چو مغز و دل مردم آلوده گشت بنومیدی از رای پالوده گشت
بدان در آسیمه گردد روان سپه چون زید شادی پهلوان
چو روشن نباشند پراگند تن بی روان را بخاک افکنند

When the brain and the heart of men have become contaminated, and hopelessly drained of judgment,

The soul in the body becomes bewildered— how can an army live happily without a leader ?

When they are not enlightened, they scatter—the body without a soul is cast into the earth.

دوی (دو)

دوی بودن (with را of person or thing): “To be proper, suitable” (for). (Sh. N., IV, 1847).

برو تیز آن شیر دل را بگوی که ایدر ترا آمدن نیست دوی

She said, “Go quickly, and tell that lion-hearted man that it is not suitable for him to come hither.”

دوی پیچیدن: “To decline.” (Sh. N., I, 475).

نگه کرد کر سیوز اندر گروی کروی ستمگر نه پیچید دوی

Garsivaz looked at Garūy; the tyrannical Garūy did not decline (to obey the implied command).

[Garsivaz was the brother of Afrāsiyāb. The implied command was to kill Siyāvash, the latter's son-in-law. Cf. دوی یافتن].

دوی داشتن (with prep. به): “To look” (to), “attend” (to), “obey.”

دوی دیدن: “To think reasonable proper.” (Sh. N., IV, 1732).

بیارام و بر خیره چیزی مجوی که فرزندگان آن نه بیند دوی

Remain quiet, and do not foolishly seek something that the wise do not think reasonable.

دوی روشن بودن (for a person): “To be honoured and fortunate;” perhaps, “welcomed.” (Sh. N., IV, 2002).

بایران اگر زن نبودى جزاین که خسرو برو خواندى آفرین
نبودى چو شیرین بمشکوی او بهز جای روشن بدی دوی او

If there were no women in Persia save those on whom Khusrau (Parvīz) bestowed his approval—

(Provided only that) one like Shīrīn were not in his palace, he would be honoured and fortunate in every place.

[The objection to Shīrīn was that she was a Christian].

“Prospect, feasibility.” (I. N., p. 921).

چو آزادیم ازین سروسهی نیست بهی شد رویم و دوی بهی نیست

Since I have no freedom from that straight cypress, my face has become a quince, and there is no prospect of recovery.

روی هم رفته : "On an average." *Passim*.

—"Consciousness, mental perception." (Redhouse : "A perceiving mentally"). ('A. M., p. 332. See also p. 336).

فاذا ذهب عن روية القرب فذلك قرب .

So when (the worshipper) departs from the consciousness of proximity (to God) in proximity, then that is (really) proximity.

| روية القرب | though here is an Arabic passage, may, of course, be used in Persian].

ریگ

ریگ روان : "Quicksand."

روان ریگ بر کوه بستن "To try to stick quicksand on to a mountain." (Sh. N., IV, 2036).

بداند که بهرام بسته میان ابا او یکی گشته ایرانیان
برومی سپاهی نشاید شکست نشاید روان ریگ بر کوه بست

(He) will know that Bahrām (Chūbīn), who is all prepared, and with whom the Persians have made common cause,

Cannot be defeated by a Grecian army—quicksand cannot be struck on to a mountain.

["Quicksand" symbolizes the Greeks, and "mountain" Bahrām-e Chūbīn; the sense being that the former cannot press or have any real effect upon the latter.

"Bāhrām cannot be defeated, etc." Lit. "it is not possible to defeat Bahrām, etc."].

(To be continued).

C. E. WILSON.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

THE calamities of a great war, like the present one, are not confined to any walk of life. During Napoleonic wars, it was not considered quislingism if professors of England attended some learned function at the Sorbonne. Those good old days are, alas, no more. Wars too are now totalitarian ; they spare no activity of a country unaffected. We are denied even knowledge of what is going on in cultural matters in countries under non-friendly occupation. War has curtailed many useful cultural activities, and what little is allowed to continue is not easily known to the outside world.

The latest issue of the monthly *at-Tamaddun al-Islāmiy* of Damascus, received in India at the moment of writing these lines, is that of Muḥarram (February). It publishes a further instalment of the learned contribution by Muḥammad Bahjat Bīṭār on classical commentaries on the Qur'ān.

The Qur'ān has been attracting the young generation of Arabic scholars increasingly. About two years ago, Dr. Rāḥatullāh Khān published in Leipzig a dissertation on the Effects of the Qur'ān on Arabic Poetry. Muḥammad Salim al-Jundīy of Damascus has now written a monograph on the Style of the Qur'ān which is serially appearing in a Damascus monthly. It seems that the ever-increasing number of schools and circles in India for the diffusion of the teaching of the Qur'ān is not a local phenomenon, but a universal awakening all over the Muslim world. The Children's Commentary by the Taḥrīk-e-Qur'ān, Hyderabad, has been in demand from many parts of the globe, including South and East Africa.

Some time ago, Prof. Kraus of the Fu'ād I University of Egypt published *Muntakhab Rasā'il Jābir ibn-Haiyān*. The first volume of his learned introduction to this work is nearly printed, says a May message of Cairo. He has also edited a *Rasā'il al-Jāhiz* which is also in the press.

The same Cairo message informs us that the "Compilation, Translation and Publication Bureau" of Cairo has, in spite of war, completed the printing of *Al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsiyah* in over 400 pages. It consists of 288 diplomatic documents of the time of the Prophet and about a hundred

from the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, in order to complete the story of the Prophet's diplomacy. To each document is appended a complete bibliography. The work is decorated with many maps of the epoch-making battles of Badr, Uḥud, Yarmūk, etc. It also reproduces photographs of many original letters attributed to the Prophet. Further, there are maps to illustrate the conquests of the times of the Prophet and his four Orthodox Caliphs, which not only determine the extent of conquests, but also locate places connected with the history of that time. The documents, which are arranged chronologically and regionally, give a vivid idea of the diplomatic developments in regions connected with the budding Muslim Empire, from its origin to half a century later. We hope that restricted and precarious war-time communications will still not deny India the benefits of this publication.

The *Bibliotheca Islamica* of Istanbul has just brought out its 12th publication, namely the Persian Poem, *الشمی نامه* of Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār.

DECCAN

Conferences Announced

IT has now been decided that in December next the Political Science Conference will take place in Bombay. It has now added a special Section for Muslim Political Thought.

The Indian History Congress and the All-India Oriental Conference will meet in the metropolis of the Nizām, at the invitation of the Osmania University. Mr. Ghulām Yazdānī has been elected general president of the Oriental Conference, Dr. Zubair Siddīqī of the Islamic Section, and Dr. M. Husain Nainār of the Arabic and Persian Section.

Golden Jubilee of Hyderabad State-Library.

Owing to climatic conditions in and after February, the celebration of the jubilee has been postponed until July. The essay competition on a survey of libraries in the Deccan proved a great success. These essays will be published in book form.

New Periodicals and Publications.

Two important Urdu journals have begun to appear in Hyderabad. *Mamlakat* is a weekly, edited by Mīr Ḥasnuddīn, a prominent figure among Osmania alumni. The other is a governmental monthly, an information bulletin on and about the Nizām's Dominions. This has also Telugu, Kanarese, Marathi and English editions besides Urdu. We wish them success and useful service.

Mullā 'Abdul Qaiyūm was a very active and prominent figure in Hyderabad, and even in Indian politics, during the last generation. The local monthly *Nizāmiāh* has brought out a special number wholly devoted to the life and work of this national servant of varied interests. Among the more interesting contributions, the one by Muḥammad Mazhar, Secretary of the Hyderabad Educational Conference, is of unusual importance owing to its wealth of information and penetrating criticism with first-hand knowledge and authority. We congratulate the *Nizāmiāh* on this great service to the memory of that outstanding figure.

The Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif Press is busy with the printing of كتاب النكى and التاريخ الكبير both by al-Bukhārīy.

Religious Education of Females.

Hyderabad has taken the lead in a new orientation of education. Unlike its neighbours, it has made religious instruction a part and parcel of government educational policy, and from primary schools up to the B.A. and B.Sc. examinations, religious instruction forms part of the curriculum. No exception has been made for girl students, and happily so. But unfortunately there has been up to now no provision for training teachers to teach this subject. For boys there are at least the Theology Faculty of the Osmania University and the Jāmi'ah Nizāmiāh where they can make specialised higher studies of Muslim religion. For girls, however, even this much is wanting. The result is that every year examiners complain of the low standard of girls in the paper on compulsory theology. It is gratifying to learn that the Prime Minister of Hyderabad is taking a personal interest in the matter and examining the possibilities of opening at least one girls' high school affiliated to the Jāmi'ah Nizāmiāh in order to provide better and more suitable candidates for the posts of lady teachers of theology in girls' schools and colleges.

Society for the Revival of Ḥanafī Classics.

The *Ihyā' al-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniyah* of Hyderabad has acquired several new MSS. on the classics of Ḥanafī jurisprudence. Although the present war and the consequent soaring of prices of paper have necessarily stopped all new publications on the part of the Society, its members are busily engaged, as ever before, in editing and preparing for publication the many gems they have been able to collect. The task of editing classical MSS., especially when one has to rely on unique copies of a not very careful scribe, is one of the most tedious of tasks. The high standard the society has maintained in all of its six publications, works by Abū-Ḥanīfah, Abū-Yūsuf, Ash-Shaibānīy, etc., has elicited praise from four continents. Its annual meeting has taken place during the trimester under review, and new office-bearers have been elected.

Missionary Propaganda against the Prophet.

It is often regretted in the Islamic world that Christian missionaries so deliberately misrepresent the Prophet of Islam. Not only this attitude is purely and simply un-Christian, but it is also incomprehensible why they make personal attacks when even polemical writings of Muslims against Christianity never speak ill of the holy men of Christianity. On the other hand Jesus Christ is so much honoured by the Muslims that he is considered as one of the four most prominent Prophets of God, which four include Muḥammad himself. The latest example of pernicious missionary propaganda is an article in Chambers' *Encyclopædia* about which the Hyderabad Press is continuously protesting and drawing the attention of the Hyderabad Government.

An Encyclopædia in Urdu.

Although Urdu is one of the learned languages of the world, in which work is done for the highest university degrees in arts and sciences, it is curious that there is not one encyclopædia in the language. Schemes were launched several times during the last fifty years but nothing has so far come of them. The *Idārah Adabiyāt Urdu* of Hyderabad, with its modest means, has now seriously taken up the matter, and the preliminary work of deciding the headings to be dealt with has practically been completed. We hope its attempt will succeed and pave the way for better editions as it is enriched by experience.

Islamic Economics.

In March last, after the 'Cultural Activities' of the *Islamic Culture* of the last issue had gone to press, the Society for Lending Money without Interest (Anjuman Mu'aiyidul Iḳhwān) of Hyderabad celebrated its golden jubilee. There was a large gathering of ministers, judges, ulema, mashā'ikh, etc., including about ten thousand ladies. The issue of 22nd March 1941 of the local daily *Rahbar-e-Deccan* gives a detailed description. The report of the Society showed that its beginning was very humble, yet during the last fifty years it was able to lend over half a million rupees without interest. The capital has now reached five figures, and the amount available for lending is increasing. Among many lectures delivered on the occasion, Dr. Ḥamīdullāh's was on the importance of the pioneer work of this Society, and he said : 'Although there are now in the city of Hyderabad societies which yearly lend more than half a million rupees without interest and thus co-operate in the holy work of eradicating the evil of usury, the credit of first setting an example goes to this Society.' Dr. Anwar Iqbāl Quraishī described at length how the West has now realised,

at least in principle, that the more civilised a nation is the less high is the rate of interest on its loans. According to Prof. John Maynard Keynes of Cambridge University, all economic ills, including unemployment, are traceable to loans with interest. The lecturer spoke of the differences that distinguish Islamic principles from Capitalism and Communism and Socialism, and said : 'The world is unconsciously drifting to the Islamic laws of economics.'

The Late Walīur-Raḥmān.

We regret to record the death of our valued contributor, Prof. Mu'taḍid Walīur-Raḥmān of the Osmania University at an early age. He was an authority on psychology, and was one of those who unostensibly disentangle themselves from the world and concentrate on the pursuit of their object without caring in the least what material injustices are perpetrated on them, which they stoically bear. He generally wrote small articles with deep insight, many of which appeared in the pages of the *Islamic Culture* during the last several years.

M. H.

Indo-Muslim Architecture.

Although in general appearance, specimens of Indo-Muslim architecture seem to be different from one another, fundamentally they are the same, observed Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghtāi in his Extension Lecture at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, on *Indo-Muslim Architecture*. He illustrated his lecture with about forty slides which were ably arranged and selected to illustrate the main problem. The lecturer said that Muslims had a different culture from that of India and in consequence they created a different architecture from that already existing in this country. The dome of the Tāj was the most distinct type of the style which had been defined by the contemporary historians as the pear-shaped dome, of which no specimen existed in this country before. In several details the Indo-Muslim monuments originated in Central Asian and Persian architecture.

Jamshed Nav-Rōz.

Quite unlike other Indian Provinces, the Bombay Presidency represents a wonderful phenomenon in the celebration of various festival of different communities residing there. It is rather difficult to count them in terms of numbers, but the celebration of the Parsi New Year is

a distinct feature among them. This *Jamshed Nav-Rōz* is observed all over Bombay with great solemnity, on which recently *Khawāja Mushtāq Aḥmad* has contributed a learned article to the Sunday Edition of the *Bombay Chronicle*, and has traced it from the very early history of Iran. He says that during the Sassanian regime in Persia *Nav-Rōz* was celebrated with dazzling and coloured gaiety. The Great Mughals of India were lovers of pomp and probably this was the motive that caused Akbar to order celebration of *Nav-Rōz* throughout his empire. On this day the Great Mughal ascended the throne at an auspicious hour previously selected by the royal astrologers. The court resounded with songs and dances. His Majesty was greeted by the Omrah. *Mīnā Bazār* was held inside the seraglio. It was a mock bazar conducted by the most charming ladies of the aristocracy. This essentially Persian festival survived in Iran after the Islamic conquest, and even to-day it is celebrated with the same enthusiasm after the lapse of hundreds of years.

Glowing Tributes to the late Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān.

Mr. 'Alī Muḥammad Mecklai, President of the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, moved a resolution of condolence which *inter alia* declared: "Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān was one of the foremost intellectuals of the country. A jurist of great acumen and brilliance, a scientist and physicist of repute. He had also considerable literary gifts, particularly in Urdu. He was a man of independent judgement and great vision, and in him India loses a great jurist, educationist, scientist and gentleman. This meeting of the Islamic Research Association offers its deep sympathy and condolence to Lady Sulaimān and the family of Sir Shāh Sulaimān."

Sir John Beaumont, the Chief Justice of the Bombay Presidency High Court, observed that Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān died at the early age of fifty-five, at which many distinguished English judges only began their judicial career, and he had been twenty-one years on the Bench. No one could read his judgements without being struck by the depth of his learning, the subtlety of his reasoning and the industry which he devoted to his work. Many tributes were paid to the deceased by a number of distinguished public men on the occasion.

A Discussion on Books relating to Islamic Culture.

At the Annual Meeting of the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, a very interesting discussion on important and valuable books took place, which had already been published. Dr. Muḥammad Bazlu'r-Raḥmān, the Principal of the Sir Isma'il Yusuf College, Bombay, gave a description of *the History of the Arabs* by Hiṭṭī which was well received by the audience. Mrs. 'Aṭiya Begum Fyzī Raḥmān, speaking of the secret mysteries of the

classical melodies of Hindustan, appealed to the Islamic Research Association to take up the task of popularising rare books on music. Dr. H. F. Al-Hamdānī made a very important contribution regarding the History of Oman by presenting to the audience a recent publication on :

اخبار اهل عمان من اول اسلامهم الى اختلاف كلمتهم

He pointed out : " There is no work in the classical historical literature of the Arabs which gives us a complete account of the relations that existed between Oman and the rest of the Islamic world. The people of Oman have played no mean a part in the history of Islam, and particularly in the annals of the Arabs, but unfortunately orthodox historians have refrained from giving even a bare outline of the Ibadite State whose foundation was laid early in the second century of the Islamic Era... So far we have had M. Guillain's brief yet admirable account of the history of Oman, based upon a Zanzibar MS. of a chronicle. written by Abu Sulaymān Muḥammad bin Amīr bin Rashīd. We have also had the English translation of relevant portions from an anonymous work—*Kashfu'l-Ghumma al-Jāmi' li Akhbār al-Umma*—made by E. C. Ross, the then Resident of Maskat, published in 1874 under the title—*Annals of Oman from early Times to the Year 1728 A.D.* The Hakluyt Society published in 1871 G. P. Badger's book—*History of the Imāms and Sayyids of Oman* which is a translation of *Kitabu'l-Fath al-Mubīn fī Sīrat as-Sādāt al-Busā'idīn*. The MS. of this work is preserved in the University Library of Cambridge." Recently Dr. Miss Hedwig Klein discovered a MS. of *Kashfu'l-Ghumma al-Jāmi' li-Akhhbār al-Umma* in the library of the Seminar of Oriental Languages in Berlin, and has prepared a critical text of the XXXIII Chapter of *Kashfu'l-Ghumma*, dealing with the history of Oman during the first three centuries of Islam and has taken great pains in fixing once for all the text of this important document. Thus she has rendered great service to the cause of Arabian history. In conclusion the speaker said : " Dr. Klein's dissertation is a type of work which, I hope, our university students of research would do well to imitate." The book was published at Hamburg in 1938.

Mr. S. F. B. Tyabji spoke in appreciation of a German publication on Indian Painting—the *Illustrated Edition of Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* by H. Gluck. This monumental work was prepared in the very early days of the Mughal Empire under the guidance of two great Persian artists, Mīr Sayyad 'Alī Tabrezi and Khwāja Abduṣ Ṣamad. Dr. M. A. Chaghtāi gave some further information with particular reference to the work carried out in this connection by Mr. Stanley Clark of the Albert Museum, South Kensington, London, in collaboration with Prof. H. M. Shairānī.

The Prophet Muḥammad's Service to Humanity.

Almost all over India speeches interspersed with poetical compositions paying homage to the memory of the Prophet Muḥammad—peace be

upon him—were made at the public meetings on 12th of the Rabbī'ul-Avval, the day of the birth of the Prophet. The meeting at the Cowasji Jahangir Hall, Bombay, was a very successful and distinguished one represented by 120 Muslim organizations. It was addressed by many learned scholars belonging to all communities. It was unanimously maintained that the Prophet gave the Muslims the lesson of universal toleration allowing Christians, Jews and other non-Muslims every freedom for practising their religion. He even allowed his mosque to be used by the Christians for their Sunday prayers. One of the speakers, Mr. Pickley, said that the prophet of Islam was born thirteen centuries ago in a land which was ridden by superstitions and all the evils that flesh is heir to. It was, however, the will of God that this man of no education should bear the torch of His Divine message and illuminate the path of humanity, groping in the dark for faith and light. The speaker said that the creed of Islam could be summarised in three words—Faith, Love, Action ; Faith in the One and only Almighty God, Love for Him and His creation, and Action for those simple principles of life preached by the Prophet.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EAST INDIA

THE Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, has now published the second volume of its series of the *History of Islam*. This volume treats at length the history of the Ommayyid dynasty. Its chief merit is that, apart from political conditions and military conquests, it deals exhaustively with the social, moral, economic, administrative and literary conditions of the period. It has also made a critical study of various allegations levelled against the Ommayids.

The sad and premature death of Sir Shāh Sulaimān, Judge of the Federal Court, is not only an irreparable loss to India, but a great blow to the world of science also. India lost in him a great lawyer, a sound mathematician and a versatile scientist. He was a lover of Urdu literature and an indefatigable worker in the cause of Muslim education and learning. His new theory of Relativity, which attracted attention of some of the eminent scientists of Europe, could not be worked out in all its details in his lifetime, and it will require a man of equal talent and calibre to save it from being buried in oblivion. We hope, however, that the National Academy of Science, Allahabad, which had the privilege of many years to have the late Sir Shāh Sulaimān as its president, will do something to carry on the work to a successful conclusion.

Sir Shāh Sulaimān was also making arrangements to publish Al-Beruni's *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī* under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh. He wanted this book to be rendered into Urdu, English and German, and a good many chapters were already translated into these

languages under his able supervision. We hope the Muslim University of Aligarh will honour the sacred memory of its late Vice-Chancellor by publishing this valuable work of one of the greatest scholars of Asia.

The Kitābistān, Allahabad, has issued a nicely printed brochure in English, namely *Urdu for Adults* by Ṣaḥibzāda Sa'īduzzafar Khān, formerly Principal of the Medical College, Lucknow. This brochure is very helpful for teachers who are interested in the Urdu literacy campaign, as the author describes his own method which he has evolved after ten years of experiments with adults in various grades of society. It is also useful for English-knowing foreigners, who wish to learn Urdu in a few days.

The *Al-Farqān*, Bareilly, has recently loomed large by producing useful literature on the political thinkers and religious reformers of the Muslim period in India. It has published special numbers on Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd (the Martyr) and on the Mujaddid Alf Thānī, who purged Islam of all its heterodox elements and pantheistic Sufism in the days of Akbar and Jehangir, and tried to make political dogmas conform to the orthodox tenets of Islam. The magazine has now brought out a special bulky work on Shāh Walī Ullah, who was a great religious and political force in the 12th century A.H.

He flourished in a period which was noted for the political disruption of the Muslim Empire, and religious decay and economic disintegration of Muslim society. But undeterred by such adverse circumstances he preached amongst his co-religionists a new religious philosophy to counteract the evils corroding Islamic society and polity. This edition of *Al-Farqān* aims to giving an elaborate exposition of his religious and political philosophy. Some of the learned articles are : The state of affairs in India before Shāh Walī Ullah ; the place of Shāh Walī Ullah in the history of reforms and revolutions of Islam ; Was Shāh Walī Ullah a revolutionary or a reformer (: Mujaddid) ? A brief introduction to Shāh Walī Ullah's philosophy, the causes of the downfall of Muslim rule in India, as viewed by Shāh Walī Ullah ; Shāh Walī Ullah as an author, etc., etc.

The *Ma'ārif* (Azamgarh), reports in its latest issue (May 1941) that the Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, has published a Basic Word List of the Arabic daily newspapers. According to this study 2,300 words comprise 90 per cent. of all the words in daily use. The study was made by taking two daily newspapers, one published in Cairo, the other in Jaffa, and reading them for a year and recording the words in editorial notes, local and foreign news, etc. These words are likely to form the basic vocabulary in the teaching of the Arabic language to pupils whose main purpose is to acquire a working knowledge of the daily Press. This may perhaps induce a movement for establishing a basic Arabic of 1,000 words comparable with the basic English vocabulary.

The *Ma'ārif* has recently contributed many interesting and thoughtful articles, e.g., one on the life and works of Abul Barakāt, the great scholar

of Baghdad. Another gives a comparative study of Iqbāl and Bergson. 'The influence of Urdu on Persian literature' forms a very useful reading. 'A Manuscript of Rubā'yyāt Samānī,' and "Rubā'yyāt Khayyām in Marsad-ul-'Abād' are also worth mentioning.

In the publication of a monthly Urdu journal 'Ma'asir' from Patna we find a welcome sign of the growth of literary consciousness amongst the teaching staff of the Patna University. Patna possesses an unsurpassed amount of literary wealth in the Khuda Bukhsh Khan Oriental Library. Some articles published in this journal deserve special notice. One is on *Diwān-i-Humāyūn Pādshāh*, for the first time bringing to light a collection of verses composed by the Mughal Emperor, Humāyūn. A reference to the *Diwān-i-Humāyūn* is found in *Akbar Nāmāh*, but the work was long untraced. We are glad to know that now it has been found in a library of a village of Bihar. Another writer has made a critical study of two manuscripts *Dilkusha* and *Mufidul Inshā*, which throw interesting side-lights on the Mughal period. Dr. Hidāyat Hosain of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has made a valuable addition to our knowledge of Muslim rule in India by editing a manuscript entitled *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* by Khwand Mīr. The author served Bābar, and after him Humāyūn till the end of his life. His book gives a vivid account of the system of administration which prevailed during the reigns of those two Emperors, and also of political ideas and ideals which gave shape to those systems. It also describes some of the ingenious inventions of Humāyūn. For example, he invented a portable wooden house consisting of comfortable rooms and apartments, which could be taken to pieces, carried from one place to another and then reconstructed into a dwelling place. He also built boats of several storeys and floated a city of boats with roads and markets. This city moved sometimes from Delhi to Agra on the Jumna. Humāyūn was highly fond of astronomy and some astronomical instruments made by the Emperor are mentioned in this book. An abridgment of the above book is found in *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, but the publication of the original text will be very useful to scholars interested in the history and civilization of the Mughal Empire.

A book entitled *Shujā'-ud-Daulah* by Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava throws some fresh light on the life of *Shujā'-ud-Daulah*, the Nawab of Oudh and traces developments in Oudh from 1754 to 1765 describing in detail the causes of the Nawab's downfall in 1764, and the expansion of British power over the Ganges Valley.

The chairman of Islamic Studies in the Dacca University is conducting research on Contributions of Indian scholars to *Hadīth* literature. It is hoped that the research will be exhaustive and comprehensive, as it will be based on all available literature on the subject.

NORTH-WEST INDIA

Tributes to Iqbāl.

AT the celebration in connection with the *Iqbāl Day*, held in the University Hall, Lahore, under the auspices of the University Union in the month of March, Iqbāl was described by various speakers not only as one of the greatest poets of the world but also a political prophet who first visualised the ideal of a separate Muslim State in India. Paying his tribute to the memory of the poet, Mr. Muḥammad ‘Alī Jinnāḥ who was specially invited to the meeting, said : ‘ The message of Iqbāl had reached the farthest corners of the world. He was the greatest interpreter of Islam in modern times. I have had the privilege and opportunity of being associated with him. I have never found a more true and more loyal colleague than he.

Mr. Tassaduq Hussain Khālīd said in the course of his paper on *Iqbāl’s Conception of Man* that Iqbāl was a poet neither of a nation nor of a creed but of humanity. Iqbal’s message was a revolt against everything that hampered the spontaneous and wholesome growth of man’s personality. He carried a ruthless crusade in verse against those systems of mysticism which teach us to say ‘ No ’ to life.

Dr. Miss Khadīja Begum delivering her convocation address at the Islamia College for Women, Anjuman-i-Himāyat Islām, Lahore, quoted Iqbāl and pointed out to the audience that self-realisation and self-confidence are the secret of life which is hidden behind the veil of effort, and its root is desire. She emphasised the unique standard of self-respect which Islam has imposed, refusing permission to bowing and prostrating before any object of creation. Exhorting youngmen to learn Iqbāl’s lesson of constant self-exertion, she quoted these lines with effect : “ Do not array your assembly on the coast-line, for there the tune of the song of life is gentle and low. Jump into mid-ocean and grapple with the tide, as everlasting life is the result of this struggle only.”

Turning-points in Islamic History.

Some time back Mr. Muḥammad Abdulla Enan of Egypt wrote a thesis on the *Decisive Moments in the History of Islam* in Arabic, which he has now translated into English and published at Lahore. According to the author there has been an eternal conflict of East and West. He has traced the amazing and rapid expansion of Islam westwards in the century of its origin. The decline of the Byzantine Empire and the rapid adoption of Islamic faith are well explained. Two decisive checks to the spread of Islam were the failure to capture of Constantinople in 678 and 717 and the defeat at the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. The author has given a very interesting account of the invention and use of the Greek Fire which

created such terror in the minds of adversaries ; its secret was discovered by the Arabs and used against the Crusaders in the 13th century. A particularly interesting piece is the analysis of the diplomatic relations of Hārūn al-Rāshīd and Charlemagne. Another section of the book is devoted to the downfall of Muslim rule in Spain. Mr. Enan has also compared Marco Polo with Ibn Baṭūṭa as travellers, showing that the latter being a Muslim was better able to judge Islamic countries.

Calendar of Persian Correspondence.

Recently the Government of India Historical Record Commission has published a volume under the title *Calendar Persian Correspondence* that passed between the Governor-General and other agents of the East Indian Company on one hand, and Indian princes, chieftains and other important personalities on the other, during the years 1785-87. This period was marked by the machinations of Mahdaji Sindhia who was an ally of the English, against the Mahratta Peshwa, and later by the eclipse of Sindhia and the rise to favour of Ghulām Qādir in the Imperial Court, where factions and troubles had set in. In South India, Tīpū, with his power undiminished, had just succeeded for the time in turning the scales against the English by a timely treaty with the Nizām and the Peshwa. The Campaign at Lalkot in Rajputana is fully described in the correspondence. More important, however, are the sidelights thrown by the letters on the social and economic conditions of the times. In short, this volume provides very useful data on the history of India of that period.

Anjuman Himāyat-e-Islām, Lahore.

The three-days Annual Session of the Anjuman Himāyat-e-Islām, Lahore, held during the Easter Holidays was marked by three learned speeches delivered by Moulāna Habību'r-Raḥmān Khān Shīrwānī, Sayed Sulaimān Nadvī and Dr. Moulvī Abdul Haq. All the three spoke on their special subjects with their usual ease and felicity. Dr. Moulvī gave a linguistic survey of the country in his presidential address and Miān Bashīr made a fervent appeal to the Anjuman to take up the cause of Urdu, and urged the establishment of an Urdu University in the Panjab. A resolution urging the Government to introduce the teaching of the Holy Book for Muslim students in the government recognised primary schools was unanimously passed.

'Ismā'il Shāhid Day at Lahore.

"Since the Orthodox Khilāfat, Islam has produced few Muslims of the real Islamic type like Moulānā Muḥammad Ismā'il," said Dr. Muḥammad

Baqir of the Panjab University, Oriental College, Lahore, speaking in the Habibia Hall, Lahore, on the occasion of the celebration of Ismā'il Shahīd Day recently. The martyr's family traces its pedigree to 'Omar, the second Khalifa. He was born on the 28th Shavvāl, 1196 A.H. (1781 A.D.) in the village Phulah, near Delhi and was brought up and educated by his uncle, Shāh Abdul Qādir.

He started his life as a teacher and preacher in Delhi. The general spirit by which he was animated, was the ardent profession of Islam in its primitive simplicity, and the utter rejection of all idolatrous or superstitious innovations, whencesoever derived. He also performed a pilgrimage in the company of his religious guide, Sayyad Aḥmad, and during his stay in Hijāz came in contact with learned scholars of different Islamic countries, from whom he learnt the prevailing conditions in those countries. The distressed and degraded condition to which the Indian Muslims had of late been reduced compared with the prosperous state of their co-religionists elsewhere seemed much more deplorable and excited the patriotic zeal of Moulvī Ismā'il on his return to India. In company with his master, Sayyad Aḥmad, he led a Jihād against the Sikhs, won a number of brilliant victories but taken by surprise at Bālākoh, a place near Mansehra, fell in 1831.

Moulvī Ismā'il has written many books and his *Taqwīyatul Imān* is still popular. From the commencement of his career, his attention was engaged by the religious irregularities which had crept into Islam, as well as the miseries of his fellow creatures in Islam. He succeeded in a great measure in reforming the former, but lost his life in attempting to alleviate the other.

Oriental College Magazine, Lahore.

Dr. Sayyad Abdulla of the Oriental College, Lahore, has contributed a long and comprehensive article on the *World of Urdu After the Great War*. In the domain of Urdu poetry, Akbar of Allahabad, Chakbast of Lucknow, Iqbāl, Zafar 'Alī Khān, Hasrat, Fānī, Aṣghar and others are noticed and the writer has discussed the characteristics of each poet. Besides well-known writers of the older generation, many young authors of promise are also given due place in this résumé.

Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir has contributed a long paper on the *Qiṣṣa Mahtāb Shāh wa Shahzāda Ṣaf Shikan* which he found in the form of a MS. in the Panjab University Library. It was composed by Mīr Ṣādiq 'Alī in 1199 A.H., and presents a good specimen of the language of that period.

Urdu, the Lingua Franca of India.

Dr. Moulvī 'Abdul Haq, the Secretary of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi, addressed a memorable letter to Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Gidney on

the prospects of popularising the Urdu language amongst the Anglo-Indian community and the desirability of including it in the curriculum of their primary and secondary schools throughout India. The writer significantly recalls that the status of Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India, owes not a little to the official Anglo-Indian patronage from the beginning of the last century, synchronising with the political predominance of the British in India. He has appended copies of some statements made by high Anglo-Indian authorities to show how greatly they appreciated the worth and value of this common medium of parlance in the vast sub-continent of India having hundreds of different local dialects. "But," continues the learned Doctor, "what may not be generally known is the peculiar fact that probably Urdu is the only living non-British—and certainly the one Indian vernacular in which members of your English race have left a very substantial volume of poetry—by no means of mean calibre..."

Sir Henry Gidney replied to Dr. Moulvī 'Abdul Haq in a very encouraging letter which says : "I agree in all you have so clearly explained why Urdu should be made widely taught especially in Anglo-Indian and European schools in India. Indeed it is my considered opinion that next to English the Urdu language is the *lingua franca* of India....."

M. A. C.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MUGHALS, by Dr. P. Saran :
Kitābistān, Allahābad, 1941 ; price Rs. 9.

IT is five years since the late Dr. Ibn-i Hasan's study of the central structure of the Mughal Empire was published by the Oxford University Press, and it is a very great pity that although, as he once told the reviewer himself, he had collected materials for one volume on the Provincial Government of the Mughal Empire and another on its Local Government, he was snatched away from us in the prime of life before he could carry out his plan. Dr. Saran of the Benares Hindu University has done a great service to Mediæval Indian institutions by bringing out this remarkable book, which may be regarded as a companion volume to Dr. Ibn-i Hasan's work.

As the author himself says in his preface, 'the subject of Mughal polity forms one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of the Mughal Empire,' and every word of the book tells the story of the author's own deep interest in the subject. He has delineated with remarkable insight practically every institution which had to do with provincial administration, and has traced its history from pre-Mughal times right up to the end of the Mughal Empire, leaving no detail unutilised which he could secure from original authorities. The chapters deal, with directly governed provinces, subordinate States, provincial structure, provincial administration, provincial army, provincial finance, law and justice, police and jails, public works (irrigation, communications,

post, recreation and enjoyment, famine relief), and a host of other matters.

The most refreshing part of the book is the criticism of the mishandling of Mughal institutions by certain writers, and most of this is thoroughly convincing to the reader. Thus when Moreland takes Sir Thomas Roe's list, of the administrative divisions of the Empire under Jahangir a little too seriously, Dr. Saran goes into much detail, and after having delved into authorities, both Indian and European, comes to the conclusion that "Roe, in order to make it appear in keeping with his dignity and influence at Court, gave a list prepared at random from memory the importance of a document emanating from no less a source than the 'King's Register' itself."

Dr. Saran's criticism is always very convincing and dignified, even though the party criticised may have a name with a certain amount of authority attached to it. Thus while describing the judicial system of the Mughal Empire in all its aspects, Dr. Saran almost tears to shreds the theory propounded by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration*. It is better to quote Dr. Saran himself:

"The most typical and definite opinion in this respect is that of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, viz., that 'the main defect of the department of Law and Justice was that there was no system, no organisation of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them.' But it is curious that the above statement is followed by

the following remarks: 'Every provincial capital had its Qazi, appointed by the supreme Qazi of the Empire (the Qazi-ul-Quzat). A Qazi was posted to every large town and seat of a faujdar. The smaller towns and villages had no Qazi of their own.' On page 27 of the same book again, he makes an even more effective statement, viz., 'Every city and even large village had its local Qazi, who was appointed by the chief Qazi.'

The picture which Dr. Saran has painted is perfect in every detail, and he never fails to be hard on any one who dares to theorise without sufficient reason or data, about the grandeur that was the Mughal Empire. '*The Provincial Government of the Mughals*' is one of the most thought-provoking volumes yet published on the subject. The printing and get-up are excellent and do credit to the Publishing House, the Kitābistān of Allahabad. The book is dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jung Bahadur.

H. K. S.

OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE, by Dr. Ishwara Topa, Reader in History, Osmania University. (Kitabistan, Allahabad ; price Rs. 3.

THE book contains two studies:

1. Cultural Trends in Ancient India.
2. The Indo-Muslim Kingdoms as a Cultural Force.

In the first portion of the book the author has built up his thesis of the Aryan Adventure in India and the consequent revolt against the supremacy of priestcraft. In this connection, the author has traced the different philosophic and religious movements which shaped the life of society in those days.

In the second part of the book, Dr. Topa has given a penetrating analysis of Indo-Muslim Kingdoms and the motives which inspired it to adapt its institutions to the conditions obtaining in India in those days and thus not only to dominate outwardly but to rule over the hearts of the people of India.

MEDIÆVAL INDIA UNDER MUSLIM KINGS, Vol. II, by S. M. Jaffar. (Published by S. M. Sadiq Khan, Khudadad Street, Peshawar).

THE volume under review deals with the rise and fall of the Ghaznavid dynasty. The author seems to have availed himself of the latest researches on the period covered by this volume. Besides the narrative of political events some chapters have also been devoted to the cultural activities and the form of government of this period. The copious footnotes in the book add to its value to scholars.

Y. H.

WHEN PEACOCKS CALLED by Hilda Seligman ; John Lane, The Bodley Head ; price 7s. 6d.

AN excellent story of the glorious days of the Maurya dynasty (from Chandragupta to Asoka) in fictional form, embodying interesting information about Buddhist India and its culture. Asoka's great empire as established on principles of *Ahimsa* is held up as a model to the modern world so miserably suffering from the practice of violence.

PĀKISTĀN : A NATION, published by Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore ; price Rs. 3.

THE anonymous author ("Al-Hamza") of this book has spared no pains to reiterate the fundamental diversity of the huge Indian population to justify his plea for a division of India into seven States on physical and cultural grounds—more or less following the scheme of an Indian Confederacy attributed to Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. Al-Hamza condemns the opposition of the "Hindustani Baniyas" to Pakistan in rather strong language. He is exasperated by the "hypocrisy of Wardha politicians" which "blasphemes the heaven with an air of spirituality...."

The book is well got-up and illustrated with 26 maps and diagrams. Altogether a vigorous contribution to the political literature growing up around the so-called Pākistan resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore and re-emphasised last year at Madras.

S.

الاسمى نامة: *ILĀHĪ NĀMĒ* by Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār, edited by H. Ritter, Ma'ārif Press, Istanbul, 1940, pp. 30-440-16.

Bibliotheca Islamica is a famous and useful series in course of publication at Istanbul during the last few years. Its 12th volume, which has just come out, is the Persian poetical work of the famous Ṣūfī poet, Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār, printed in December 1940, and available in India only now. It is a thick volume of about 500 neatly printed pages with indices.

As usual the edition is critical. Owing to war, manuscripts of public libraries in Istanbul have been removed to safety, and the editor was constrained not to utilise some of the better MSS. relating to certain portions of the work.

The poem consists of dialogues between a son and his father, who admonishes his son and illustrates his points of view with stories which fill the bulk of the volume.

The learned foreword of the editor is printed both in German and Persian.

TRAVELS IN YEMEN, an account of Joseph Halévy's Journey to Najran in the year 1870, written in Ṣan'anī Arabic by his guide, Hayyim Habshush, edited with a detailed summary in English and a glossary of vernacular words by S.D. Goitin, Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, 1941, pp. 138+102.

JOSEPH Halévy was a famous French Jew who visited Yeman about 70 years ago, and later published several hundred Sabeian inscriptions found in different parts of Arabia Felix, procured

mostly with the help of his untiring and resourceful local guide, Habshush. The present volume is a sort of diary kept by this guide of what happened to him and his master in their quest for archæological finds. The diary is partly in Hebrew and partly in Arabic, of the dialect of Ṣan' though transcribed in Hebrew characters as is wont with Jews. Many Beduin customs, the treatment of Jews in Yaman in the last century, and many anecdotes of adventure and misadventure are recorded in this interesting little volume.

M. H.

DECISIVE MOVEMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF ISLAM by Muḥammad Abdullah Enan (published by Sheikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore); price Rs. 4-8-0.

THE main idea of this book is represented by its title. It deals with the decisive encounters between the East and West, between Islam and Christendom. This is the most important subject of Islamic history, rich as it is in abundant and eventful episodes in the fields of war and peace. In both cases the encounters and contacts brought about most far-reaching effects on the destinies of the East and the West.

Besides the decisive events of military nature such as the Arab Siege of Constantinople, the conquest of Crete, Sicily, Corsica and the south of Italy, the Moslem invasion of Rome, the fall of Toledo, the Battle of Zallaka, the fall of Granada, the author has also dealt in a most interesting manner with problems of such cultural significance as Slavery in the Middle Ages, Chivalry, its History, Principles and Conventions, Diplomacy in Islam and the Intellectual Legacy of Moslem Spain in the Escorial.

This book is the result of the mature scholarship of the author whose insight into Islamic history is apparent on every page of this dispassionate and impartial inquiry.

Y. H.

ADDENDA

TO ISLAMIC CULTURE, VOL. XIV, PP. 387-422.

The great delay in postal communications due to the war has prevented the proofs of my article and the additions which I was to make, from arriving at the printer's in time. Therefore, I may be permitted here to give a few more references collected by me since August, 1939, when my manuscript went to press. They illustrate, still more amply, the diffusion in Arabic literature of the Platonic ideas treated in the article. The typographical errors which crept in in spite of the printer's diligence, are corrected only in as far as their correction seems to me completely indispensable for an easy understanding.

p. 388, note 2 : Cf. now P. Kraus' edition of ar-Rāzī, *Opera Philosophica*, Vol. I, *Universitatis Fouadi I Litt. Fac. Publ. Fasc. XXII*, Cairo, 1939, p. 99.

p. 389, line 9 : . . the only work of this special type of literature.

p. 389, note 3 : Another manuscript of Mubashshir's work is in Berlin MS. or. fol., 3,100, written in Jerusalem in 1320/1902. Its relation to the manuscript in London has to be investigated.

p. 391, note 1, line 8 : given an astrological interpretation . . ; line 10 : Venice 1519 ; line 14 : الله read : الى الله ; line 15 : (*Unus ex !*) ; line 17 : Ptol. III, 1, should be read in the beginning of the line ; same line : The manuscript has لها ; line 23 : الله read : الهيا ; same line : 2 should be ? ; line 26 : *de Gen. Anim.*, 726 A ss. ; same line : φυσ. χκρ. 194 B13. line 27 : يكونه .

p. 394, note 2 : Now I would definitely prefer the reading Miskawayh, since this is the vocalization of the MS. or. Marsh. 662 = Uri No. 292 at the end (cf. also the Catalogue of Nicoll, p. 576). It may be noted that this manuscript has the vocalization *kharadh*.

p. 394, note 3 : Meanwhile, I had an opportunity of consulting the MS. or. Marsh. 662. "*Plato's Exhortation concerning the Education of Young Men*" is studied by me in *Orientalia*, N. S. X, 1941.

p. 395, note 2 : Another quotation from Galen's synopsis of the *Republic*, which I found in Joseph b. 'Aqnīn's *Kitāb tibb an-nufus*, is being published in the forthcoming edition of the *Timæus*.

p. 395, note 3 : More fragments of this work in the *Kitāb adh-Dhakhīrah*, ed. by G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928.

p. 396 : I had no opportunity to consult al-Fārābī's paraphrase of the *Laws*, to determine whether it might have been the source of our quotation.

p. 396, note 3 : line 5 : (*Corr. in MS. ex*) ; line 7, No. 721.

p. 396, note 3 : Cf. at-Tawhīdī, *Kitāb al-muqābasāt*, Cairo, 1347 1929, p. 253s.

p. 397, note 4 : (v. above p. 389s.).

p. 398, note 1 : line 8s. : (v. above p. 396).

p. 402, note 1 : (see above p. 396).

p. 403, note 1 : The proverbial definition of the friend as the *alter ego*, which had been adopted by Aristotle, is also quoted by Joseph b. 'Aqnīn, *Kitāb tibb an-nufus*, MS. or. Oxford Hunt. 518 = Uri 314, fol. 86a. — In the same way that this definition has been ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras, so the famous Mystic Junayd is credited with it by the Arabs. I remember for this peculiar wording (whereas the identity of two lovers being expressed in the form : I am you, is very common in Ṣūfism) only

the late *Kitāb manāḥij al-aḥlāq as-saniyah* by Abd 'al-Qādir al-Fākihī, MS. or. India Office 4573, fol. 80a : *والجديد شيخ الطائفة : الأخ إى الصديق هو انت فى الحقيقة الإله غيرك بالشخص* :

p. 400 : For the wording of this passage of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in Arabic cf. M. Bouyges, *Averroes, Tafsīr mā ba'd at-ṭabī'ah Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum*. Serie Arabe, Tome V, 2, Beyrouth 1938, p. 3s.

p. 407, note 1 : The Cairine photograph is taken from the MS. Mehmed Murad, 1408 in Constantinople.

p. 407, saying No 2 : " what is due to him " seems to be a more appropriate translation of *haqqahu* in this passage.

p. 407, saying No. 4 : Cf. the article devoted to Plato in MS. or. Princeton No. 723 -- 110 B. p. 407, note 2 : . . see above p. 394.

p. 407, saying No. 6 : Amongst the sayings of Aristotle in Hunayn, cf. Loewenthal's translation p. 109. It has been adopted by Ibn al-Mu'tazz in his *Kitāb al-ādāb*, ed. by I. Kratchkovsky, *Le Monde Oriental*, 18, 1924, p. 84.

p. 407, note 4 : For the use of " modestia " as a translation of *σωφροσύνη* cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* III, 8.

p. 408, note 1 : Quoted by al-Ghuzūlī, *Matālī' al-budūr*, Cairo 1299-1300 1881, Vol. I, p. 299s.

p. 408, saying No. 24 : Amongst the sayings of Plato in Hunayn, *loc. cit.*, p. 107.

p. 408, saying No. 26 : Cf. Hunayn, p. 161s., amongst the sayings of " Mahararius."

p. 408 saying No. 46 : Cf. as-Šūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo, 1341 1922, p. 45, and Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348/1929, p. 15s. Note 4, line 6-7 : Take out : which . . tract.

p. 409, note 1 : First line of the Arabic quotation : (MS. تعانى (تعاطى).

p. 409, note 1 : For " the assimilation of man to the Divine," we may mention further the *Rasā'il ikhwān aş-ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347/1928, Vol. I, p. 153 ; p. 317 ; Vol. III, p. 152 ; p. 348 ; p. 357. Also Moses b. Ezra, 'Arugat hab-bosem, *Zion* 2, 1842/3, p. 121, and al-Jurjani, *Kitāb at-ta'rifāt*, ed. by G Flügel, Leipzig 1845, p. 176., For ar-Rāzī cf. now his *Opera Philosophica*, ed. by P. Kraus, p. 108.

p. 410, note 4 : For this thought in Greek literature, cf. Gregory of Nyssa (cf. H. F. Cherniss, *The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa*, Univ. of California Publ. in Classical Philology, XI, 1, 1930, p. 40), and Antonius Melissa, in Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, Vol. 136, col. 959/960 B (=Maximus Confessor, *Patrologia Græca*, Vol. 91, col. 969/970 A), see Th. Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, Erlangen, 1884, p. 63, and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Pædagogus* III, 1, beginning,--From the innumerable Arabic authors who quote his saying, only the name of Ibn al-'Arabi who uses it constantly deserves mention here (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah*, Būlāq, 1293 1876, Vol. II, p. 202 ; Vol. III, p. 541 ; Vol. IV, p. 35 ; p. 240 ; p. 475 ; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn Al-'Arabī*, Leyden, 1919, p. 52). Also al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, *sarḥ 'aḳā'ib al-qalb*, beginning, *Kitāb at-tawbah*, and *Kitāb ash-shukr*, Cairo, 1334/1916, Vol. IV, p. 23 and p. 100 may be added.

p. 412, note 1 : ar-Razi, *Opera Philosophica*, ed. by P. Kraus, p. 99s. and p. 106.

p. 414, note 5 : Cf. also as-Suhrawardī's *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* which I was able to consult in Mahmūd b. Mas'ūd ash-Shīrāzī's commentary (Teheran ?) 1313-1315, p. 267s. (cf. also M. Horten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardi*, Abh. zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte, 38, Halle, 1912, p. 27).--Another copy of Ibn Kam-mūnā's commentary on the *talwihāt*, which I could compare, is in the collection of Chester Beatty, No. AS 514.

p. 416, note 1 : line 2 : المدينة ; line 4-5 : From تهورا to وفى القاصان , the text is omitted in the MS.

p. 417, note 3 : Some other instances are Abraham b. Dāwūd, *Emunāh rāmāh*, ed. and transl. by S. Weil, Francfort 1852, p. 33=p. 42, and al-Ghazzālī, *Ihyā', Kitāb riḡādāt an-nafs wa-tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, Cairo 1334/1916, Vol. III, p. 47. Cf. also I Goldziher, *Kitāb ma'āni an-nafs*, AGGW, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. 9, 1907, p. 18-21.—Galen's *Ethics* which has been published by P. Kraus (*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University V*, 1939, p. lss.) is most important for the history of this branch of philosophy in Islam.

p. 417, note 5 : See above p. 402s...

p. 419, note 4 : This saying is quoted anonymously by Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb az-zahrah*, p. 15, where, on the following page, Ptolemy is credited with another dictum ; by Sa'adyāh, *Kitāb al-amānāt wa-l-itiqādāt*, ed. by S. Landauer, Leyden, 1880, p. 295 (cf. G. Vayda, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 92, 1932, p. 146ss. and the literature mentioned there) ; and, in a similar form, by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Rawḡat al-muḡhibin*, Damascus, 1349/1930, p. 97s.

p. 420, note 1 : The first saying is quoted by Joseph b. 'Aqnīn, *Kitāb ṭibb an-nufūs*, MS. or. Oxford Hunt, 518, fol. 87a.

p. 420, note 4 : Cf. L. Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Hosayn-Ibn-Mansour-Al-Hallāj*, Paris, 1922 Vol. I, p. 169ss.

p. 420, note 5 : Cf. also as-Sarrāj, *Maṣārī' al-'uṣhshāq*, Constantinople, 1301. 1883, p. 4 and p. 35, and ar-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḡāḡarāt al-udabā'*, Cairo, 1287/1870, Vol. II, p. 22.

p. 420, note 6 : . . (see above p. 408, note 3).

p. 420, note 7 : This saying is quoted from Ḥunayn by al-Ghuzūlī, *Matālī'*, Vol. II, p. 95, and in the article on Hippocrates by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, Vol. I, p. 29s. It is quoted anonymously by Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb az-zahrah*, p. 17, and by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Rawḡah*, p. 150s. Cf. also Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāq*, Cairo, 1319/1901, p. 14 ; an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'arab*, Vol II, second edition, Cairo 1346/1928, p. 116, quotes it under the name of Pythagoras.—The introductory story to this definition of love, published by R. Walzer (*JRAS*, 1939, p. 407ss.), is found, with omission of the Greek names and with some modifications, as quoted from al-Jāhīz in an-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyah*, loc. cit., p. 152 ; in al-Vaṣhshā', *Kitāb al-muwashshā'*, ed. by R. Brünnow, Leyden 1886, p. 64 ; further in Ṣufic literature, cf. al-Qushayrī, *Risālah*, Būlāq, 1284/1867, p. 191, and al-Ghazzālī *Ihyā'*, *Kitāb al-maḡabbah*, Cairo, 1334/1916, Vol. IV, p. 300.

p. 420, note 9 : The first saying is also found in ar-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḡāḡarāt*, Vol. II, p. 23.

p. 421, note 1 : ar-Rāzī, *Opera Philosophica*, ed. by P. Kraus, p. 41s.

p. 421, note 3 : A very similar version of this story is told by as-Sarrāj, *Maṣārī'*, p. 2ss. From as-Sarrāj it is quoted by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Rawḡah*, p. 152, (cf. also p. 153) and by Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn*, p. 11. Cf. further an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, loc. cit., p. 116s. The version contained in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *Iqd* (Cairo, 1316/1898, Vol. I, p. 163) is very different.

FRANZ ROSENTHAL.



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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THE CHAPTER ON PEARLS IN THE BOOK ON PRECIOUS STONES BY AL-BĒRŪNĪ¹

IN 1355 A.H. the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif published from a manuscript supplied by me an edition of this important work which might have been the subject of an edition de luxe on account of its unique character in this branch of oriental literature. No other work in Arabic or Persian of which I have knowledge treats the subject in such scientific manner and as a rule other works make no pretence of investigating the specific weights, hardness and probable origin of the precious stones and minerals discussed.

When I undertook the plan for an edition only one manuscript was known, that in the Escorial in Spain. With great liberality, P. Mariano Sanchez² of that library sent me photographs to Aligarh and these should still be preserved in the University Library there. I was deeply disappointed when I made a copy as the scribe, either a Persian or an Indian, apparently had not the slightest knowledge of the Arabic language and, as was evident, omitted much. This was confirmed when, on arriving at Berlin, I mentioned the matter to Professor Ruska,³ who informed me that Dr. Ritter had sent him from Istanbul photographs of a second manuscript discovered by Prof. Zeki Walidi in Qaisariyya in the library of Rasit (Rashīd) Efendi. These photographs he lent me and I was able to collate my own copy with it and found that this manuscript, most likely written in Egypt, was much better and that the scribe, in a clear hand, had done his work much better having a knowledge of the language. He had even, though often wrongly, corrected palpable errors of the Escorial manuscript. When I returned the photos to Prof. Ruska he told me that yet another manuscript of the same work had been discovered by Prof. Zeki Walidi in the Sarai Library in Istanbul and that he had received photographs of this also. These too he lent to me and I found, to my regret,

1. I am convinced that this is the correct pronunciation of his name. In the fac-simile of his autographs which I published in this Journal he vocalises the Ba' with Fath which precludes the pronunciation of 'Biruni.' The Arabic alphabet is unable to indicate the sound of the Ya'i Majhūl and *Berun* (outside) was at his time the pronunciation as it is to-day in Urdu.

2. I fear that this learned Padre was murdered during the revolution in Spain.

3. I here again express my grateful thanks to Prof. Ruska for his invaluable help.

that I had not had access to it from the beginning. It was written by a man of learning and would have sufficed alone for an edition as practically all variants found in the other two manuscripts are due either to carelessness or ignorance of the respective scribes. The copyist of this manuscript calls himself at the end Aḥmad b. Šiddīq b. Muḥammad, the physician, and says that he completed the copy for his own use and of those after him on the first day of Šafar 626 A.H. He may be Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Šiddīq al-Ḥarrānī, a Ḥanbali scholar who died in 634 A.H.,¹ though this man is not credited in biographies with medical knowledge. In the margins of this copy are frequent notes, often correcting or disputing statements of Bērūnī, by another scholar, who claims to have had other works of our author at hand, and calls himself Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khaṭīb Dāriyā in the Šāliḥiyya of Damascus. He lived somewhat later as he cites the book of drugs by Ibn al-Baitār. In a note on the front-page he states that he acquired the manuscript in 678 A.H. The next owner is Muḥamad b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿid al-Anṣārī. I have not been able to find a biography of the first, but the second is beyond doubt the celebrated Ibn al-Akfānī who died in 749 A.H.² of the plague. He also composed a work on jewels.

This manuscript also contains an addition (p. 257, line 13 to p. 258, line 5) which is missing in the other two manuscripts. It consists of the end of the missing chapter on tin and a marginal note suggests correctly that the copyist of the manuscript had turned over two leaves (or more) containing the end of the chapter on iron and the beginning of that on tin.

Since I undertook the edition of this work I uncautiously drew the attention to the importance of the work to a colleague who thought fit to enter upon a task for which he had not the knowledge and published a translation of parts into German in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*. He happens to cite only once in this translation two lines of poetry in the Arabic text, which he has not understood, because he took the Qaisariyya MS. as a basis, being easier to read. The correct text is found in my edition. Not content with this, the work was given to two students for presentations as theses for the doctorate. One was a young Syrian, named Hāshimī, investigated the authorities and authors cited by Bērūnī and in the list of poets which he gives nearly half the names are wrong, because he again used the easier readable manuscript. The second is a Maghribi scholar, Hilālī, who intends to present a German translation of the lengthy introduction for obtaining the degree. As Hilālī is not to be blamed and he asked my advice on the matter, I have given him my help in his work, which may have appeared in print.

I have chosen the chapters on pearls because they are a good example of the manner in which the author deals with his subject. There is much

1. A short biography is found in the *Shad Harat* of Ibn al-ʿImād, Vol. V, 163.

2. A biography is found in the *Durar al-Kamina*, III, 279. The book on jewels has the title *Nuḥḥab adh-Dhakhāʾir* and was published by Cheikho in the journal *al-Mashriq* in 1908; it is a very short treatise of 15 pages only.

which one would have preferred he had left out. He enlarges upon the linguistic aspect of the names of the pearls and for this purpose cites a number of poetical quotations taken from ancient and modern poets, some his contemporaries, and one is amazed how great a quantity of books must have been in a comparatively remote part of Eastern Persia, the modern Afghanistan. He indulges in criticising other commentators and it is curious that he devotes so much space in polemics against al-'Amidī¹ and his book, *al-Muwāzana*, the weighing up of the merits of the two poets, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, in which book 'Amidī displays a decided leaning in favour of al-Buḥturī. Bērūnī tries to vindicate some times very far-fetched similia introduced by Abū Tammām. Frequently these poetical quotations are obscure as they are in the first place cited for proving the use of certain words.

As with other jewels the author tries to solve the problem of their origin and adduces the opinions of his predecessors. As regards pearls which he considers to take the place of bones in other animals, we may state that it is almost certain that these are formed through some minute foreign matter entering the shell which the animal is unable to eject. Over this matter forms a calcified crust of a similar composition as the coating of the shell and of the same lustre which is periodically repeated making several fresh layers and the size of the pearl consequently depends upon the time which the animal in the shell has had to cover the pearl with fresh layers and naturally also upon the size of the shell itself. Pearls are found not only in the shells in the well-known pearl-fisheries, but even in other quite common shells though they are as a rule minute.

Bērūnī states in the introduction of his book that he only knew of two works on the same subject by predecessors, one by the well-known philosopher al-Kindī² in Arabic and the second by Naṣr b. Ya'qūb ad-Dīnawarī in Persian. This latter author is unknown otherwise and both books seem to be lost. He also cites frequently the two brothers al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, natives of Ray, a then important town near the modern Teheran. They appear to have been in the position of court-jewellers to the Sulṭān Yamīn ad-Daula Maḥmūd of Ghazna. I mention this because they are mentioned here several times and they have puzzled the translators mentioned above. Other authors and poets will be discussed, as they occur, in the foot-notes.

1. Abul Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Bishr b. Yahya al-Amidī died in 370 A.H. at Basra. His *Muwāzana* was published in Istanbul as long ago as 1287 A.H. Biographies: Brockelmann, I, 111 (Suppl. I, 171); Yāqūt, *Irshād*, III, 54; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 218.

2. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. as-Sabbāh al-Kindī, one of the greatest scientists of the whole Middle Ages wrote innumerable works on all subjects of human learning, a list of which, as far as preserved, may be consulted in Brockelmann's *History of Arabic Literature*, I, 209 (Suppl. I, 372). The earliest biographies are found in the *Fihrist* 255-261 and Marzubanī's *Mu'jam*, 507. The publisher of the latter work, edited by me, has unfortunately deliberately omitted a marginal note on p. 507, which is found on Vol. 180 of the

I hope that the somewhat lengthy grammatical and lexicographical digressions of the author which I translate, with one slight exception, in full, will not weary the reader ; but they serve to elucidate the manner of working by the author. The work on jewels is the product of the last years of his life as indicated by his dedication to the *Āmīr Maudūd* and it is not mentioned in the usual lists of his works, though the writer of the marginal notes states that he knew of an earlier treatise by *Bērūnī* on the same subject. Only the Book on Drugs appears to have been written later by *Bērūnī* when he was over eighty years of age as he himself says in the introduction of that work. Some articles in that work are verbatim found in the Book on Jewels.

I hope that a complete translation which I have made may see the light some day.

Unfortunately some errors of the press, and perhaps my own, remain and I correct some of these in the foot-notes to this translation. My friends of the *Da'irat* have at times corrected what they considered errors on my part, but they are wrong. As examples I cite p. 111 line 18 مثب and p. 139 line 11 راءك where أدرك. *Arāk* is the name of a tree which they probably did not know.

Berlin MS. and which gives some unknown information. I give it here in text, difficult to read in the MS., in text and translation.—

ذكر محمد بن داود بن الجراح في كتاب الورقة ان ابا علي عبد الرحمن بن يحيى بن خاقان قال رايته
يعني ابا يوسف يعقوب بن اسحاق الكندي في نومي بعد حرقه قال مارايته حيا و نعتة بصفته . قال فسأله
ماذا فعل بك . قال ما هو الا ان رأيت فقال انطلقوا الى ما كنتم به تكذبون . ذكر احمد بن
الطيب المرخسي وغيره عنه انه قال لا يفلح الناس و عيني تطرف من داب ؟ المتوكل . قال و كان
المتوكل امر بضرب الكندي في سنة اثنتين و اربعين و مائتين خمسين سو طاً فضرب و كان منسوباً الى
الزندقة و هو يعقوب بن اسحاق بن الصباح بن محمد بن الاشعث بن قيس الكندي نعوذ بالله من غضبه .

"Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ in the *Kitāb al-Waraq* mentions that Abū 'Alī 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Khāqān said : I saw him in my sleep after he had been burned. He said : I never saw him, meaning Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb . . . al-Kindī, in life but recognised him by the description of him. I asked him : What did God do to thee ? He replied : What was it except that when He saw me, He said : Go ye away to where you used to lie about him. Aḥmad b. at-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī and others report about him that he said : The people will never prosper while my eyes flow with tears about the deed of al-Mutawakkil. He (Sarakhsī) said : Al-Mutawakkil in 242 A.H. ordered that al-Kindī was lashed fifty stripes with a whip for he was accused of being a Zindīq (heretic). His name was Ya'qūb b. Ishāq. b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ b. Muḥammad b. al-Aḥḥ b. Qais al-Kindī."

The *Kitāb al-Waraq* has been preserved, it was so called because it contained biographies each of which filled only one leaf. 'Izz ad-Din Tanūkhī has published a specimen in the *Journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus*. Ibn al-Jarrāḥ was killed with the unfortunate one-day Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz in 296. Aḥmad b. at-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī was the tutor of the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid and a pupil of al-Kindī. He was killed by order of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid in 283 or 286 (*Lisān al-Mizān*, I, 189).

TRANSLATION OF THE ARABIC TEXT
PEARLS

GOD Almighty has said :¹ " As if they were rubies and pearls." It was on this account that we mentioned the rubies first together with such jewels which resemble them or are passed off for them and we placed with them such which surpass the ruby in hardness and is master over them. Now we turn to that jewel which follows it in the Qur'ān, namely the Marjān and we say that the name for one thing varies in various languages and two languages do not agree except on rare occasions. For nations on earth are many and each nation has its own language ; the names for one thing are numerous and increase with the division of nations into tribes and clans, so that their dialects are different, even if they do not differ entirely, because they change gradually. The Indians have a special liking for the multiplication of names for one and the same thing some being simple names, while others are descriptive derived from their conditions. That however which we are aiming at is what the Arabs say or express in their poems and we are not concerned about the Indians. Most lexicographers collect what they have heard in every tribe or clan and explain it giving its correct pronunciation without it having any other advantage, but that of plunging them into boasting and amassing material. They go so far that they cast aside all guard and even manufacture as evidence for their explanations poems which they hang round the necks of folk in the graves and call them Ancients and the later ones, working in the same way as it is said about the Wasāya (death-bed admonitions) : If thou desirest to lie, become one who records (past events), do not invoke the evidence of one living who can contradict thee, but turn to the dead for it, for they are hidden for ever."

Pearls consist of two kinds : Large ones called Durr and small ones called Marjān as Abū 'Ubaida says : Durr are the large pearls, Marjān are the small ones and Lu'lu' comprises both."

God Almighty says :² " From both are brought Lu'lu' and Marjān." So these are two kinds differing as to being large and small, but Lu'lu' is (here) used for the large ones.

Abul Hasan al-Lihyānī³ says : " Durr and Lu'lu' are big pearls." He does not disagree that Marjān means the small ones, but he will not admit that the name Lu'lu' can be used for the Marjān. There is no question but that he relied in his opinion upon the verse of Nābigha :⁴

" With Durr and rubies was her chest adorned and with separated beads of Lu'lu' and emerald."

1. Sūra 58, v. 58.

2. Sūra 58, v. 22.

3. A poet of the time before Islam whose collected poems have been preserved. The verse in question is from a poem about the queen of an-Nu'mān, king of al-Hīra.

4. Abul Hasan 'Alī b. al-Mubārak al-Lihyānī was a pupil of the chief scholars of the Baṣrian and Kūfān schools and the citation is no doubt from his work entitled " Nawādir." He lived in the middle of the third century of the Hijra.

Now the emerald is never placed side by side with pearls of a different kind than those used with rubies. The poet 'Alī ibn al-Jahm¹ expresses himself opposite to this :

"She did not like what she saw on my head and said : " Is this hoariness or Lu'lu' pearls strung on a cord ?"

He call the Marjān (small pearls) Lu'lu', because very small pearls, which by their smallness resemble mustard-seed, when strung, are likened to white hair. This is what they mean, not cropped hair, for if they were to mean that, they would not compare it with strung pearls, because it (cropped hair) is more like scattered pearls. Aus ibn Hajar² has said :

"Just as the cord lets fall from its string scattered pearls, small ones."

Ibn Bābak³ has said :

"As if the new moon on the eve of her first night were the remnant of a cut string of pearls."

He refers to the small ones when strung, because when far from the eye one cannot distinguish between the serrated joinings, and by the word *cut* he wants to say that the string does not form a complete circle through the cord being broken.

In books of words is stated : *Tala'la'a wajhuhu*, i.e., *his face glistened* is derived from the word *Lu'lu'* (pearl) on account of its lustre.⁴

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī⁵ says in the book *Sharḥ al-'Ilal* : "The day is called *Nahār* because the light of it runs from East to West like the flowing of a river (Nahr) so that it fills up what is between both." I should like to know what is the difference between it (the day) and the night as its darkness also runs from East to West like the flow of a river and fills up what lies between the two. He also says : "The night is called *Lail* because it glistens (*tala'la'a*) so that the onlooker is in doubt about the things he sees and says : "That is it !" Then he says : "*Lālā* (no ! no !) for the thing glistens (*la'la'a*) for him." For this reason does he assert was the name *Lu'lu'* given to the pearl because the jewellers say ? : "Many a time does the eye fall on them and again you look at them and they appear to look different from the first time, though what he says can only be his perplexity about them. Perhaps it may be due to their round shape as most other jewels have facettes and various shapes upon which the eye can rest and make it possible to contemplate the greater part or most of them, and at times the transparency permits him even to look

1. A poet known for his antagonism against the family of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. He died near Ḥalab in 1249 A.H. (Marzubānī 286 ; Ibn Khallikān ed. Cairo 1310, Vol. I., 349, etc.).

2. A poet of the time of paganism.

3. His name was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Maṣṣūr and he died in 410 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, I, 297 ; Tha'libī Yatīma, II, 291).

4. Really the opposite is the case, the verb is derived from the noun *Lu'lu'*.

5. This may be Aḥmad b. 'Alī ar-Rumānī known as Ibn ash-Sharābī who died in 415 A.H. (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, I, 241 ; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 151). His work is not preserved. The etymologies are of course altogether wrong.

through them to the other side. A round opaque jewel is not so ; because the eye can only visualise a small portion and, if it is turned round, his eye catches another new portion of it and he sees what he had not seen before.

NAMES OF PEARLS AND THEIR DESCRIPTIONS BY LEXICOGRAPHERS

THE names for the pearl are numerous in the Arabic language like those for the lion, and we shall not trouble to enumerate them all ; first because we are unable to do so and secondly because it would be tiresome. Among the well-known names are : Lu'lu', Durra, Marjān, Nuṭfa, Tūma, Tau'ama, Laṭīmiyya, Ṣadafiyya, Safāna, Jumāna, Wāniyya, Haijumāna, Kharīda, Khūsa, Tha'tha' and Khaṣl.

Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad¹ says : " Nuṭfa (drop of water) resembles it by its glitter and clearness." A grain of hail or a drop of milk resembles a pearl much more than a drop of water. Nay the comparison with a drop of *Manī* would be nearer on account of its whiteness rather than its lucidness, though *Manī* is (itself) named after a drop of water, just as it is called " despicable water," and with reference to man and woman it is called water, but *Manī* is generally what is meant by *Nuṭfa*.

A poet (Suwaid ibn Abī Kāhil)² says about the Tau'ama :

" Like a Tau'ama (is the maiden) when you touch her skin, the eye is refreshed and the couch is pleasant."

This (Tau'ama) refers to a place on the sea-shore. Here follows in the text a grammatical explanation. Al-Ḥirmāzī³ says concerning Tau'am that it is the capital of 'Omān close to the coast while Ṣuhār is near the mountains on the road to the desert and between both is the distance of twenty Parasangs.

As regards the Laṭīmiyya it is said that it is derived from the word Laṭīma (caravan carrying spices) in the verse of Abū Dhu'aib and of others. As it cannot be very well derived from Laṭīma, as no spices are carried, they say also that it refers to the sea on account of the clapping (Talāṭum) of the waves.

1. One of the greatest scholars of the Basrian school, died in 175 A.H. It was he who first worked out the metrical system of Arabic poetry and the first who conceived the idea of writing a lexicon, the *Kitāb al-'Ain*, which was to contain the whole of the Arabic language. Whether the work as preserved is actually by him is a much disputed question. Certain is however that it was he who planned the very scientific, but unpracticable, arrangement of the contents based upon the location of the organs of articulation, beginning with the sounds uttered deepest in the throat proceeding to the tip of the lips. (Biographies are found in all works on Arabic scientists).

2. A poet of the first century of the Hijra. The verse is out of a poem recorded in the collection of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*.

3. Rauḥ b. al-Faraj, one of the lesser scholars of the Kūfic school.

Likewise the name *Ṣadafīyya* is derived from the word *Ṣadaf* (oyster-shell). The poet *Nābiḡha*¹ has said :

“(This woman is) shining like the pearl of an oyster-shell, the diver who has found it is joyful and whoever sees it shouts for joy and prostrates himself (in admiration).”

He means out of joy and admiration for the pearl hidden and sheltered in its shell against the water as the Holy Writ speaks about it. For the shell is the mother of the pearl and the mother is compassionate towards her child and guards it. *Nābiḡha* does not mean that it guards its lustre in the shell but only wishes to indicate its connection with the shell. But *Abū ‘Alī al-Iṣbahānī*² says that the expression *Ṣadafīyya* is poor and of no value as every pearl in the world is found in a shell. Nothing shares this quality with the shell except that there is a point of comparison in the fairy-tales of the Indians for they say that pearls are found in elephants of super quality in the flesh of their foreheads and that these elephants are distinguished by their greyish colour and the perfume like the scent of Indian jasmine. Likewise (they assert) that pearls are found in the soil where the lances (i.e., bamboo) grow beneath the roots. They detail this by saying that these lances are red and if they are sappy suckling which are not straight and rain falls on them at time of the constellations *Ghafr* and *Zubānā*³ pearls engender in the tubes from the rain-drops which congeal when the canes of the lances (bamboo) are ripe. *Ṭabāshīr* is manufactured from them (the bamboo) and if the people of the sea-shore were to find in the *Ṭabāshīr* canes something, after burning and splitting them, it would be well known and the kind of such pearls would also be known. Then even if there were such elephant or bamboo pearls those derived from the sea would still be shell-ones (*Ṣadafī*).

‘*Abd ar-Raḥman ibn Ḥassān*⁴ has said :

“She is resplendent like the pearl of the diver, set apart from hidden jewels.”

If he did intend that it was set apart from the shell and extracted from it, it (the shell) could not be called a jewel for it is only a thing which protects jewels. *Sulaimān ibn Yazīd al-‘Adawī*⁵ has said :

“As if she were a white pearl, a hidden one, from which the shell is guarding the harm in the tossing of the sea.”

1. See note 4, p. 403.

2. I have not been able to ascertain whom he means, it may be *Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq ibn Manda*, the Traditionist who died in 39 A.H.

3. *Al-Ghafr* (also called *al-Ghufra*) and *Zubānā* are stations of the moon; they are in the first case three small stars in Virgo while the second two stars in Libra. (Cf. *Lanc*, *Lexicon* and *Marzūqī*, *Azmina*, I, 310). At their auroral rising, the monsoons are said to blow.

4. The son of *Ḥassān ibn Ṭhābit*, the poet of the prophet, he flourished under early Umayyades.

5. I have not been able to ascertain the time of this poet, but two lines of his are cited in *Murtaḍā*, *Amālī*, IV, 75 and a short poem is found in the *Amālī of al-Qālī*, III, 29 (28); from both of which he appears to have been of an ascetic nature.

If he were to mean the nobleness of the matter from which the pearl is created, then there is some point of view.

As regards the *Tau'amiyya*, there is the opinion that this name refers to some pairing¹ in contrast with the *Yatīma* (orphan) or *Farīda* (unique) for pearls when found are paired as they are strung on a cord and are placed in the hand in two rows which are called *Akrās*, i.e., rows. For it is said that the *Kurrāsa* (quire of paper) is derived from this. When they are paired round the central pearl, one opposite the other, the name, *Yatīma* ceases as it is no longer single on account of its sisters having come to it and one being placed opposite the other; this is called *Takārus*. Ibn ar-Rūmī² has said:

'Luxurious in growth (is the vegetation) as if the dew, after the sun has risen and the dew glistens on the branches, were pearls.'

He compares the dew which has fallen upon the branches of the intertwined tree with pearls after the day has risen and it is at its height and the sun is shining on its drops.

It is said that *Tūm* means the pearl itself when not split. Al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur³ has said:

"With it (the wine) runs a man with two pearls (in the lobes of his ears), his garments tucked up, his fingers dyed red with peach-juice (wine)."

That is that they are red from the colour of the wine just as they might have been red through Henna having gently touched the skin; then the fingers of the praised one would be coated with a redness as that of Henna. The word reddened does not actually mean by Henna itself in the same way as they (the fingers) are not actually dyed red with peach-juice. All he wants to point out is the youthfulness and childlikeness (of the cup-bearer).

It is said that the *Yatīma* (orphan) was made from silver after the likeness of a pearl, in the same way the *Makhshalaba* (mother of pearl) is made from the oyster-shell after its likeness.

Similar is the case with the *Jumāna*, for it is said that it means a pearl while others say that it is made from silver. This word recurs in poetry and Imru'-ul-Qais⁴ has said:

"When she perspires, the drops of her sweat upon the two sides of her back are like pearls of a polisher."

He has also said:

"Then my tears ran in streams like a flow of *Jumān* and *Durr* was their downflowing current."

1. Because *Tau'am* means twin.

2. 'Ali b. al-'Abbas b. Jurajj, a prolific poet, who died in 283 or 284 A.H. His large collection of poems has been partly published (Ibn Khallikān I, 351; *Tārīkh Bāgdad*, XII; 23).

3. A poet of the time of paganism of whose poems only few have been preserved.

4. The most renowned of all pagan poets, son of the Kindi king, Hujr. His poems are preserved and have been the model for later poets.

Another ('Antara)¹ has said :

"Is it on account of the cooing of a dove that the tears break forth falling upon the back of the sword-belt?"

Hātim at-Ta'iy² has said :

"They have round their neck for the onlooker Jumān (pearls) rubies and well-joined Durr (pearls)."

Abut-Tayyib (al-Mutanabbī)³ has said :

"We went out in the morning shaking its branches on their (the horses') manes like pearls (Jumān)."

Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī⁴ has said :

"We drank and the trail of the night was drowsy, overturned and sleepiness drew a mark on his eye-lids.

"Like a white pearl (Jumān) which is split and the cord joined its two halves."

Another has said :

"We left at the small spring of Ḥusain,⁵ the women of the tribe picking up the pearls (Jumān)."

He says that the women fled in fear at the time of the raid at the place (Ḥusain) mentioned near the towering mountain and the strings of their necklaces broke ; then when they felt safe they came back to pick up the pearls which had been scattered.

'Adī ibn Zaid⁶ has said :

"He put round the neck a well-made scarf and pearls (Jumān) made beautiful by the stringing of virgin-maidens."

He specially mentions virgin-maidens because they are unconcerned about house-keeping and more concerned with adornment and it is their characteristic that they do not trouble about lust and husbands, hence they devote themselves in practising that (adornment) becoming adepts and in the task of stringing heads beautifully together on account of the tenderness of their hands and the suppleness of their skins because they are youthful.

An-Nābigha has said :

"The virgin-maidens take to making necklaces and they thread them of consecutive pearls, pierced ones."

All these sayings admit that they are pearls properly, but also that they may be made of silver.

1. The pagan warrior poet. (Read in text المَحْمَل , Miḥmal).

2. Another pagan poet renowned for his liberality.

3. Mutanabbī who was killed in 354 A.H. is acknowledged as the foremost of later Arabic poets. His *Diwān* has been repeatedly published and commented.

4. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad, a renowned scholar and poet, who died in 403 A.H. (*Muntāzam*, VII, 266 ; *al-Jawāḥhir al-Mudī'a*, II, 135).

5. Al-Ḥusain is here the name of a place and al-Bakrī cites the same verse slightly different (p. 296).

6. A pre-Islamic poet of al-Ḥira in 'Iraq. His collected poems are lost, but single poems and verses are quoted abundantly.

Dhur-Rumma¹ has said :

“ The drizzling rain from the top of his (the wild ass) stripes is like pearls (Jumān), pierced ones which run off the string (when broken). ”

The words string and pierced are taken relatively as one running into the other as you say : I put the signet-ring on the finger while in reality you put the finger into the signet-ring.

Ibn Ḥamza² has said :

“ On them are rubies and beads and silver and pearls like the colour of the sun, not left loose. ”

Qais ibn al-Mulavvaḥ³ has said :

“ As if the beads (Jumān) of the goldsmith were on her whenever the night squirts its dew. ”

The mention of the goldsmith together with Jumān strengthens the belief that it is of silver, but goldsmiths also work the jewels which they do not manufacture and occupy themselves in handling them. Al-A'shā⁴ has said :

“ Whoever sees Haudha, prostrates himself, not being ashamed, when he puts the turban over the crown, or takes it off. ”

“ He has crowns which the goldsmith has adorned with rubies in which you see no fault nor blemish. ”

This he says because Kisrā Parwēz⁵ had honoured Haudha, the son of 'Alī, with a crown and the people of the tribe of Ḥanīfa⁶ pretended that none of the Arabs ever saw him but prostrated himself on account of his majesty, nor any Persian because the image of Kisrā was on the crown ; for it was their custom (to prostrate themselves) when they saw his image on the silver Dirhams.

Al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur⁷ has said :

“ Of the wine of one (a cup-bearer) with ear-rings, of nasal voice, girded with a girdle, who brings it for the silver coins of the worshippers. ”

These two contradictory applications for the word Jumān are found in poetry but that does not mean that Jumān means a bead made of silver.

1. A celebrated poet of the first century of the Hijra.

2. I have not been able to identify this poet.

3. This poet whose poems all are love-poems is sometimes identified with the Majnun Banī 'Āmir ; he lived in the first century of the Hijra.

4. A poet who lived to see the Prophet, but did not become converted. He is said to have died on his return journey from al-Medīna through falling from his camel. He was the poet of wine.

5. The Persian king.

6. The large tribes settled in the Yamāma, who were later the chief adversaries of Khālid in the campaign of the Ridda or apostacy.

7. See note 3, p. 407.

The saying of Labīd¹ makes it clear that it means a (real) pearl :

"It shines in the face of darkness, luminous like the pearl (Jumān) of the seafarer which has slipped from the string."

Al-Musayyab,² maternal uncle of al-A'shā, has said :

"Like the pearls (Jumān) of the seafarer which the diver has brought from the tossing waves of the sea."

The reference to the sea makes it clear that it is the pearl derived from it, and doubt is caused (only) when it is used in comparisons without the mention to it (the sea). Jamīl ibn Ma'mar al-'Udhri³ has said :

"One of the fair ones, perfumed, whose chest is adorned with Jumān, rubies and joined pearls."

Here the rubies and pearls form the adornment and the joining is done by small pearls which separate (the other jewels) and the kind made from silver serves the same purpose as flakes of wool (used as tassels) compared with damask. Ibn al-Aḥmar⁴ has said :

"The rustling of the ornaments under her garments is like the rustling of stubble which has been moved by the shaking wind."

"Jumān and rubies, the beads of which are like the burning coals of Ghadā-bushes,⁵ adorning the sleeves dyed with saffron."

The (following) saying of Hudba⁶ is one which admits only the meaning that they are manufactured :

"On them are adornments of the make of al-Madīna, Jumān like the bodies of small locusts,⁷ and green cloaks."

Concerning Jumān it is said that it is Persian. If this be so then it is the same as Gumān.⁸ This is the opinion but it remains uncertain whether it means a pearl or an imitation. This inclines one to think that the manufactured from silver is meant as there is seldom any doubt about (real) pearls as such doubt generally falls upon articles which resemble (the real one).

The following verse by an ancient poet is considered beautiful :

"My heart is with a slender maiden whose waistscarf is hanging loosely, moving about."

"On account of her beauty she may be compared with a pearl which the deep water has cast upon the shore."

1. A poet who lived to the time of Islam and became a convert ; he was with 'Alī during the battle of Siffin.

2. Al-Musayyab b. 'Alas, a pagan poet ; his nephew has been mentioned in note 4, p. 409.

3. The great love-poet of the first century of the Hijra ; his poems are mostly addressed to Butnaina who had married another man. The account is found in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, II, 142-146 (II, 388 ff).

4. 'Amr b. Aḥmar al-Bāhili a poet of the first century of the Hijra estimated for the purity of his language.

5. The name of a thorny bush (an euphorbia) the coals of which are often described by Arabic poets of lasting brightness when burning.

6. Hudba b. al-Kh: shram. He had killed Ziyāda b. Zaid, another poet and was imprisoned in Medīna and finally killed by the relations of Ziyāda in blood-revenge (*Aghānī*, XXI, 263-276).

7. Arabic poets frequently compare red and green beads with the bodies of locusts.

8. However Gumān is not testified as meaning pearl or bead in the best Persian dictionaries.

This comparison has been found unattractive however because what the sea casts ashore are only dead shells and these are in that condition which borders on blemishes having decayed or being worm-eaten ; for the shell as long as it is alive stays in the depth and is not exposed to the waves so that it can be cast upon the shore. To this refers the verse of the poet Maṣrūr.¹

“ Or like a lustrous pearl which laughs out of a shell which the tossing waves of the sea, full of foam, spit out.”

The Qāḍī Maṣrūr² has said :

“ A young man, when the dew of his hands overflows, chokes with the downpour (of his gifts) whenever it streams down.”

“ Like the sea when it rages overflows with destruction, but casts up pearls when it is quiet.

Maṣrūr does not mention in the first verse anything which has any connection with the comparison in the second verse except that he uses the word *like*, for if he compares the rising of the waves with destruction and the overflowing with the dew, then it is very far-fetched. As for his saying about pearls he makes a greater mistake and beautifies the lies of the poets ; for if he attributes to the sea the casting ashore of the pearls in a life shell, it requires a happening in the depth of the sea similar to earthquakes and earth-tremors such as occur on land so that which is in the depth is cast to the surface. There would be some reason in that, but that it casts them up when quiet is strange in the extreme. This is as if he were reciting this verse of al-Mutanabbī :

“ Like the sea which casts to those who are near (it) jewels out of generosity and sends clouds to those who are far off.”

He may have thought of this and changed for the casting the giving.

The Qāḍī Maṣrūr has taken this (verse) from the verse of al-Mutanabbī :

“ He is the sea ; when it is quiet dive for the pearl ! but take care when it is foaming.”

Except that he spoiled the pearl and turned it into something else.

Ibn Samūda³ has borrowed the idea when he says :

“ He does not know that the sea is crossed when it is quiet but if one day it is raging, the ship is wrecked.”

In all these sayings they compare the one praised with the sea for generosity, but Abul Faraj ibn Hindū⁴ has lifted it from it when he says :

“ The sea treasures the pearl in its depth while the scum is bestowed upon those who come to it.”

1. This poet is entirely unknown ; he may have been a contemporary of the author.

2. He is Abū Aḥmad Maṣrūr b. Muḥammad, judge of Herat, who died in 440 A.H. (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VII, 189).

3. I have not been able to identify this poet, he too may have been a contemporary of the author.

4. Abul Faraj 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Hindū, poet and philosopher, was one of the secretaries of the Buwaiḥī Sultān 'Aḍud-addaula and died about the year 420 A.H. (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, V, 168 ; Yatīma, III, 212, etc.).

“ The least which is given to those who come to his camp at even are pearls with which he answered where he calls out.”

The sinking of the pearl and the rising of the scum are frequently handled by poets and they mention it often. Ibn ar-Rūmī has said :

“ Corpses which stink come up upon the top of the waves while the pearls are hidden underneath under cover.”

A poem is attributed to Shams al-Ma‘ālī¹ in which this verse occurs :

“ Don’t you see that on the sea float corpses while in the utmost depth of it the pearls are lying firmly.”

That is because the pearls cleave to and hide in the depth of the sea. In Tradition the saying is recorded : “ Seek livelihood in the hidden places of the Earth ! “ Oh ye divers of the sea, for the oyster-shell is one of the things which the Earth hides from the eyes.” In the same way it is said : “ Behold they are jewels in the mines or what has been buried of property in the buried treasures!” It is further said they (the treasures) are the increase of the Earth in the shape of what is hidden in the soil by husbandry. A poet has said :

“ I said to ‘Abd Allāh when I met him walking on the heights of Raqmatain going westward,

“ Go after the hidden treasures of the Earth and pray to their Lord, perhaps one day you will be answered and prosper.”

‘Abd Allāh ibn Jud‘ān² had found the treasure of gold in a bag which was hidden in a well and no one besides him used to extract from it of those who happened to come upon it. For they fancied it to be a rock protruding from the wall of the well like those enormous pieces of rock which had remained in it (the well). Now it happened that ‘Abd Allāh one day looked at the water and saw on the lower edge something glittering like gold (and discovered the treasure) ; so he became rich through it being there. About this he said :

“ I search for the treasures of the well (al-Judd) on its upper walls and creep under the earth with a lamp.”

Al-judd was the name of that well. ‘Urwa ibn az-Zubair³ used to say to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Shihāb :⁴ “ Hast thou no land ? Hast thou not heard the poet say : “ Go after the hidden treasures of the Earth and pray to its Lord.”

In the same manner is their comparison of goblets with pearls and the crusts of pearls, the wording of which is beautiful but the meaning is hackneyed, for what one wants of goblets is their transparency so that

1. Qābūs b. Washmgir, ruler of Gilān, reigned from 366-371 and again from 388-403. Bērūnī dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

2. He is the person referred to in the preceding verse. He was a native of Mecca and it was said that he derived his unexpected wealth from a hidden treasure he had discovered. He was present at the fight at ‘Ukāz, when the Prophet was a young man and one of his sons figures among the Saḥāba, Companions of the Prophet.

3. The celebrated Traditionist. As the date of his death are given the years 91, 92 and 93 A.H.

4. ‘Abd Allāh b. Shihāb may be Abul Jazl al-Khaulānī (Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 254).

from outside can be seen what is inside without having to look from the top, so that it can be guessed by intelligence better than by looking at it from above. However the pearl has not this desired transparency. Ibn al-Mu'tazz¹ has said :

"A mixture of molten gold which is held together by a goblet like the crust of a white pearl."

Abū Nuwās² has said :

"As if their faces by their tenderness had skins made of pearls."

He has also said :

"A gazelle whom God has clothed with a skin that is of the crust of pearls."

"You see roses upon his cheeks any time you like."

As-Sanaubarī³ has said :

"Pure corneal-water which is handed round, its vessel is of the lustre of a pure pearl."

Another poet says not mentioning the transparency :

"As if our goblets were silver-lined with red gold."

Ibn ar-Rūmī has said :

"It is Wars⁴ in the white goblets, then when it appears against the faces, it is dragon-blood."⁵

Ibrāhīm an-Nazzām⁶ has said :

"He (the cupbearer) runs about with a pearl inside a pearl from the hand of a pearl and the colour can be felt."

"Water and water and in water which makes circle round flowing in both and the imagination is guesswork."

Yet another poet has said :

"As if their filled goblets were of the crust of a pearl, the water of silver and the wine of gold."

The comparison of water with silver is worse and the fault lies in the fact that they equate a thing which is void of colour, like lucid water and crystal, with things that are white like milk and white stones like Mīnā and describe them both as being white. All poets are in this respect followers of Abū Nuwās who hit and missed the mark in his saying :

"Then the wine is a ruby and the goblet a pearl in the hand of a pearl of fine tall stature."

1. The unfortunate prince who was proclaimed caliph and killed the same night the 10th of Rabi' I, 296 A.H.

2. Al-Ḥasan b. Hānī', the celebrated poet of the time of Hārūn and al-Amin. His *Diwān* has been printed, very unsatisfactorily, several times.

3. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, one of the poets of the circle of Saif ad-Daula al-Ḥamdānī. He is the chief exponent of poets dealing with flowers and gardens and died in 334 A.H. Collection of his poems was published by Muḥammad Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākḥ in Ḥalab in 1351.

4. Wars is a red dye derived from a plant growing in the Yaman, India and Abyssinia, identified as *Flemmingia Rhodocarpa* Bak. (Maimonides ed. Meyerhof No. 123).

5. Dragon-blood in Arabic. Andam is the plant *Dracæna Draco* from which a red dye is derived.

6. Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār an-Nazzām, the head of the Mu'tazilites at Baṣra died in 221 or 231 A. H. (Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 128).

Also of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz concerning molten gold when he says :

" We weighed for her hard gold and she measured molten gold."
Another poet has said :

" I pay him the pure gold in weight and he pours it out and gives it by measure."

Yet another poet has said :

" I say when she speaks of them both in comparison : Which of the two in comparing is the gold ?

" They are both alike and the difference between them is that this one is solid and that is poured out."

Another poet has said :

" He moves about with a flask to which a strainer is fastened and then he pours into our cups moist gold."

Abū Tammām has said :

" Or a white virgin-pearl which has conceived from a red ruby."

He adds to the pearl the idea of virginity together with blood and conception, which holds back in the womb the blood of menstruation at the time of drinking. Similar is the verse of another poet in spite of its beauty :

" As if it (the wine) when the mixing (with water) disturbs it, were like swallowing pearls, then throw them back."

The swallowing and throwing back at the time of drinking leads to vomiting and this is not like a comparison of the drink with the crust of pearls because the pearl (in tint) is composed of whiteness with a slight tinge of yellow and ample lustre, things which are admired in the skin and there is no need for transparency to see what is beyond. An-Nuṣaib¹ has said :

" As if she had been created from the skin of a pearl and on every side of her is moon on account of her beauty."

Mānī² has said :

" As if his skin were of the crust of a pearl from which the parer has scraped off the skin of the oyster-shell."

Bashshār³ has said :

" As if she had been created from the water of a pearl and beauty is on guard in all corners."

Al-Buhturī⁴ has said :

" Yellowness appeared in his colour. Behold they praise of pearls those whose sides are yellow in a necklace."

1. A poet of the first century of the Hijra.

2. Mānī al-Muwaswas, the demented, a poet of the second century.

3. Bashshār b. Burd is as a poet generally considered the first of the post-classical ones. His *Dīwān* exists in manuscript in Tunis and the *Shāikh* al-Islam has promised an edition.

4. Abū 'Uḡāda al-Walid b. 'Ubaid Allāh, pupil of Abū Tammām. It is he whom Abul Qāsim al-'Amīdī gave the preference over Abū Tammām in his book *al-Muwāzana*, which Bērūnī attacks in the following discourse, defending Abū Tammām.

Al-'Amidī says : Such (pearls) as have a slight yellowness are preferred to those of chalky whiteness just as gold is given preference over silver because a choice pearl of purest white which has recently been taken from the sea, when it becomes muddy in colour, progresses in this till it becomes black like a piece of sheep-dung. However, if the well-known slight yellowness makes its appearance in it, it is safe from that disease and one is certain that it will never decay. Abul Qāsim is honourable in his defence of eminent poets and not satisfied with those who do not approach them in excellence by their using wrong expressions. However, he gives preference to the colour of the Marjān before the whiteness of the pearl (Durr) and he interprets the saying of God : *As if they were ruby and pearls*, that it refers to the purity of the ruby together with the whiteness of the pearl and this is the composite colour which is praised in the skin. From this it is known that the pearl is not pure white and that the Marjān with its excess of whiteness has a share with it in the water and lustre though they may be more apparent in the Durr and more striking with a slight tint of yellowness which guards it against the likeness of chalk of the Qatā'ī pearls which might be thought to have been manufactured. So the praise is bestowed on account of that yellowness, just as it is praised for the lack of it (when excessive). Also the small beads which are placed between the pearls in a necklace may be of jade, or turquoise or lapis lazuli while mostly they are of gold. Then the reflected light from the gold-beads is it which casts the yellow tint upon them. For this reason did al-Buhturī say : "Whose sides are yellow." Namely the edges near the pierced holes and hence the glistening, for, if it (the gold) were not to glisten, the yellowness would not be seen on it (the pearl).

A similar idea is expressed by Dhur-Rumma :

"Black-eyed with a fair forehead, yellow with a white skin as if she were (made of) silver mixed with gold."

This mixture produces a fairness which is extremely rare and this is generally what is important in the sale of slaves. It also indicates really the feeling of safety as such women are kept away from enemies for fear of attack, and not the anxiety about pimples, nor the excess of dislike and secret rancour ; for this reason there is another reading of this verse : Gold has touched her. This is really better as the touch is not as far reaching as the grade of mixing. This is it which made another poet say :

"White and yellow, two colours contending, those of silver and gold."

Similarly Ṭufail al-Ghanawī¹ has said :

"Of pure whiteness, tinted with yellow, the choicest of a lonely valley which is not inhabited."

1. A pagan poet renowned for his description of horses. His collected poems have been published by me in the Gibb Memorial Series.

Also the verse of Yazīd ibn aṭ-Ṭathariyya :¹

“A colour which bewilders the onlooker like the colour of ivory which has been associated with saffron-scent.”

Abul Qāsim has by the side of the distinction between a pearl of yellow colour and the pure white one the distinction between gold and lead. If he were to mean only by this the colour there would be some consideration as the best gold is considered that which has a tinge of redness ; then if the pure whiteness of silver were placed by the side of the pearl, it would not be praised in the same way as those pearls which are placed near pure gold as they would be tinted with what is not praised and so there remains of his words only a tale which does not give confidence in the narrator nor in his truthfulness.

Sometimes the yellowness is the beginning of that disease which makes it black and both happen to the pearl after it had not been affected by them, and we find the yellowness to be a disintegrating change which originates from various causes like oil, perspiration and the essences of scents like saffron, *Khalūq*² and *Lakhālīkh*.³ There is however no doubt that what is required in a pearl is its whiteness with its adjuncts and yellowness is a fault in pearls, not to say that it is praised.

Abū Maṣṣūr aṭ-Ṭhaʿālabī,⁴ after the manner of poets in making comparisons, has said about the handwriting of ʿAlī ibn Muqla :⁵

“The writing of Ibn Muqla is such that whoever looks upon it with his eyes all his organs desire to be turned into eyes.

“The pearl turns yellow out of jealousy on account of its beauty and the rose on account of its flowers (the writing’s) turns red out of confusion.”

The becoming yellow completely of a pearl is however not like the reddening of the rose altogether, for the former is a fault and the latter is a praiseworthy quality. Some people explain the saying of the Almighty:⁶ “And with them are (maidens) casting down their glances, large-eyed ones as if they were concealed (ostrich) eggs.” That it means pearls

1. A poet of the first century of the Hijra. He was killed during the disturbances in Central Arabia after the death of the Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd in 126 A.H. The *Kitāb al-Aghānī* has a long account, Vol. VII, p. 10-124 ; VIII, 155-184).

2. *Khalūq* is a compound perfume of yellow colour, its chief component being saffron.

3. A composite perfume the nature of which I have not been able to ascertain, it was a kind of salve.

4. Celebrated author and poet who died in 429 A.H. The long list of his works may be consulted in Brockelmann’s *History of Arabic Literature* (Suppl. I, 499-502).

5. The wazīr of al-Muqtadir. He was killed in 328 A.H. after his right hand had been cut off. He was celebrated for the beauty of his handwriting. I have not seen any of his writings, but one may judge from the writing of his pupil, Muḥammad b. Asad, master of the calligraphist, Ibn al-Bavvāb, that it resembled the forms of letters as in the well-known Beyrūt type. The statement often repeated that it was an adaptation of the Kūfī script is false. There existed all along a *Baghdādī* script, of which manuscripts are in existence which did not differ considerably from the writing of Ibn Muqla only that the latter formed the letters rounder and more upright.

6. *Sūrat aṣ-Ṣāffāt*, 37, v. 74.

as the Almighty has said :¹ " And there circle round them youths eternally who, if thou seest them, imaginest them scattered pearls." That he means pearls like in the saying of the Almighty :² " Among them circle youths of them who are like hidden pearls." Then say others that he compares the eyes of the large-eyed (beauties) with pearls on account of the bigness and whiteness both of which are lauded in pearls as they (the eyes) are guarded against harm by the eyelashes. Others say that he means ostrich-eggs the colour of which is a mixture of white and yellow and he compares their faces with them as they resemble them mostly, especially women and that they (the ostriches) keep them from sight with the plumes at the time of brooding so that no wind touches them nor dust soil them. Others say that it is dusk and what is intended is the whiteness of the egg and the yellowness of the yolk. Imru'ul-Qais has said :

" Like the virgin (ostrich-egg) tinted the white with yellowness which the limpid water has nourished, a spring which has not been visited."

They say that he meant the ostrich-egg and virginity in all things is lauded because in most things it points to the whiteness of youth and elegance. This means in eggs the time when they are laid and this does not take the place of the deflowering of the maiden head. Yet another says that he means the pearl as it is not pure white nor yellow but has a tinge of both mixed and its virginity means that it has not been pierced (for stringing) being only recently taken (from the sea). Then they criticise the mention of lucid water and say that it (the pearl) is not found in fresh water nor does it thrive in strongly salty water. Its beauty is in its coming out of what is evenly balanced and that is the lucid water though it may not be extremely palatable, except that he mentions its feeding in it. The desire for pearls is a thing which is found in all nations ; then if it is praised for yellowness, it is a matter to which they may be inclined among nations.

Al-Kindī says : If in a round pearl is a tinge of yellow, it pleases then people of the Iraq and the Maghrib, if it exceeds then the people of Iṣfāhān like it better, so they are exported to both places and are named (exactly) after hem.

CONCERNING THE CONDITION OF FRESH PEARLS

AS regards what has been mentioned concerning the moisture (freshness) in pearls its meaning is the water of its lustre, its splendour and the tenderness of its surface, also the complete purity, because freshness is an outstanding quality which stands for anything possessing water and takes its place and does not mean the opposite of dryness so that one might

1. *Sūrat ad-Dahr*, 76, v. 19.

2. *Sūrat at-Tūr*, 52, v. 24.

be amazed about it just as the Persians mention fluid gold. Abul Qāsim recites a verse by Abū Tammām :

“(Verses) set apart by pearls, selected ones, of poetry except that they are moist pearls.”

He means the modern (poetry) and this is one of his inventions however he (al-‘Amidī) does not bring it out as praise or as being satisfied with it on account of his excessive leaning towards al-Buḥturī and his inclination against Abū Tammām though he claims to be impartial in his book on the “*Weighing up of the Poetry*” of both. For Abū Tammām invented it and the most competent (poets) followed him, then indulged in it and displayed patience. Everything modern is youthful in its kind whether it be an animal, a twig or a plant, for there is no doubt that it is more supple and moister on account of its being prepared for accepting growth. Therefore, if the pearl is growing in the shell, it has a share of that moisture, even if it be scanty ; hence he does not mean anything except its water and elegance though it may be harder than stone and iron. Likewise he (‘Amidī) finds fault with him saying “selected pearls.” For he says : The selected in poetry is nothing but stolen property and it is ugly and gross to acknowledge that he has stolen an idea. Abul Qāsim must have known of this theft by some priestcraft or star-prognostication or by bird-augury for I cannot see any trace of it in the verse (cited). What can be the fault of a man when he says in his poem that it is set apart by pearls of a poetry full of water and lustre, chosen in their stringing together, freed from faults and trimmed from defects in which I have strained my mind in clearing it from faults as has been said by Ibn ar-Riqā ”¹

“Many a poem upon which I have spent the night in putting it together so that I might straighten what was crooked and faulty in rhyme.”

Or like what al-Buḥturī has said :

“With (a poem) engraved like a gold coin, in which the words have been purified in selection the same as gold is purified.”

This is the purification (selection) and were it not for his false accusation and hatred, he would know that he refers by the words ‘*of poetry*’ to the poetry of others, not his own.

There is another aspect concerning the moisture (freshness) of the pearl though it may be far-fetched and that is that other jewels if they fall on the ground stay motionless while a pearl rolls on account of the slightest gravity of one side and likewise it slips away like the pip of an apple or a pear when they are moist and are squeezed between the fingers and may be cast a good distance. The reason is that its smoothness and stickiness is moist. Ibn al-Mu‘tazz has said :

1. ‘Adi ibn ar-Riqā’, a poet of the first century of the Hijra. The verse here cited is celebrated and the whole poem from which it is taken has recently been published by ‘Abdul ‘Aziz Maiman in a collection of rare ancient poetical works entitled *Tarā’if Adabiyya*, Cairao, 1937.

"As if the filled goblet in his hands were a bride which has a girdle of moist pearls."

He means the moisture which almost drips on account of suppleness and tenderness. The Qāḍī Maṣṣūr has said :

"The zephyr-wind came carrying a greeting to us with the breathings of the garden and did satiate.

"It has awakened the flowers and the smile at us and their eyes (the flowers') shed tears with moist pearls."

Al-Khubzaruzzī¹ has said :

"Of pearl-like colour with the redness of wine mixed with milk.

"Like the moist pearl is the colour of the outside and in it (the goblet) is the water of cornel as a lining."

Another, namely aṣ-Ṣanaubarī has said :

"As if the narcisses in his garden, when the wind bends them nearby

"Were goblets of ruby which are handed to thee by fingers made of moist pearls."

The same poet has said :

"Goblets of rubies which are given to thee by fingers of moist pearls.

"On the right arm he has a mole like the core of the heart." He also has said :

"As if it were intensely black jade set with moist pearls."

He also said :

"As if it were on the horizon a piece of camphor from which drop moist pearls."

Numair al-'Uqailī² has said :

"Round her are virgins, black-eyed maidens, like a moist pearl (is she) whose glances bring the end of life nearer."

Numair al-'Uqailī also said about one pockmarked :

"Smallpox made a mark on his cheek, nay they made a mark in my heart."

"As if he were the full moon which, when complete, appears dotted with moist pearls."

This, by my life, is truly the moist pearl but to paint it so to the hearing is such that the blind lover loathes it and so does the heart when the blemishes of the beloved are mentioned. It is told of the Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād³ that he said when he heard the verse of 'Auf ibn Muḥallim:⁴

1. Naṣr b. Aḥmad, a baker, who made short poems which gained popularity in Baghdād ; he died in 317 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, II, 153-156) Tha'libī, II, 132, etc.).

2. An unknown poet, apparently of a later period.

3. The celebrated wazir, Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād born in 326 and died in 385 A.H. (A long biography is found in the *Irshād* of Yāqūt, II, 276-343).

4. 'Auf b. Muḥallim al-Khuzā'i was a man of great learning and a poet and Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, the governor of Khorāsān, made him his companion. He died about the year 214 A.H. (Ibn al-'Imād, III, Ma'āhid at-Tanṣīṣ, ed. Cairo, 1316, I, 127).

"Eighty years, and I have reached them, forced my ears to make use of an interpreter."

The words "*and I have reached them*" are a stuffing in the verse but it is a stuffing like that of almond-jelly. 'Alī ibn Zaid¹ has said :

"If thou wert the prisoner, and thou art not, then thou wouldst know what I say."

Not far from it in beauty and charm is the saying of Dhur-Rumma :

"A maiden with oval cheeks, slender waisted, youthful, large buttocked, whose smiles are like the sheet-lightening in a cloud.

"As if her mouth, and I have never tasted it, had the flavour of wine which is sweet through long keeping."

A commentary on the verse of Dhur-Rumma is the verse of Ibn ar-Rūmī :

"I have not tasted it except by observing her smile ; how many one who gives information is there who discloses it by his appearance to view."

The (mention of) the pearls in this verse has the opposite effect for it is like raking the deaf ear, a mote in the eye and choking in the nose, a colocynth in the mouth and a thorn to the touch and like gravel on the resting-place. How far it is from the saying of al-Wa'wa' ad-Dimashqī² concerning a sick person :

"White and yellow on account of the balance of various humours like a weakened narciss.

"His forehead is perspiring with drops as if they were split pearls."

Aṣ-Ṣanaubarī has said :

"Hoariness has come over me, poverty and manginess ; this is ruin, that evil and that death.

"If this scratching continues, there will remain no fingernail, nor any skin, nor flesh, nor sinew.

"Cannot you see it on the hands in strings like pearls, though they may not be pierced.

"Like a small grape it does appear and does not cease to grow in a way in which grapes do not grow.

"They have nicknamed it *beauty-spots*. Oh my soul ! That they were gone, because that nickname is wrongly placed."

Then the ascription of moisture to the pearl has been applied to all jewels and he (aṣ-Ṣanaubarī ?) has said :

"She joined together the necklace of her flowers with jewels, moist being her emeralds, damp her gold."

Nay it is applied after emeralds and gold to quite common beads

1. This poet and the following have been mentioned before.

2. A Syrian poet of the fourth century of the Hijra. His *Dīwān* has been published by Kratchkorsky with a Russian translation in Petrograd, 1914.

(when a poet says :)

"Oh thou branch of moist jade, through thee has the pearl been brought to grief."

Now what will increase thy certitude of the bad opinion of Abul Qāsim concerning Abū Tammām is that he says concerning his verse :

"Therefore every eclipse is a disgrace in the pearly stars but it is more disgraceful in the sun and the moon."

The eclipse of a star is when it is hidden by another star in a lower sphere, but no one would miss it except astronomers ; so there is no disgrace for disgracefulness can only be if everybody can see it. Now Abū Tammām has made it ugly and uglier in the two great luminaries and you know that the meaning of ugliness in this case is the dislike about (the stars) taking a reverse course and the eclipse. For the eclipse of the sun and moon terms are used as regards the things which cover the two great luminaries by which part of their light or the whole disappear during the total darkness of the moon (new moon) or the fulness of the moon. Both do not happen together except at the time of the total collapse of the Universe as the Almighty has said :¹ "Then when the sight shall be dazzled and the moon shall be eclipsed and the sun and the moon shall be in conjunction." Whoever describes that as the eclipse of both is guarding against the doubt as regarding the eclipse of light which occurs at the time of some earthquakes. Concerning the stars the moon hides them in the same way as the sun and it may safely be called an eclipse, but it is also permissible that it may be due to scantiness of light which makes them disappear in the darkness. However as regards one star with another there cannot be any of that taking away of light, rather the joining together. The custom of astronomers is that they call it eclipse, but the *becoming one* seems to be more appropriate. Abū Tammām mentions this after the manner of this class of men and because it does not happen except at very distant periods which are not noticed by the mass of the people. They believe it to happen as it happens with the two great luminaries, because this is more evident and more established and the knowledge about them both is nearer to the hearts as they both are the heavenly signs of night and day and their eclipse is made the occasion for special worship like the written prayer on every night and day at rising of the dawn and the setting of dusk, as also the disappearance of the sun and its setting. So the obligation of prayer at the eclipse causes an increase of terror and fear, and especially if to it is added the gabbling of story-tellers and the babbling of astrologers in matters which guide to lofty and low things and people do not discriminate between what is special or general. The sun is with them the guide to great events and the moon to low ones. So Abū Tammām has been wronged by Abul Qāsim on most accounts.

F. KRENKOW.

(To be continued).

MU'TAZILITE VIEW ON BEATIFIC VISION

THIS is not the occasion to give the history of the genesis, development and fall of the movement of the Mu'tazilites. Something of the sort has already been anticipated in some of my earlier contributions.¹

Suffice it here to say that the term Mu'tazilites means the seceders from the Orthodox Church of Islam. They were a sect of Muslims with whom reason was the highest form of knowledge, even revelation presupposing it. The rationalist movement they started came into being towards the end of the Ummayyad period and subsequently flourished during the hey-day of the Abbasides only to collapse physically on the rise of the Imām Abul Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935).

As for the term *Beatific*, etymologically speaking, it means *making blessed*. In the ecclesiastical sense, however, Beatific Vision has come to signify only the Vision of God.

Unlike the vegetable kingdom or the animal world, where the function of life ends merely in growth, the propagation of species and decay, the life of an individual human being, or for the matter of that of the human race as a whole, has a greater destiny to fulfil. If a man were to live merely for the sake of living, he would be no different from either a plant or an animal. He has his duties towards himself, towards all those around him and the last but not the least towards his Creator. All he does, therefore, is not the be-all and the end-all of his life but is only a means to the highest good of his earthly existence.

Ever since the dawn of history the problem of the *summum bonum* has been engaging the attention of thinkers. The holy Qur'ān evidently points to this one thing when it says *Lilladhīna aḥsanu alḥusnaḥ wa ziādah* "For those who do good is the best (reward) and more (thereto)."² The commentators have identified the best reward for the believers in

1. (a) *Dacca University Journal*, 1931.

(b) *The Muslim Hall Magazine* (Dacca University), Vol. V, 1932.

(c) *Ibid.*, 1933.

(d) *Ibid.*, 1934.

2. (a) *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 15.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, Vol. I, 26, X.

Paradise with the Beatific Vision.¹ Accordingly all the Muslim scholastic philosophers—both the Mu'tazilites,—a microscopic minority excepted,—and the Orthodox alike, have held¹ that the Beatific Vision is the *summum bonum* of life under the Islamic dispensation, although they have differed widely as to the nature of that vision.

To present the point of view of the Mu'tazilites on the question will be the aim of this thesis. But to appreciate the standpoint of the Mu'tazilites a comparative study of Orthodox opinion is a *sine qua non*.

To begin with, the Mu'tazilites are unanimous² on this, that God will not be seen with the physical eyes either in this world or in the next,³ as in their opinion. He is above time and space.⁴ With regard to His spiritual vision Abul Hudhail (d. 235/849) and the majority of the Mu'tazilites⁵ maintained: "We shall see God with our minds' eye, *i.e.*, we shall know Him through our hearts." Hishām al-Fuatī and his pupil,⁶ Abbād b. Sulaimān have on the other hand denied even that,⁷ *i.e.*, in their opinion men, finite that they are, cannot have the vision of God, who is Infinite, even spiritually. They have maintained that what human beings can know is merely His name⁸ and nothing more, as He is too high even to be conceived. These latter were pure nominalists. Perhaps they were the fore-runners of the nominalist philosophers of later days.

The Mu'tazilites contended that the Ultimate Reality cannot be seen with corporeal eyes :

I. PROOF FROM THE QUR'ĀN

(a) *Lā tudrikuh ul-abṣār wa huwa yudrik ul-abṣār*, "Visions comprehendeth Him not but He comprehendeth (all) vision."⁹

They have advocated that the clause *huwa yudrik ul-abṣār* is of general¹⁰ application, so as to mean that God sees the eyes both in this world and in the next and that when this has been connected with the clause *la tudrikuh ul-abṣār* of the same verse through the conjunction *wāw*, that must also be of general application so as to mean that eyes will neither see Him in

1. (a) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 15.

(b) *Ibid.*, p. 18.

(c) Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, I, pp. 157 and 216.

2. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, Vol. I, pp. 157 and 216.

3. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

4. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, Vol. I, p. 155.

5. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 157 and 216.

6. *Ibid.*, II, p. 495.

7. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 157 and 216.

8. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 165 and 166.

9. (a) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 103, VI.

10. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

this world nor in the next. For, of the two connected clauses, if one of them is known to be of general application, the other also must be so.

(b) *Lan tarāni*¹ "Thou wilt not see me," said God with an emphatic negation in reply to Moses' supplication: *Rabbī arnī unzur ilaika*, "My Lord! show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee."²

(c) "They asked a greater thing of Moses afore-time, for, they said, 'Show us Allah plainly.' A storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness."³ "Had they (the people of Moses)" asserted *Zamakhsharī* (497/1103 & 538/1143) "asked for a possible thing from him, they would not have been called 'wrong-doers,' and would not have consequently been overtaken by the storm of lightning, just as Abraham was neither called a transgressor nor was he stricken by storm when he asked his Lord to show him the quickening of the dead."

2. PROOF FROM OPTICAL SCIENCE

"In order that one may see something," averred the Mu'tazilites, "the following conditions must be fulfilled⁴ by the seer as well as the seen as the case may be:

"(a) One must possess sound sight. It is for this reason that the degree of vision varies in proportion to the soundness or otherwise of the sense of sight.

"(b) The object of vision must be visible and present to the eye (the sense of sight) which must not be indifferent to it nor must it be under the influence of sleep or anything akin thereto.

"(c) The object of vision must be in front of or opposite to the eye just as a thing to be reflected in a mirror must needs be opposite to it.

"(d) It must not be too small to be seen.

"(e) It must not be too fine to be looked at, i.e., it must be a coloured object and be sufficiently coarse.

"(f) It must not be too distant from the eye, and the visible distance is to be judged in accordance with the power of one's sense of sight.

"(g) It must not be too near to the eye either. For, when the object to be seen touches the surface of an eye, it loses the power of vision altogether.

"(h) There must not be anything opaque interposing between an eye and the object of its vision."

1. (a) *Zamakhsharī*, *Kashshāf* (Egypt), I, p. 346.

(b) *Marmaduke Pickthall*, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

2. *Ibid.*

3. (a) *Zamakhsharī*, *Kashshāf* (Egypt), I, p. 235.

(b) *Marmaduke Pickthall*, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 153, IV.

4. (a) *Sharif Jurjānī*, *Sharḥ Mawāqif*, VIII, pp. 135 and 136.

(b) The conditions in question have been attributed to the opponents who can safely be identified with the Mu'tazilites.

In the opinion of the Mu'tazilites, since God as an object of vision does not satisfy the relevant conditions laid down above, He cannot be seen with bodily eyes.

Once the Mu'tazilites denied the corporeal vision of God, they had to explain away all such verses of the Qur'ān as went against their contention. The following verse may be cited as an illustration :

*Wajuhun yawma'idhīn nādiratun ila rabbiḥā nāzirah*¹—"That day will faces be resplendent, looking towards their Lord." In their opinion *al-Nāzaru ila* as occurs in the above verse means *at tawaqqu'* (hoping) and *ar-rijā* (expecting) and *rabbiḥā* stands for *ila thawābi rabbiḥā*.

They have adduced lexicographical proofs² in support of their meaning. The people of Sunnah have, on the other hand, held that God will be seen in the next world with physical eyes³ in the same way as the full moon is seen.

Al-Ash'arī as their spokesman has advanced the following proofs in support of the proposition :—

I. PROOF FROM THE QUR'ĀN

(a) *Rabbī arinī unzur ilaika*⁴ "My Lord ! show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee." He has contended that had the vision of God been impossible of realization, Moses would not have asked for it.

(b) *Fa-in istaqarra makānahu fa-sawfa tarānī*.⁵—"If it stands still in its place, then thou wilt see me." *Al-Ash'arī* has held that since the vision of God has been attached to a condition namely the standing still of the mountain, admitting of realization, it shows that the vision itself is realizable.

2. PROOF FROM THE TRADITION

"You will see your Lord as you see the full moon whilst you will not disagree amongst yourselves in regard to His vision."⁶

1. (a) *Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf* (Egypt), II, p. 509.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 22 and 23, LXXV.

2. *Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf* (Egypt), II, p. 509.

3. *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 10.

4. (a) *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 14.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

5. (a) *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 15.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

6. (a) *Al-Ash'arī, al-Ibāna*, p. 16.

(b) *Al-Tirmidhī* with the commentary of al-Imām Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī al-Mālikī, X, p. 18.

(c) Abu Dāwūd on the margin of *al-Mu'atta* of Imām Mālik with the commentary of az-Zarqāni, p. 182.

3. LOGICAL PROOF¹

- (a) God can show us everything that exists.
He exists.
∴ He can show Himself to us.
- (b) He, who sees things, sees himself.
God sees things.
He sees Himself.
- (c) He, who sees himself, can make himself seen.
God sees Himself.
∴ He can make Himself seen.
- (d) The highest good is realizable in the highest world.
Beatific vision is the highest good.
Beatific vision is realizable in the highest world.

4. PHILOSOPHICAL PROOF²

Those, who deny the Beatific vision of God, reduce Him to a non-entity—a mere abstraction (stripping God of His reality).

REFUTATION BY THE MU'TAZILITES OF THE ORTHODOX ARGUMENT

1. REFUTATION OF THE QUR'ANIC PROOF

(a) "My Lord! show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee."³ Zamakhsharī has it that Moses said this in spite of his conviction and statement to the people that the vision (corporeal) of God was an impossibility to him only to elicit some divine revelation to this effect for the satisfaction of his own people, who were persistent in their demand that he should show God in person, and not because of the fact that he knew that the Divine vision was a possibility as the people of Sunnah have asserted.

(b) "If it stands still in its place, then thou wilt see me."⁴ Zamakhsharī has argued that the vision of God is an impossibility in as much as it has been made conditional upon the standing still of the mountain under reference. As it was later razed to the ground as a result of the revelation

1. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, pp. 17 and 18.

2. Do p. 17.

3. (a) Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf* (Egypt), I, 346.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

4. (a) Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf* (Egypt) I, 347.

(b) Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 143, VII.

of the Divine Glory, in the opinion of the Mu'tazilites, the Orthodox assertion in favour of the possibility of the vision of God fails.

II. REFUTATION OF THE PROOF FROM THE TRADITION

As for the tradition.—“You will see your Lord as you see the full moon while you will not disagree amongst yourselves in regard to His vision,”¹ the Mu'tazilites have held that the tradition in question is of the category of *aḥād*² and as such is not acceptable³ when in conflict with such an explicit verse of the Qur'ān as:—“Vision comprehendeth Him not but He comprehendeth (all) vision,” and the like.

Al-Ash'arī has refuted this in his *Al-Ibāna*, but a writer of his school, popularly known as Imām al-Haramain, has it⁴ that the Imām al-Ash'arī has maintained that God will be seen neither in space and time nor with modality as He sees us while He is not in space and time nor is He of any modality. Now, the question of all questions for us is how to reconcile the view of Al-Ash'arī as adumbrated in his *Ibāna* that God will be seen with physical eyes unconditionally in the next world with that as given above by Imām al-Haramain? To my mind *Ibāna* is one of the earliest works of Al-Ash'arī which must have been written immediately after his conversion to Orthodoxy and as such the point of view he enunciated therein had to be a popular one and for the matter of that an anthropomorphic one and not the one which he himself, as one of the greatest scholastic philosophers of Islam, held.

It stands to reason that the view as set forth by Imām al-Haramain and accepted by the later Ash'arites like Ghazzālī⁵ (d. 505/1111) and the philosophers like the Imām Fakhr⁶ ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) is the view *bona fide* of al-Ash'arī, which he communicated particularly to his intellectually gifted pupils.

Further, the Imām Najumuddin Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), a mouth-piece of the Māturīdite⁷

1. Supra note 6, p. 425.

2. In the science of tradition it is used as an abridged plural of *Khābar al-wāḥid* which, as contrasted with *Mutawātir ḥadīth* communications, come not from a larger number of trustworthy companions (*aṣḥāb*) but from a single person. (Extract) E.I., I, 182.

3. Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥal Islām*, III, pp. 27 and 28. This is my secondary source. Professor Aḥmad Amīn has not mentioned the original authority from which he has quoted his statement.

4. Ibn-'Asākir, *Tabyyīn*, pp. 149 and 150.

5. Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā*, I, p. 79.

6. Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Gḥaib*, IV, p. 285; read with VI, p. 5.

7. Abu Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī al-Mutakallim al-Māturīdī al-Samarḳandī is the titular head of the Māturīdite school of theology which, with the Ash'arite school, forms Orthodox Sunnite Islam. He died at Samarḳand in 333/944. (Extract) E. I., Vol. III, 415.

section of the Muslim scholastic philosophers has it¹ " That the believers have a vision of God most High in Paradise and that He is seen, not in a place nor in a direction or by facing or the joining of glances or the placing of a distance between him who sees and God most High."

Having come so far, it is now for the readers to say whether or not both the Māturīdites and the later Ash'arites have *ipso facto* accepted the Mu'tazilite thesis on the subject.

ABDUS SUBHAN.

1. (a) 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī (Fakhr al-Maṭābī'), Lucknow, p. 10.

(b) Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, appendix I, p. 310.

A MODERN ANALYSIS OF ARABIC POETRY

Die Wirklichkeitweite der früh-arabischen Dichtung. Eine Literatur-wissenschaftliche Untersuchung von Gustav von Grünebaum. Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Herausgeber : Nikolaus Rhodokanakis.—3 Heft Wien, 1937.

IN the introduction to his commentary on the *Mu'allaqāt*, Nöldeke professed that he did not think it worth while to study Arabic poetry for the sake of its intrinsic value as poetry. Its poetic substance, he said, was so little that were it not for the sake of Arabic philology, for the purpose of understanding the linguistic structure of the Arabic language—the language in which the Qur'ān, the sacred book of the Muslims, is written—its study would not be worth the effort, especially because the difficulties in understanding it were very great, in some cases well nigh insurmountable. Wellhausen in his *Diwān der Hudhailiten* concurred in this opinion. About the same time, however, Georg Jacob was the first to realize that the study of Arabic pre-Islamic poetry was one of the most important tasks of the Arabist, for he realized that we would be able to derive from it a picture of Bedouin life. The importance of Jacob's *Beduinenleben* can hardly be over-estimated, for it opened up an entirely new vista for the student of Arabic poetry. After its publication, we can no longer regard the study of Arabic poetry only as an indispensable but cumbersome task for any one who would understand an Arabic text, but it has been studied since then for its value as an historical source and as an art. We have, thus, the valuable introductions and commentaries to the more modern editions of Arabic poetry, such as Lyall's edition of the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, Krenkow's edition of the *ḍivāns* of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ and 'Amir b. aṭ-Ṭufail, and the beautiful translations of Arabic poetry as poetry, especially those of Lyall and Nicholson or Georg Jacob's version of *Shanfarā's Lāmiyya*. We have, furthermore, important studies of the *ḍivāns* of individual poets, e.g., that of Qais b. al-Khaṭīm by Kowalski and that of al-Khansā' by Rhodokanakis, both of which are devoted to the problems arising from the contents or the character of their poems. We have, further, the study of the *nasīb*—a part of the *qaṣīda* but self-contained and easily detachable from it—which I undertook some years ago. All these studies have the avowed purpose not only to collect the work of a poet or to analyse a *genre* of Arabic poetry but also to gain an insight into its structure and the social and historical background against which we should see Arabic poetry.

In consequence of these endeavours to understand the poet's environment, our outlook on Arabic poetry has undergone a complete change, and we have gained—or in any case we are trying to gain—a better insight into its essence, which led to a revaluation of its intrinsic value as poetry.

It is easily understandable that such a change in our outlook sooner or later would lead to a demand for an investigation of Arabic poetry as art. It might seem too early to undertake a comprehensive study of this kind in view of the many problems that still remain unsolved, *viz.*, the analysis of the various parts of the *qaṣīda*, such as the description of the camel, the *fakhr*, the *hijā'*, etc., in the same or a similar way as has been done in the case of *nasīb*; questions of style, for instance, whether there is a difference in the style of individuals living at the same time. And yet it is impossible to withhold praise from the recent book of Gustav von Grünebaum, *Die Wirklichkeitweite der früh-arabischen Dichtung*, in which the young Orientalist has undertaken a study of early Arabic poetry up to the Umayyad period, viewing it as work of art and applying such principles of literary criticism as are generally employed at the present day. As the problem attacked is a very interesting and important one, I feel justified in giving a rather detailed summary of the contents of the book, which is written in German and in a somewhat individualistic style, not too easy for non-German readers to follow.¹

The essay is divided into two parts. The first part gives an analysis of the various classes of Arabic poetry, with many examples in translation in support of the author's thesis. Each topic of the *qaṣīda*, *viz.*, the *fakhr*, the *hijā'*, the *nasīb*, the description of the camel has been submitted to a thorough examination, not so much from the point of view of the philologist but with regard to its poetical substance. Thus the relation between the poet himself and his surroundings, as it appears in his poem, is made the central problem of the examination and the question is asked what rôle the poet's own experience plays in his art. Whereas in European poetry, the poet feels himself as an individuum facing nature and the events in life and history alone as an individuum, the Arab poet all but identifies himself with his tribe. This is the reason why Arabic poetry hardly shows any biographical traits, and even in the *iftikhār*, the self-laudatory poetry, the estimation of what is praiseworthy is based on generalizations rather than on individual features. Even when the poet tries to characterize his individuality, the background against which he depicts his personality is the society of his tribe and it is by social standards that he judges himself. If the poet in his self-laudatory odes uses standardized praise, this is even more true of the praise of his tribe, in which the characterization is typified according to the qualities regarded as necessary in heroes. The same typification takes place in the *hijā'*, the

1. In another essay, the author under review has tried to analyze Arabic poetry and to ascertain the indebtedness of one poet to another. He has thus tried to differentiate between various poetical schools and to establish classes of Arabic poets.

class of poetry which aims at deprecating a man or a tribe, and which sometimes completely blasted their character. This conception of poetry not as a means of self-expression but as a factor in social life, is the reason why even such poems as deal with the most intimate sphere of human life, with love and death, seem to be lacking in the personal touch and to be using standardized motifs and stereotyped symbols. In the *nasib*, for instance, the poet is forced by convention to sing of a distant woman whose love he has enjoyed in the past ; he has to submit to a pattern which forces him to mention certain topics and to disregard others. Although we can often sense the genuineness of feeling pervading a poem, tradition forced the poet to use the conventional forms. Only a few poets—and these are certainly the real great ones—occasionally dare to break through this barrier and pour their own deep feelings into the traditional themes—love, hatred, praise, provocation or supplication. In the later period, however, some sort of romanticism develops in love poetry. The type of lover, who mourns at the *atlāl* but regains his spirits by recollecting his many adventures and feats, is replaced by the faithful lover who pines away with grief. Some of them have become proverbial and are cited in later poems as typical examples of faithful lovers.

On the whole, we may say, there is a lack of deeper feeling, of searching into the deeper strata of man's experience ; there is not even a desire to understand the problems of human relationships, if they are realized at all. Only the superficial attitudes—tribal pride, hostility and enmity between tribes or persons, love and the appraisal of one's own personality—are felt and only in their external features ; but the deeper problems do not find, consciously or unconsciously, any expression in Arabic poetry. The same holds good in the relation between man and his non-human surroundings. For the Bedouin living in the desert, the animal world is near to his own—he observes closely not only his most valuable possession, the camel, but also the wild animals which he sees on his long rides through the desert. But here again the poetical expression is limited : not only is it sufficient to give a detailed description of the animal, its surroundings and its habits, which is done in an associative manner, but even the choice of animals which may be mentioned in a poem is restricted. A detail is associated in the poet's mind with another which is often not at all related to the first ; comparisons are frequent where the *tertium comparationis* is striking and strange. But above all, the human, animal and inanimate spheres are not strictly separate but mix freely with each other : comparison such as that of a woman with a gazelle or that of a man with a sword are not rare.

In spite of the minute observation and detailed description of natural phenomena and of animals and the inanimate world, nature as such has no place in Arabic poetry. Only in as far as it is friendly or hostile towards man it is included in his thoughts and is observed only in its relation to his own life. Thus, the description of a storm, of winter or summer and other similar topics are introduced not for their own sake but in order to

characterize the hero of the poem—his endurance, his hospitality, his courage or to emphasize the desolateness of the landscape, or else, as in the *nasīb*, to illustrate the poet's grief. Thus, man is the central figure in Arabic poetry, while everything else is subordinate to him; and it is the narrowness of his conception of the human soul that accounts for the limitations of the whole style.

In the second part of the essay, the author examines what he calls *die Tragfähigkeit der Form*, that is how far the strict schematism of the Arabic *qaṣīda*, with its many obligatory motifs and themes allows what Grünebaum calls *Wirklichkeitweite*, that is, the extent to which reality may enter the range of poetry and how far it can be and has been sublimated by poetical creative power. In contrast to the usual view of the scholars that the different parts of the *qaṣīda* are connected only very loosely with each other, Grünebaum points out that there is often a distinct structural unity in them. On the other hand, the poet often emphasizes one or the other of the obligatory themes of the *qaṣīda*, sometimes to the extent that an ode which has come to us only as a fragment was composed intentionally as such. But again the inability of the Arab to get away from details and associative thinking prevents him from producing a poem which abstract thought would lift into the sphere of timeless humanity. Although the Arab fails to see the inner connexion of events—or at least does not admit it in his poetic expression which may be described as “pointilliste,” his way of thinking, is historical—none-the-less many poems meant to celebrate a specific historical event would be unintelligible to us without a commentary. Consequently, although we must classify Arabic poetry as mainly lyrical, the principal characteristic of lyrics in our sense as compared, for instance, with Greek poetry—its general validity regardless of time or locality or differences of race or creed, its *Allgemeingültigkeit*—is lacking. The only branch of Arabic poetry which comes near to this conception is the *marāthī* poetry.

It is impossible to reproduce in a short review the many interesting and subtle ideas that are found in the author's interesting book. I have tried to give its gist and general trend only. He has submitted Arabic poetry to a searching and detailed analysis and has thus opened up new vistas and shown new ways of interpreting it. Although there are points in his interpretation with which one cannot agree, he points out new ways of obtaining a deeper understanding of Arabic poems. The selection of examples by which he tries to support his thesis also shows a fine sense for artistic values and proportions, although sometimes one is inclined to interpret one verse or another differently. For example, speaking of the *nasīb*, Grünebaum like many other scholars, points to the rigidity of its structure which prevents expression of individuality or personal feeling to such an extent that even the deepest impressions are clad in the most commonplace terms. Grünebaum cites, as an example, a *nasīb* of Ibn-Qais ar-Ruqaiyat and the prose narrative of the incident to which the *nasīb* refers, pointing out that it would be impossible to know the real

emotions of Ibn-Qais from the poem alone. In my essay on the *nasīb*, I have tried to oppose this traditional view of the stereotyped and schematic character of the *nasīb* and have tried to show how in the literature of every people there are types and patterns of form—moulds so to say—into which the poet's individual feelings have to be cast. I may adduce one instance from German literature very similar to that of Ibn-Qais, quoted by Grünebaum. Who would be able to guess the story that inspired Goethe to write his beautiful poem, *Gefunden*?

Ich ging im Walde so für mich hin
 Und nichts zu suchen, das war mein Sinn.
 Im Schatten sah ich ein Blümlein stehn
 Wie Sternlein leuchend, wie Äuglein schön.
 Ich wollt' es pflücken, da sagt es fein :
 Soll ich zum Welken gebrochen sein ?
 Ich grub's mit allen den Würzlein aus
 Zum Garten trug ich's, am hübschen Haus.
 Und pflanzte es wieder am stillen Ort ;
 Nun zweigt es immer und blüht so fort.

In our textbooks of literary history, we are told that he composed it after having met Christiane Vulpius, an unsophisticated woman, whom the great German poet loved and took into his house, marrying her later. But the poem depicts a lover of nature, who bends over a flower to pluck it, and touched by its beauty digs it out root and branch, in order to plant it in his own garden. It is, however, to be admitted that Goethe has found an individual expression for his emotional experience, whereas the Arab poet uses conventional forms for the purpose. But, then, Goethe lived in an age when the individual had become conscious of his individuality and was no longer forced to remain within the sphere and limitations of his caste or tribe, that is, when he was able to feel a "citizen of the world." The more I think over this problem of schematism, the more I am convinced that our judgement of early Arabic poetry, especially of the period with which Grünebaum is mainly concerned, stands in need of a drastic revision.

As I have tried to show above by means of a simple but outstanding instance, we will find in analysing European poetry the same restriction in the choice of motifs, the same attempt to express personal experience in a more general form. Moreover, how many poets of one generation survive in the memory of the succeeding ones? How many contemporaries of Shakespeare have survived, not in learned dissertations but in the consciousness of the people? How many Miltons, Burns or Wordsworths are there? In order to assign to Arabic poems a high place in world literature, it would suffice to recall such masters of Arabic poetry as al-A'sha, Imra' al-Qais and 'Abid. In judging the artistic qualities of Arabic poetry, therefore, we have to be very careful not to look upon its strangeness to our world as a demerit.

The above remarks are not at all meant to detract from the value of Grünebaum's book in the least. They would on the contrary show that it is a book which stimulates one's thoughts and in which there are many new and fruitful ideas.

DR. MISS ILSE LICHTENSTAEDTER.

ARAB NAVIGATION¹

ARABIA is surrounded on three sides by water, having the Persian Gulf on the east, the Indian Ocean on the south, and the Red Sea on the west. Hence in the literature of the first and second centuries A.H. it is named Jazirat-ul'Arab (Island of Arabia) and the boundaries of its seas are definitely mentioned.²

Arabia, with the exception of Yemen and other coastal regions, is noted for its aridity and barrenness. The people of such a country have naturally to be a commercial community. Accordingly from the time that Arabian history is first known, the Arabs have been conspicuous for their commercial enterprises. Nearly two thousand years before the birth of Christ, the caravan³ which took Joseph to Egypt consisted of Arab traders. The Arab merchants, from time immemorial, had been busy by land and water, and their trains of camels had been seen moving in all the neighbouring countries. For details readers may refer to my book *Arḍul-Qur'ān*.

But here we are concerned more with the navigation of the Arabs than with their commerce. Arabia is linked with other big countries by sea. There lies the Indian Ocean between Arabia and India ; a part of Iran also is connected by means of a river ; Abyssinia which was once a great centre of Arabian commerce is also approachable through the sea. Chinese goods were accessible to the Arabs after crossing the Indian Ocean and the Sea of China. They came in contact with Roman tradesmen on reaching the Mediterranean Sea through Syria. The fertile and verdant provinces of Arabia, viz., Bahrein, Yamama, Oman, Haḍramaut and Yemen ; all lie on the sea-coast. All these natural circumstances made the Arabs a seafaring nation.

Information as regards Arab navigation in the Days of Ignorance can be gleaned from three sources : 1. old Arabic lexicons ; 2. Pre-Islamic poetry, and 3. Religious books of the pagan Arabs. To take them in the above order, we find numerous terms for navigation, sea-voyages, ships, etc., in the oldest lexicons. These include some foreign words also, which

1. Adopted from Urdu by Syed Ṣabāḥ Uddin 'Abdur-Raḥmān, Fellow of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

2. Vide Tirmidhi, Chapter : لا يبقى في الجزيرة ديان , and Yaqūt's *Mu'jam'ul Bulḍān*.

3. *Safar Takween*, pp. 25-37.

prove the naval associations of the Arabs with alien people. To begin with, the Sea in Arabic بحر means both 'river' and 'sea.' يَم also signifies both these meanings. The Holy Qur'ān has used this word both for the River Nile and the Red Sea (Ṭāhā : 2). Then comes قاموس an ocean. It is derived from قَمَس , which means 'to dive into.' قَمُوس is "that deep well into which a bucket may sink." Another form of the word قَمِيس or قَمِيس signifies 'sea ;' its plural is قَمَائِيس . There is one more word قَلَمِيس , which means 'a well or a river having plenty of water.' خَضَم is a 'river' but خَضَم also means 'sea' (vide *Qāmūs* of al-Firozabadi). Other expressions also occur showing a variety of names used.

BOATS OR SHIPS

IN old Arabic two words سَفِينَة and فَلَک were commonly used for boats. Both are of pure Arabic origin. سَفَن means 'to peel wood with a wedge' so سَفِين or سَفِينَة is wood so peeled. *Falak* means a 'wave of the sea,' and possibly has some connection with the word *Fulk* signifying 'ship.'

Among the old Arabian poets, Ṭarafah and A'ashā have used the word بَوْصَى for "boat." Arab lexicographers are of the opinion that this word is an Arabicised form of the Persian بوزی . These two poets have also used خَلِیْه for bigger boats, i.e., ships, while *Jāriyah* and its plural *Jawārī* occurs in the holy Qur'ān for the same object.

Small boats, which accompanied big ships either for use in time of danger or to carry extra cargo were known as قَارِب . The plural is قَوَارِب and اقرب (vide *Liṣān-ul-'Arab*). In connection with the tradition of Anti-Christ, we read in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* بَخَسُوا فِي اقرب السفينه (then they sat in the ship's small boats).

During the Abbaside period many new words were in vogue for boats. Abu 'Alī Moḥsin Tanukhī (died 389 A.H.) has used a word طَيَار for a type of Tigris¹ vessels favoured by the nobility, as well as *Zauraq*,² which was a small boat for pleasure trips. Similarly سَبَك or سَبُوك or سَبُوق were specially used by the people of Hejaz, and معَدَى (plural معادَى)³ also meant small boats.

1. Vide *Nashwārul Mahādirah*, pp. 16, 39, Margoliouth Edition.

2. Ibid. p. 36.

3. *Shafā-ul-Ghātīl*.

NAVIGATION TERMS

ملحة : NAVIGATION, is derived from ملح :—‘brackish and salt’; so, he, who made salt out of sea-water was formerly known as ملح . Later on, he, who went to sea, also was called by that term and *Milāḥat* was used for ‘following the sea for a living.’ Another word for it is *Sifānat* which obviously comes from *Safīnah*. Therefore a mariner is known as *Mallāh* and *Saffān*; and بحار from بحر is another synonym.

Amongst the Arab sailors of the Persian Gulf, a word ناخوذه (plural نواخذہ) was in use. This is a combination of the Hindī ‘Nāo’ and the Persian ‘*Khudā*’ meaning master of the boat’: a captain. Similarly the Arab sailors of the Mediterranean Sea were known as ‘*Nuti*’ and ‘*Navvāt*.’

Ibn ‘Abbās, explaining a Qur’ānic verse mentions انهم كانوا نواتين اى ملحين (‘they were *Navvāt*, i.e., sailors) vide *Lisān-ul-‘Arab*’. According to Jauhri it was borrowed from the Syrians (see *Saḥāḥ*, under art. نوت which is a good clue to its Latin-Greek connections, ‘*Nautikos*’ coming into English as *navy*, *nautical*, and *nausea*. In southern India there live a people of Arab blood known as *Nayat* or *Nawayat*. They may be descendants of the same *Nawayats*, i.e., Arab sailors, who colonised the Indian coast.

Khallāsi signifying in Urdu ordinary servant and sea-man employed on ships has really an Arabic origin :— *Khalās* meaning a mixture of white and black, and *Khallāṣī* is a child born of a black mother and a white father or *vice versa*, (vide *Lisān-ul-‘Arab*). The Arabs usually employed Abyssinian women as household maids. Children born of such slave-girls were very often enrolled for service on the ships and called خلاسى.

‘داری’ was another expression used for ‘a sailor in charge of the sail’ and ‘صداری’ probably its variant for ‘sailor’ also occurs in old Arabic.

In later Arabic ‘*Rabbān*’ has been most common for the ‘ship-captain.’ Perhaps it was derived from ‘*Rabb*,’ which means ‘master and lord.’ In old Arabic its meaning was ‘entire,’ but it is probable that it is an Arabicised form of the Persian word ‘*Raḥbān*,’ which means ‘a person who sees a ship going on the right path.’ دیدبان commonly used by Arab sailors, is another word of pure Persian origin. The man who sat on the look-out, watching for a storm or iceberg or any other danger was called دیدبان : an onlooker.

In the Abbaside period *Mallāh* and *Khallāsi* were subordinates and high-ranked sailors were known as ‘*Rausā*’ (officers). The singular of the latter term is ‘*Raīs*,’ which later on became corrupted into ‘*Rīs*,’

signifying 'captain of a ship' ¹. معلم ² had the same meaning in the 9th and 10th centuries A.H. راز, though rarely used, also conveys the same sense. Its other forms are رائز and رئينز derived from روز which means 'experiment, test and manufacture.' ³

WORDS FOR PORTS, COASTS, ETC.

THE oldest Arabic word for port is 'مرفاء' derived from رفا, which means 'to bring (a ship) ashore.' مينا, with its plural موانى, was used later in the same sense. Probably it was derived from 'اتا' which means 'tarry.' This word is found in books of 3rd century A.H. (vide *Kitāb-ul-Buldān* by Ya'qūbī p. 338) and is still current. The word 'اسكله' conveying the same meaning was borrowed from Latin, while 'بندر' came from Persian. خليج and خور signify a 'bay.'

An old word for 'sea-coast' is *Jidd*; hence the name of the famous coastal town of Arabia, Jeddah. شط and شاطى are also used for 'coast.' ساحل is the most common word for it. حيزه and عبر, سيف, ضفه convey the same meanings.

عراق (Irāq) means a meadow situated on the sea-coast. *Khaffājī* has mentioned a word مهرقان for coast in his book *Shafā-ul-Ghalīl*, written in the 11th century A.H.

NEW WORDS

WHEN the Arabs progressed in navigation, after the advent of Islam, many new words were coined, e.g., خطف 'to start after weighing anchor'. The word really meant to snatch. Similarly اقلع originally signifying 'to hoist sail' was later used in the sense of 'steering a ship.' عذب means 'sweet water,' hence استعذاب: 'to make provision for sweet water in the ship.' باد is another new word for 'coast.' It has been borrowed perhaps either from Persian or Sanskrit. While describing the coast of Madras, Sulaimān mentions a place Kulah-bār, adding: و الساحل كل يقال باد: ('And all coasts are called bār'). Malabar and Kulahbar in southern

1. *Marūj-al-Zahab*, Vol. I, p. 282 (Paris Edition).

2. *Al-Fawā'id Fi 'Ibn-ul-Baḥr Wal Qawā'id* by Ibn Majīd Sa'dī, p. 46, Paris.

3. *Lisān-ul-'Arab* and *Shafā-ul-Ghalīl*.

India, Zanzibar in Africa all point to the same meaning. The word is probably an Arabicised form of the Sanskrit word वाङ्, e.g., in Kathiawar and Karwar.

Terms used by the navigators of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea differed. The mast was called *وقل* in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean but *صادی* in the Mediterranean.¹ Some words took new complexion, as *تعبيه* which meant in old Arabic 'to make provision'; later on it meant 'to equip an army,' and then 'to provision a ship,' (Sulaimān, p. 15). Similarly *نخل* meant in old Arabic 'to throw,' but later it was used in the sense of 'to unload the cargo of a ship.'² *رکاب* began to be used for 'passengers on ships.' Similarly *مرکب* was used exclusively for 'ship.' *خب* meant originally 'trot of a horse' but later on came to signify 'a hurricane.'³

FOREIGN WORDS

MANY words were borrowed from foreign languages. Some have been mentioned above, for the sake of illustration we add a few more :

<i>Arabic Words</i>	<i>Meanings</i>	<i>Persian words</i>
رهنائج - رهانی	.. Map of the routes of a ship	.. ده نامه
سنبک - سنبوق	.. Small boat سنبوذه
فرواز	.. Edge of a boat پرواز
انجر - لنجر	.. Anchor لنگر
<i>Hindi words</i>		
دونج	.. Small boat ڈونگی
بارجہ - بیرجہ	.. Fleet بیڑا
ھوری	.. Small boat ھوڑی
بلنج	.. Cabin in a ship پلنگ (?)
بانائی	.. Indian merchant, later on, passengers of a ship.	.. بنیا

Ibn Baṭūṭa uses a word of Chinese origin جنک (Junk) to signify 'a big ship.' Similarly there are numerous words of Greek and Latin origin, e.g., نوتی-نول - قیر - طونس - جون - جریبا (a bow; Gr. : *stuma*) - اوقیانوس - سظام - etc.

1. *Safar Nāmāh-i-Abul Hasan Sairafi*, Mas'ūdi, Appendix, p. 196.

2. *'Ajāib'ul Hind*, Ibn Shahrīyār, p. 16.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 142, 146.

WARSHIPS

THE Arabs followed the Romans in equipping their men-of-war borrowing many of their words to signify various kinds of warships, e.g., اسطول (pl. اساطيل) meaning 'a fleet of warships,' also شلندى and شينى, a 'warship.' Asfi Mecci of Gujrat uses a word برشته to mean 'ship' in his *Zafar-ul-Wālah*, (Vol. I, pp. 36, 41, London) which is a history of Gujrat, India. Many new words also were current for different kinds of men-of-war, e.g., بطسه - حراقه - مسطحات - طراده - عراده .

The place where warships were built was called دارالصناعة in Arabic. The French word 'D'arsena' and the English 'Arsenal' are both derived from the same root.

ARABIC WORDS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

THE following Arabic and Persian words are still in use in European languages : امير البحر اميرالرحل ('Amiralh,' Portuguese; 'Amiral,' French and 'Admiral,' English), الرئيس ('Arraez,' French), فلك ('Corvette,' French), غراب ('Faluga,' Portuguese; and 'Feluca,' Spanish). الحراقه (Anchor), الحراقه (Al hurrego), الحبل - كبل (Cable).

All these words tell their own tale. They not only furnish us with clues to the study of the history of Arab navigation and naval warfare but give us an idea of their association with foreign countries.

OLD ARABIC POETRY

THE only source of pre-Islamic Arab history is the pre-Islamic Arab poetry. In it we find frequent references to rivers, the sea and navigators. Naturally such references occur in the poetry of those poets only who knew the sea or the rivers. Tarafa, who flourished twenty or twenty-five years before the advent of Islam, and was connected with Bahrain and Hira in his famous ode which forms one of the *Sab'a Mu'alliqah* (the Seven Hanging Odes) compares his fleet-camel to a big rocking ship. He says :

كان حلاوح المالكه غدوة خلایا سفین بالنواصف من دد
عدولیه اومن سفین ابن یامن یبحوره الملاح طورا ویتهندی

(The litters of the lady of the Mālik tribe in the morning looked at the time of departure like ships in Nawāṣif, like Roman ships or ships of

Ibn Yāman, whom sailors sometimes misdirect and sometimes keep on the right course).

These verses depict beautifully how sailors drove ships in unfathomed seas, and how they veered sometimes from the straight course and went astray. In the last verse, there is the name of an Arab navigator, Ibn Yāman who had many ships. It is said that he was an inhabitant of Bahrain, who built big ships and whose fame was wide-spread. Ibn Yāman lived in the Days of Ignorance. The name 'Yāman' which is the Arabicised form of the Hebrew 'Yāmīn' suggests that he was probably a Jewish merchant, who owned ships. Tarafa also draws a realistic picture of the waves of the sea breaking against a ship :

يشق حباب الماء حيزومها بها لنا قسم التراب المائل باليد

(The breast of the ship breaks the waves in the same way as children, while playing, cut a heap of clay with their hands and divide it into two parts).

He pays a compliment to the long neck of his she-camel :

واتلع نهاض اذا صعدت به تسكان بوصى بدجلة مصعد

(When she gets up with the help of her long arched neck it looks like the helm of a ship sailing upward in the Tigris).

The illustrious poet A'sha Maymūn of the Days of Ignorance, who also was associated with the court of Hīra, depicts in his verses the grandeur of the stormy sea and the beauty of boats plying in the Euphrates. To give but one illustration of his acquaintance with the sea :

مثل الفراقى اذا افاطما يقذف بالبوصى و بالماهر

(When like the Euphrates its waves are stirred, it throws off ship and swimmer).

But perhaps the most wonderful verse is of the proud and heroic poet 'Amr bin Khulthūm of the Taghlab tribe of Rabi'ah (Irāq). He writes in zeal and pride :

ملانا البر حتى لا ضاق عنا و موج البحر تملوه سفينا

(We marshalled the land with forces so that the battle-field grew narrow, and we filled the waves of the sea with boats).

One more Arab poet describes the movement of a boat on sea in the following way :

مواخر في سماء اليم مقلعة اذا علت ظهر موج شمت انحدرت

(The ships, with their sails unfurled, rend asunder the sky of the sea, as they climb upon the back of the waves, and come down again).

THE HOLY QUR'ĀN

THE most reliable material for the history of the Days of Ignorance is the Holy Qur'ān, which has been preserved intact without any alteration or change. We find abundant references to ships and the seas in its verses, which are too copious to be mentioned in this essay. Ships have been mentioned in 28 verses : 23 verses contain the word جوار, فلك has been used in two places ; سفينه occurs once ; then there is جاريه in one verse, and also ذات الواج و دسر meaning ' made of planks and nails. '

In the Holy Qur'ān, the history of boats can be traced to the Deluge of Noah, for he was ordered to make an ark in the following words : " And make the ark before our eyes. " (*Hūd* : 4). The material used in the ark may be known from the verse : " And we bore him on that which was made of planks and nails. " (*Qamar* : 1). This shows that a boat was built by making holes in planks of wood and joining them with nails, and it was so strong that it withstood the beating of the waves like a rock. " And it moved on with them amid high waves like mountains. " (*Hūd* : 4).

The purpose for which ships plied on sea and the kind of work carried on by the Arabs may be learnt from the following : " It is He who hath subjected the sea unto you, that ye might eat fish thereout, and take from thence ornaments for you to wear, and thou seest the ships ploughing the waves thereof, that ye may seek to enrich yourselves of His abundance by commerce, and that ye may give thanks. " (*An-Nahl* : 2).

In another place two rivers have been mentioned, one of which has sweet water, and the other brackish but both of which contain fish. One of them yields pearls and corals, and ships sail on it. The rivers meant here are the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, which have salt and sweet water respectively.

The ships ploughed on with the help of favourable winds ; " Of His signs one is, that He sendeth the winds, bearing welcome tidings of rain, that He may cause you to taste of His mercy ; and that ships may sail at His command, that ye may seek to enrich yourselves with His abundance by commerce, and that ye may give thanks. " (*The Romans* : 5).

The above verses indicate clearly that the Arabs navigated (1) to catch fish, (2) to gather pearls and corals, and (3) to carry cargo and merchandise from one country to another for profit.

The journeying of weak and feeble men in unfathomed seas, exposed to the mercy of hostile winds, was a dangerous business. In such circumstances, ships often faced contrary winds, cloud, storm, and the dreadful spectacle of death. In the cloud of disappointment the only silver lining must have been the hope of succour from Omnipotent God.

From internal evidence in the Qur'ān we arrive at the conclusion that the Semitic people as far back as the Patriarch and the Israelites were sea-faring nations and the Bible also supports the same conclusion (vide *Israelites* : verse 7 et seq.). The Qur'ān gives most vivid and realistic des-

criptions of the movements of a ship on a billowing ocean, and the utter helplessness of man to face the wrath of Nature, which are absolutely without parallel in Arabic literature. The hearers of the Qur'ān must have been thoroughly acquainted with all these dangers and the whole argument appealed to them as irrefutable testimony of the Divine Mercy. The graphic accounts of the perils which beset ships, the lamentations of passengers, their earnest prayers to God for deliverance and their forgetfulness and ingratitude after landing on the shore were common experience of Arab life.

There are further verses of the Qur'ān which clearly show that the Arabs were quite familiar with the ways and means of taking their ships across stormy seas to far off countries. They knew how to steer their ships clear of a gale or a storm. They knew when a storm was coming and the nearest haven to which they could rush for refuge. They were also familiar with the directions of different winds, and highly skilled in this science. They dwelt in deserts and coastal regions, so they were adepts in signs of storm. According to the Arab sailors there were twelve kinds of winds : جنوب (South Wind), شمال (North Wind), قول (Westerly Wind), دبور (Westerly Wind), تيمنا (South Wind), جريا (North Wind), نكبا (North-east Wind), داجن (South Wind), ازيب (Dark Wind), باذخس (Good Wind), حرجف (North Wind), صاروف (North Wind). The Arabs had different words for winds according to their characteristics and features. Nautical astrology (علم الانواء) and the knowledge of movements of winds (علم مهاب الرياح) were much liked by the Arabs. Voluminous books have been written in Arabic on these and one of the most important of these books is *Kitāb-ul-Anwā* by Abū Ḥanifah Dainūrī (died, 282 A.H.).

In the Holy Qur'ān a picture of sea voyages is drawn thus : " He will send against you a tempestuous wind and drown you " (*The Israelites*) " So that ye be in ships, which sail with a favourable wind, and they rejoice therein, when a violent wind overtakes them and the billows surge in on them from all sides." (*Jonah* : 3).

The Holy Qur'ān, after describing ships ploughing on the seas, says : " The changing of the winds and the clouds made subservient between the heaven and earth are signs for people who understand it. " (*Cow* : 20).

Ships ploughed on seas days and nights. By day the sailors knew their destination with the help of mountains, naval routes, and sea-coasts, but at night they knew directions by means of stars. The Arabs were highly skilled in the knowledge of stars, and their verses abound in references to them. They named most of the stars after the names of countries, while سهيل (Canopus), شعري (Canis), زهرة (Venus), فرقدین (Guards), ثريا (Pleiades), دبران (Deb-aran) and scores of other stars were commonly used for such purposes. They knew the change of the season with the setting of the Pleiades.

The excellence of the Arabs in the above art may be inferred from the Holy Qur'ān also : " And He hath cast anchor in the earth lest it should move with you, and also rivers and paths that ye might be directed, and He hath likewise ordained marks whereby men may know their way, and they are directed by stars. " (The Bee : 2). " It is He who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea. We have clearly shown forth our signs unto people who understand." (The Cattle : 12).

And when not even a star was visible on the sky in the awful darkness of night, gale and storm, the helplessness of navigators may better be guessed. The dismal picture of such occasions is thus drawn in the Holy Qur'ān : " Or, as the darkness in a deep sea, covered by waves riding on waves, above which are clouds, being additions of darkness one over the other when one stretcheth forth his hand, he is far from seeing it. And unto whomsoever God shall not grant his light, he shall enjoy no light at all." (The Light : 5). Had the Koreish and the Arabs no personal experiences of such sea-voyages, these similia were likely to fall on listless ears.

ARAB NAVIGATION IN THE DAYS OF THE HOLY PROPHET

WE now come to the time when the dark cloud of the Days of Ignorance was disappearing and the effulgent sun of Islam was rising on the horizon ; but its rays had not yet permeated the Arabian Society. The old, crude and wild customs persisted still and whatever appears in the period is the corrective of their old usages. We see the Arabs of this period coming and going in their ships from one place to another. Abyssinia situated on the sea, was their second home and they frequented it at will. The Red Sea was navigated by the Romans and a little before the advent of Islam one of their merchant ships was wrecked near Jedda. The Koreish purchased planks of the ship from the Romans and used them in the ceiling of the Ka'ba.¹

When the storm of persecution broke on the Muslims in Mecca, the Holy Prophet advised them to emigrate to Abyssinia. Accordingly in the fifth year of the Prophet, a group of eleven men and four women left Mecca and found in Jedda two merchant ships ready to sail for Abyssinia. The embassy of the Koreish followed next but returned unsuccessful.² The false news of the conversion of the Koreish to Islam was conveyed to Abyssinia and some of the Muslims living there hurried to Mecca, but eighty persons had to retreat at once. When the Prophet emigrated to Medina, some of the Muslims joined him there by coming from Abyssinia. In 6 A.H., the Holy Prophet sent ' Amr, son of Omayya Damrī, with a letter of congratulation to the ruler of Abyssinia. The latter sent in

1. Vide *Sīrāt Ibn Hishām*, Description of the Foundation of the Ka'ba.

2. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*. Vol. III, p. 1182.

return a deputation of sixty persons to the Holy Prophet but unluckily the ship carrying this deputation sank in the way.¹ In 7 A.H. the Koreish emigrants of Abyssinia embarked for Medina, arriving at Jar, which was situated on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea at a distance of 10 stages from Ela (Akba). It takes one day to reach Medina from this place.²

About fifty-two Muslim converts of the Ash'ar tribe embarked in a ship sailing from Yemen to Medīna, but the strong wind took them to Abyssinia. The emigrant Muslims from Mecca received them and started with them on a ship in 7 A.H. for Medīna, reaching there at the time when the Muslims were conquering Kheiber. These men were named 'the People of the Ship'.³

Islam did not spread beyond the frontiers of Arabia during the Prophet's lifetime, but in two years of Abu Bakr's rule it made considerable headway in Irāq and Syria, and in 'Omar's period it penetrated to Persia and the Persian Gulf on one side, and, after crossing Syria and Palestine, to Egypt and Alexandria on the other. These were the two naval centres of the two greatest nations of the world :—of Chosroes and the Cæsars respectively.

The name of an old port on the Persian Gulf was Oballa, which was a commercial depot of Persia. Ships carried cargo and merchandise from this port to India and China. Alexandria, on the important roadway to Constantinople, Spain, North Africa, and Europe, occupied the same position in the Mediterranean Sea. After reaching these regions the Arab Conquerors grew impatient to sail further, but 'Omar would not let them go ahead. The cause of 'Omar's injunction was not that he feared the perils of sea-voyages, as is inferred from the story that, when he made enquiries about sea-voyages, one of his officers is reported to have described a man (in a ship) as "a small worm standing on a wood." The reason, however, was that the Arabs had no experience of naval battles, while the Romans and the Persians were skilled in it. It was, therefore, that the naval inroad made by the Arabs in a province of Persia, Fārs, through Bahrain, was a failure and they suffered serious loss. 'Alā bin Al-Hadrmī was at that time governor of Bahrain, and he initiated this raid. When 'Omar knew this, he was very angry with him.

Amīr Mu'āwiyah, who was at the time Governor of Egypt and Syria, also wanted to attack the Romans by sea, but 'Omar deprecated the idea warning him to "recall the punishment inflicted on 'Alā for this."⁴

THE JOINING OF THE RIVER NILE WITH THE RED SEA

BUT the peaceful navigation of the Muslim Arabs began in 'Omar's

1. *Ṭabarī*, III. p. 1570.

2. *Yaqut*, art., "Jar."

3. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, "Faza'il-ul-Ash'areyin."

4. *Ṭabarī*, Events of 17 A.H., p. 2546.

period. There broke out a severe famine in Arabia in 18 A.H. So 'Omar wanted to have corn from Egypt. But it took a long time to import it to Arabia by land. 'Omar therefore had a canal of sixty-nine miles dug from the river Nile to the Red Sea. This work was completed after unflinching toil of six months, and twenty ships laden with sixty thousand *Ardab* of corn sailed from the river Nile to the Mediterranean in the very first year, and anchored safely in Jar, the port of Medīna, at that time.

This canal gave an impetus to the naval trade between Egypt and Arabia, and was in use till the days of 'Omar bin 'Abdul 'Azīz (100 A.H.). Later on, it was inundated here and there due to the negligence of the officers in charge. Maṣṣūr, the Abbaside Caliph, closed it on political grounds but it was cleared up again and utilised for a long time.¹

THE IDEA OF THE SUEZ CANAL

'AMR BIN 'AĀṢ, the Governor of Egypt, was probably the first man to think of joining the Red Sea with the Mediterranean by a canal through the Isthmus of Suez but 'Omar opposed the idea. Abul Fidā writes in his geography on Ibn Sa'yid Maghrabi's authority: "There lies the distance of sixty miles between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea from Farama. Ibn Sa'yid says that 'Amr bin 'Aāṣ wanted to dig the land lying between the two, up to the place known as 'Zanab-ul-Timsāḥ,' but 'Omar disapproved of the plan."² The perilous consequences which possibly led the far-sighted 'Omar to oppose this plan are now quite intelligible to every layman of the East.

Obulla as already mentioned was a port in the Persian Gulf. It was occupied by the Arabs in 14 A.H. Thus they held two important commercial ports in 'Omar's days, viz., Jar on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, and Obulla on the Persian Gulf.

JAR

THIS was situated on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea probably near modern Yenbo'. The Muslims, who came back from Abyssinia in 7 A.H. landed at this port. This shows that it was a well-known place long before the advent of Islam. Its importance increased in 'Omar's days with the conquest of Egypt and Syria. And when the Nile and the Red Sea were joined together, it occupied a central position. Ships laden with provisions and merchandise came here from Abyssinia, Egypt, Aden, India and China. In the early centuries of Islam it grew very prominent, and was noted for art, learning, great scholars and big buildings.³

1. *Maqrizi and Husn-ul-Muhādirah*, chapter "Nahr Amīr-ul-Mo'minīn."

2. *M'ujam-ul-Buldān*, vide, Jar.

3. Do Do

On the opposite side of Jar there was an island of one square mile, known as Qarāf. It was accessible by boat, and for ships coming from Abyssinia. Like Jar it had also a colony of the merchants.

OBULLA

THIS was situated a little above Basrah on the Tigris. It was a military cantonment and a commercial port in the Iranian days for ships coming from China and India. The Arabs occupied it in 14 A.H., and its naval importance was well maintained till 256 A.H., when it was destroyed by the inroads of the Abyssinians.¹

BAŞRAH

THE Tigris and the Euphrates meet together at the place called at present Qarnā', and fall into the Persian Gulf near the *Shatt-al-Arab*. Başrah was founded midway in 14 A.H. by 'Omar's orders. It rapidly grew into importance owing to its position, and when Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 97 A.H. the communication between Sind and Başrah became regular.

OSMAN'S PERIOD

THE real age of the Arab navigation began from Osman's regime. The first Arab admiral was 'Abdulla bin Qais Hārithī, who made fifty naval raids against the Romans, commencing in 28 A.H. The Romans were terrified by him, but in one of his expeditions he was separated from his army, and was going alone on a small boat in the Mediterranean Sea when the Romans overtook and killed him. In 28 A.H., the Arabs invaded Cyprus. Amīr Mu'āwiyah and 'Abdulla bin Sa'd bin Abī Sarāḥ, led the Syrian and the Egyptian navy respectively,² and the Arabs gradually occupied most of the islands in the Mediterranean Sea.

The navigation of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean began in the same period. After 'Alā bin Aḥladramī, 'Omar appointed 'Osmān bin Abī-al-'Aās Saqfī, the governor of 'Oman and Bahrain. 'Osmān deputed his brother Ḥakam as Viceregent in Bahrain, which was the most important roadway of merchant-ships of the eastern countries, so Ḥakam had to prepare a fleet, a squadron of which he despatched to India. Bombay was not known then ; but Thāna was raided by Ḥakam's battleships. Another assault was made against Bahroch, and then Muḡhīrah bin Abī-al-'Aās

1. *Tārīkh-e-Basrah* by 'Aazamī, p. 11, Baghdād Edition.

2. Vide *Tabarī*, year 28 A.H.

was sent to attack Daibal (Thatta), the port of Sind.¹ This shows that the Arab navigators either knew the locality of these cities or they sought help of Iranian sailors and seamen in ascertaining their directions.

It is a mere coincidence that the Arab invasion to India was pioneered by the youths of saqāfī clan and completed by a youth of the same clan, Muḥammad bin Qāsim, who subjugated the whole of Sind in 92 A.H.

SYED SULAIMAN NADVI.

1. *Futūḥul-Buldān*, 431 ; and *M'ujam-ul-Buldān*, art., ' Bahrain. The date is open to scrutiny.

THE VICTORIES OF SULTĀN FĪRŪZ SHĀH OF TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

(English Translation of *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*)

SULTĀN FĪRŪZ SHĀH, (752-790 A.H., 1351-1388 A.D.), one of the most enlightened rulers among the Sultāns of Delhi is described by Ḍiyāuddīn Barnī in his *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*.

بعد از سلطان معزالدين محمد سام بادشاهى حليم تر مشفق و مهربان و حق شناس و وفادار تر و
در اسلام و مسلماني پا ليزه اعتقاد تر از سلطان عهد و زمان فيروز شاه السلطان پائى بر تختگاه دهلى
نهاده است -

Sultān Fīrūz was not merely a just and merciful sovereign, but he had a passion for architecture and a taste for letters. He not merely shed lustre on the throne of Delhi by his numerous works of public utility, but his reign was signalised by the production of a copious literature on varied subjects.¹ Works on hagiology, Muḥammadan law, medicine, falconry and history were composed during this period and many of them were dedicated to Sultān Fīrūz. It is well-known that the Sultān's love of learning transcended the barriers of creed. In course of his expedition to Nagarkot, the Sultān's curiosity was excited by the sight of a splendid Library attached to the temple and he ordered the translation of a few works on astronomy and other subjects into Persian.² The Sultān himself essayed his hand at literary composition and composed a pamphlet containing *theres gustae* of his reign, or, as he designates them, his 'victories,' and had these engraved on the walls of the *Kushk-i-Shikār*, on the dome of the *Kushk-i-Nazūl* and on the minaret of the stone mansion at Fīrūzābād.³

This work, the manuscripts of which are extremely rare, was translated by Prof. Dowson, in the *History of India as told by Its Own Historians*: Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III. Prof. Dowson's MS. apparently found its

1. *Mahtūbāt-i-Aḥmad Munyari*, *Irshad-u-Salīkīn*, *Khulāṣat-ul-Alfāzi*, *Jāmi'-ul-'Ulūm*, *Manāqib-Makhdūma-i-Jahānīyān*, *Tibb-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *Rāḥat-ul-Insān*, *Fiqh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *Fawā'id-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, etc. *Catalogue of Persian MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1924.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Persian text, *Bibliotheca Indica series*, p. 233.

3. *Shams Sirāj 'Afif's Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, *Bibliotheca Indica series*, p. 178, p. 20.

way into the British Museum and was listed by Rieu in the catalogue of Persian MSS. The only copy of this work in India is preserved in the Aligarh University, of which a copy was obtained by Dr. Raghubir Sinh, heir-apparent, Sitamau State, Central India. The scholarly prince offered generously the use of his MS. and the present translation is based on this copy. This royal composition,¹ though small, is of great historical importance. It sets forth not merely a sketch of the works of public utility done by the Sultān for the good of his subjects, but recounts the Sultān's manifold exertions in the path of righteousness as he conceived it.

The chief merit of this work, however, lies in the fact that the Sultān recorded here those thoughts and aspirations which stirred the inmost recesses of his heart, and though centuries have rolled away, the Sultān's words still ring in our ears. But the spirit of the royal sentiments is hardly echoed in the translation made in the *History of India* by Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 374-388. Moreover, the above translation contains such material inaccuracies and so many omissions, though unimportant, here and there, that a fresh translation of the royal composition will probably be welcome to students interested in the medieval history of India.

FUTŪHĀT-I-FIRŪZ SHĀHĪ (THE VICTORIES OF FIRŪZ SHĀH)

INFINITE praise and boundless gratitude be to the merciful and compassionate Creator who offered necessary guidance to this poor, helpless Firūz, son of Rajab, servant of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughluq Shāh, to breathe new life into the sublime tradition of the Prophet, to eradicate heresy, to stamp out abuses, to prohibit unlawful acts and to encourage the observance of divine precepts and obligatory religious tenets. Endless benedictions be on the chief of the created beings (the Prophet Muḥammad) who was sent to suppress customs and habits and to eradicate usages and practices, and on his descendants and companions, as by their praiseworthy endeavour, infidel practices were abolished; may the blessings of God be on them all. After expressing his gratitude for the favour and bounties bestowed by the Divine Bestower on this humble servant—for to speak of His gifts is gratitude, and the chief of the sons of Adam was inspired to speak of His bounties in verse :—" The bounty of thy Lord, rehearse and proclaim."²

I wished that by rehearsing some of the divine gifts with which He had favoured me, I could express my gratefulness so far as it lay in me so that I might be admitted into the company of His grateful servants.

One of the favours of the Creator, Who provides the necessities of life, (His greatness is exalted and charity universal) was that innovations and

1. For details regarding the genuineness and importance of the work, see the present writer's paper, *Futūhāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, in the J.R.A.S. B., July 1941.

2. *The Holy Qur'ān*, by Yusuf Ali, Vol. VI, p. 1753.

abuses of religious tenets had become current in the kingdom of Hindustan, and having become habitual and natural with the people, they had deviated from the bright laws of the Prophet. God made (His) strength an ally of His own poor servant, and he deemed it incumbent on himself to prohibit the innovations, eradicate the abuses and uproot the forbidden things, and he made handsome efforts so that by the aid and assistance of God, the false customs and infidel practices were swept away and truth was sifted from falsehood. This was the first step. In previous ages, blood of Muslims was profusely shed and various kinds of torture were practised, such as mutilation of hands, feet, ear and nose, plucking out the eyes, pouring molten lead down the throats of people, hammering the bones of hands and feet to fragments, roasting alive in fire, driving nails into hands, feet and chest, flaying alive, battering with the spiked rod, dividing arteries, sawing a body in halves, and other forms of mutilation.¹ Most Merciful and Compassionate God strengthened the mind of his own slave, hopeful of (His) mercy, in order that he might devote his aspiring might in such a way that a Muslim's blood be not unjustly shed, and that he be not tortured in any way and that nobody be mutilated.

Verse.—How shall I express my humble gratitude for this boon that I am bereft of strength for committing tyranny on men? They committed all these acts, in order that the hearts might be awe-stricken and fear might prevail in the minds of people and the affairs of government might be well organised and the following saying was made their motto.

Verse.—"If you desire the stability of the kingdom, you should always keep your sword in action."²

By the grace of God which rests on this poor self, those cruelties and fears have been supplanted by tenderness, generosity and beneficence. Fear and hope have increased more than ever in the minds of the high and the low, and there is no need for execution, thrashing, cruelties and torture, and it is not easy to attain this good fortune without the mercy and the grace of God.

Verse.—Show mercy when your arms are strong,³
as charity is better than anger.

When greatness has been bestowed on you by God,
the habit of punishing rashly is wrong ;

If you do not delay in retaliation,
you may kill him whom you might set free.

When the body is cut to pieces,
your command cannot recall it to life.

1. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* also refers to the various kinds of tortures and punishment that were abolished by Firūz, (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy of Bankipore MS., pp. 106-124).

2. Professor Dowson's Translation conveys quite the contrary sense.

3. Prof. Dowson has not made a literal translation of this verse but quoted a piece of poetry. *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 376.

Behold ! How much pain has the loving mother
 endured for her own stripling.
 Don't say : " I killed a hundred men in battle."
 Save a life so that they may call you a hero.
 As you feel disinclined to submit yourself to the lancet
 so don't hack at another's neck with the sword.
 Don't strive to shed the blood of men,
 because life does not return once it passes away.
 Don't make yourself an ally of villainy by shedding men's blood,
 after all, you have also blood under your skin.
 A thousand applauses be given such a pioneer
 as does not commit deeds of blood in the presence of great
 Those who do not hasten to shed blood [men.
 receive honour from the orb of the sky.
 He shows mercy when the enemy is weak,
 and spares his life, by a full exercise of his magnanimity.¹

By the grace of God my mind was firmly set on the idea, that the life of the Muslim and property of believers should remain absolutely secure, and whoever would deviate from the path of religious law (*Shar'*) should receive his deserts in conformity with the injunctions of the *Qur'an*,² by the decree of the *Qāzīs* (Praise to Allah for His bounties).

Another kindness and favour of the Great and Exalted God towards me is that the recitation of the titles³ of the by-gone *Sultāns* was expunged from the address of the *Jum'a* (congregational Friday prayer) and the *Ids*,⁴ and the names of those kings of Islam as a blessed result of whose bravery and ardent longing the country of the unbelievers was conquered, the standards had become victorious in every country, the idol-temples were pulled down, the mosques and pulpits were filled to capacity with worshippers and were carried to lofty heights, the sacred creed became exalted, the Muslims had become powerful and the rebels had come under tutelage—had fallen into oblivion, We commanded that according to the traditional custom which prevailed, they should rehearse all their titles and qualities in the *Khuṭba* and should recall them with a view to divine forgiveness.

Verse.—If you wish that your name be everlasting,
 don't keep the names of the great unpublished.

One of the gifts of the Guide to righteousness (may his name be exalted) is that in previous ages they collected unjust, unlawful and

1. These verses are mentioned in *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Sarkar MS., *ibid*, p. 125.

2. The translation of کتاب into *Quran* may be preferred to Dowson's rendering of the word into *book*.

3. 'Afif also says that the names of previous *Sultāns* were introduced in *Khuṭba*, *op. cit.* *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 106-107.

4. Dowson translated the words جمعة و اعياد into *Sabbaths and feasts*, *op. cit.* Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 376.

forbidden taxes for the public treasury, such as a toll on the betel-leaf market,¹ brokers of the market,² tax on butchers,³ tax for superintendence of public enjoyments and festivities, on sale of flowers, tax on irrigation,⁴ octroi dues, tax on sale of fish, on the trade of cotton dressing, on soap-making, on rope-selling, on oil and ghee-making, on fried gram, teh-bazari,⁵ chungī ghallāh,⁶ on pension,⁷ tax on gambling, on houses, court fee, police tax, censor's fee, house-tax,⁸ and pasture-tax. We ordered the court of exchequer to abolish these taxes from the register and declared that whoever amongst the empowered officers should realise these imposts from the people, would be visited with condign punishment. Verse.—Tó compose the hearts of friends is better than a store of wealth ; To have an empty treasury is better than drawing the people to affliction.⁹

The wealth, which was collected in the public treasury consisted of the taxes which are prescribed in the law of the Chosen One (may Allah's mercy and peace be on him) and which the religious books set forth, e.g., land-tax, tithe,¹⁰ *zakāt*, the *jizīa* on the Hindus, heirless property,¹¹ one-

1. ^{برک} means leaf, and not vegetables, hence tax on betel-leaf market is preferred here to Prof. Hodiwala's suggestion of tax on the vegetable market. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 340).

2. Prof. Dowson has not translated this word, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 377.

3. Prof. Hodiwala rightly suggests the meaning of ^{جزاری} 'Afif says, Persian text, p. 375
جزاری چه باشد - چون قصابی ماده گاوی ذبح کند در هر سرے دو اواز ده چیتل بدهد

4. Dowson reads the word differently, ^{جریه تنبول} 'Afif also tells us that Firūz imposed an irrigation tax *op. cit.* *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 130.

5. This tax was in vogue in Central India, as late as the early 19th century. Capt. Broughtons writes in his " Letters written in the Marhatta Camp, during the year 1809: " " The farmers, who have the entire management of their own Bazars, reimburse themselves by the following imposts and taxes : viz., Tehbazarie ; a quarter of an anna levied daily upon each dokan or shop and eight annas every tenth day, This is either collected daily, or every tenth day ; or sometimes two rupees are taken at once, at the end of the month. "

6. " A tax collected in kind from every corn-dealer, by a servant of the Kotwal, or superintendent, by dipping his right arm into the corn or meal, and scraping out as much as he can, into a bag held close to receive it. This handful is called choongee ; and three and a half choongees are taken daily from every shop ; two for the Sirkar (or the farmer, if the Bazar is rented), and the rest for the petty officers of the Bazar. "

7. Prof. Dowson reads the word as ^{جبهه} *ibid.*, p. 377.

8. ^{کومی} has been wrongly rendered into *Ghari* by Prof. Hodiwala but the word itself means a chamber or house (*Burhān-i-Qāti*, II, p. 252. 'Afif also says that this was the house-tax, *op. cit.* *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 375).

9. This verse occurs in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Bibliotheca Indica-Series, p. 240.

10. Dowson translated ^{خراج اراضی عشر} into tenth from cultivated land, *History of India*, III, p. 377.

11. The word ^{ترکات} is rendered into 'Separatists' by Dowson, *History of India*, III, p. 377.

fifth of the booty and mines ; and they would by no means realise such imposts for the public treasury as were not lawful according to the injunctions of the Qur'ān. Previous to this age, owing to the spread of heresy, they used to collect four-fifths of the booty for the exchequer and give away one-fifth to the captors as a matter of custom and convention. The injunction of religion is that they shall collect one-fifth for the treasury and pay four-fifths to the captors and this injunction was totally inverted. As this injunction was not in conformity with the prescription of the law, whoever appropriated this booty committed a forbidden act¹ and every child begotten of such a slave became illegitimate. With a view to its abolition we commanded that they should collect one-fifth for the treasury and pay four-fifths to the captors.² Next, the Shi'a who are called Rawāfiḍ, called upon the people to espouse Shi'aism. Having written pamphlets and books on this faith, they had specialised in teaching and instruction and were used to indulge in public vilification and ugly abuse of the two Shaiḫs (Abū Bakr and 'Omar). We arrested all of them and their apostasy and seduction of others were proved. We punished the zealots and intimidated the rest by admonition, punishment and cruelties.³ A sect of Mulḥids⁴ and Abāhīyas⁵ had gathered together and incited the people to infidelity (Ilḥād and Abāhīyāt) ; they used to meet together at a fixed place at nights by appointment ; people irrespective of matrimonial taboos carried food and wine with them and used to say : " This is the worship of Allah," and making an image they made the people bow down before it. They brought together wives, mothers and sisters at night and whoever amongst them chanced to catch hold of the garment of one woman used to commit adultery with her. We struck off the heads of their pīrs (spiritual guides), imprisoned, banished and punished the rest, so that this nuisance was completely stamped out of the fold of Islam.

1. Dowson's translation conveys a sense different from what is warranted by the passage, *ibid*, p. 377.

2. That Firūz did not merely give utterance to the principle but acted up to it is supported by Munsha'āt-i-Māhrū. Of the enormous booty seized in the Jajnagar expedition Sultān Firūz distributed 4/5th to the soldiers in accordance with the rule of Shara'. (Sitamau copy of the R.A.S.B. MS.).

3. Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī says that the holy books of the Shi'as were burnt in the presence of all people. *op. cit.* (Sarkar MS., p. 164).

4. The existence of these sects is vouched for by Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī and by Ḍiya Barnī and Khazāin ul-Futūḥ of Amīr Khusrāu. From the description of the sect given in Sirat-i Firūz Shāhī, Sarkar MS. p. 147, it appears that many Muslims were converted to a cult similar to that of Tantricism which had degenerated at that time into gross sensuality. A detailed description of this faith is given in the present writer's volume on Sultān Firūz Shāh which will shortly be published. Prof. Hodiwala suggests that the followers of this cult represented the Vāmāchāri section of the Saktas but they are distinct from the Sahajīyas. There are certain agreements in practices between the Tāntriks and Sahajīyās but the spirit of the two doctrines is quite different from each other.

5. 'Alāuddīn Khajī suppressed the Ibahiyats and Buddhas. Eng. trans. (Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ, by M. Habib), p. 12 and Ḍiya-Barnī, B.I., 334.

A class of men in the garb of atheism, (*Dahariya*)¹ renunciation and celibacy, used to lead the people astray, make disciples of them, and discourse to them on the perverse faith. These seducers had a leader named Aḥmad Bihārī²; he was a resident of the city of Delhi and a body of Bihārīs called him God. They brought up this band of men under arrest and in chains before us. He used to vilify the Prophet and affirm : "What illumination can there be in the Apostolate of the man who had nine wives." "One of his disciples bore witness to his assertion. We punished both of them with imprisonment and commanded others to abjure and recant. We exiled each one of them to different towns. Accordingly the wickedness of this muddy-headed sect was suppressed." Still another of the favours of God was the following : In the city of Delhi a person Rukn, by name, having the title of Mahdī, declared : "I am the last Mahdī, I have acquired inspired knowledge, and I have not learnt from anybody and the names of all created beings which no other Apostle except Prophet Adam (may peace be upon him) was aware of, are known to me, and the mysteries of the science of alphabet which are not disclosed to anybody else have been revealed to me." With this pretension he composed books and won over the people to apostasy and irreligion and proclaimed : "I am Ruknuddīn, the apostle of Allah." The religious teachers bore out this point before us, averring : "This has been said and we have heard it from him. When they brought him before us, we enquired about his seducing others. He made a confession of his heresies and errors. The scholars versed in religion declared : "He has turned a *kāfir* (unbeliever) and his execution is legal." This wickedness and ferment originated among the Sunnis owing to his perversity. If its suppression was put off, which God forbid, it would lead to such (widespread) contagion that many Muslims would go astray and abjure Islam and such a ferment would arise that many people would be ruined on account of it. We commanded them to proclaim the wickedness, error and seduction on the part of this villain in the assembly of the scholars of the world who were versed in the Law, and to convey it to the ears of all high and low, and to inflict condign punishment in accordance with the verdict of the

1. The *dahariyas* believe in the permanence of the world and do not believe in the Day of Judgment, (*dayerul ma'rafat*). *Dahariya* is a name applied to those people who, not content with repudiating the belief in one God, the creation of the world by Him and His providence and denying the postulates of any positive religion, teach the eternity of time and of matter and ascribe all that happens in the world merely to the operation of natural laws. As the most characteristic principle of their teaching, on which all the others depend, stress is laid on their doctrine that time is without beginning. One comes nearest the meaning of the *Dahariya* by translating it as *materialists* or *naturalists*; the oldest definition of the meaning of *Dahariya* is to be found in Djahiz's *Kitab-ul-Kayawan* where they are credited with a hedonistic view of life in addition to atheism and naturalism, using the terms in the most general sense (*Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I., p. 378, 1913).

2. Dowson very curiously writes the name as Aḥmad Bahari, *History of India*, p. 378. Religious ferment of this type in which claims were made by persons of being commissioned by God also stirred medieval Europe, *History of The Middle Ages* by Hallam. H. 525-7.

doctors of law and leaders of faith. They executed him along with these persons who were his devotees, disciples and associates, and all people high and low, rushed forward and tore his flesh, skin, and limbs to pieces and his iniquity was put down with such a rigorous hand that it became a warning to the people of the world. God, Exalted and Great, made His divine favour and grace accessible to His own poor servant in eradicating such wickedness, rooting out similar heresies and endowing him with strength in reviving the traditions (of the Prophet). This narration aims at expressing gratitude to God. Whoever seeks the welfare of his own faith, on hearing and pursuing the forbidden words, should travel along this path, in order that he may be rewarded.¹ By holding out these good deeds, as an example, we remain hopeful of reward. "Allah is the giver of strength." Still another favour of God was this: One of the sons of 'Ain-i-Māhrū's teachers² set himself up as a spiritual guide in the province of Gujrat. He recruited a large number of disciples and used to proclaim: "I am God," and tutored his disciples saying: "When I say I am God, you must respond, "Thou art, thou art," they said and he used to say: "I am the king who is immortal" and wrote a book which recorded his sayings. They brought him before me in chains and this charge was brought against him. We punished him and burnt the book which he had composed, so that this unrest among the monotheistic Muslims was also put down. Another favour of God, was this: The customs and practices which are not permissible in Islam had become natural in the cities of Muslims owing to ignorance. Bevises of women, mounted on palanquins, carts, litters, horses and camels, and flocks of pedestrians used to come out of the city on holy occasions and repaired to the tombs. Rakes and ruffians, given to sensuality and averse to piety, committed wild and rowdy deeds which was common knowledge. By religious law women are forbidden to go out. We strictly forbade the women to visit the shrines, and whoever were to go, would be punished. Now, by the grace of God, Exalted and Great, the veiled Muslim women living in *purdah* have not the courage to go out and visit the shrines. This innovation too was suppressed.

Another favour of God is apparent from what follows: The stupid idol-worshipping Hindus, who have submitted to the levy of *jizya* by way of security, and whose property has been safeguarded,³ have built new temples in the city (Delhi) and its neighbourhood. In the religious dispensation of the Prophet, the construction of new temples is not legitimate. Inspired by divine strength, we destroyed their wicked foundations,

1. Dowson confuses the meaning of this sentence, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 379.

2. Dowson translates ملازادگان ابن ماهر into one of the pupils of 'Ain-i-Māhrū, *History of India*, p. 379. (It seems likely that here religious teachers of a place named 'Ain māhrū are meant.—Ed., I.C.)

3. Prof. Dowson thus translates this sentence "had agreed to pay the money for toleration, and had consented to the poll-tax." He apparently made a distinction between *Jar-i-dhimmia* and *jizya* whose significance cannot be understood, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 380.

executed the leaders of the false faith who were leading others astray, and warned the rank and file by punishment, so that this abomination completely subsided.

Still another favour was the following : In the village of Maluh¹ where there was a tank known as *kund*, temples were built. A large number of Hindus with their retinue, riding together and equipped with arms and armour and accompanied by their wives and children, borne in palanquins and carriages, assembled in thousands according to their custom on an appointed day and performed idol-worship. This wickedness was carried to such a length that shop-keepers used to carry there various kinds of gew-gaws and palmed them off by craft. A band of irreligious Muslims, prompted by evil passions, participated in these gatherings. When this state of affairs reached our ears, by divine grace we made a firm resolve to suppress this wickedness which was corroding the religion of Islam. We went there on the day they had assembled and ordered the execution of those persons who had been their *pīrs* (spiritual guides) and who seduced and misguided them, and we restrained the rest of the Hindus by excruciating punishment.² We destroyed the idol-temple and erected a mosque in its place ; we colonized the localities and gave one the name of Tughluqpur and the other that of Ṣadlapur, and now by the grace of Great and Exalted God, Muslims offer prayers to true God, perform *Takbīr* (recitation of *Allāhu Akbar*), *Azān* (call to prayer) and congregational prayer, and recite the creed *There is no God but God* in those places where the stupid unbelievers had built idol-temples ; and in those places where the unbelievers had built their dwellings, the Muslims have taken up their abode and keep their tongue moist by reciting the creed³ *There is no God but God*. Thanks to Allah for the religion of Islam.

Still another favour of God was this : It was reported that in the village of Sālīhpur, a number of Hindus had built a new idol-temple and performed idol-worship. There also we sent a few men to destroy the temple and stamped out the wickedness of these persons who persisted in error.

Still another favour of God was this: In the village of Gohana⁴ some Hindus had raised a new temple. A number of polytheists used to assemble

1. Prof. Hodiwala is inclined to identify Maluh with Malja or Malcha in the vicinity of Delhi where Sultān Firūz constructed a *band*. But as Maluh and Malcha are written quite different by, the identification does not appear to be convincing (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, 1939, p. 343). There was a place of this name in Lucknow Sarkar during the reign of Akbar ; which is mentioned to have been prosperous *mahal* at that time, (Eng. trans. of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* by Gladwin, p. 490).

2. Sultān Firūz's repressive policy against the *dhimmīs* is also supported by 'Afif, e.g., the burning of the Brahmins and *jizya* imposed on them (*op. cit.* *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 379-384). Nizāmuddin Aḥmad also says that the Sultān erected mosques in the place of temples (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 240).

3. Dowson has abridged the translation of the concluding sentences of this para., *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 381.

4. Gohana was a prosperous *mahal* in Sarkar Hissar Firūza, as attested by Jama' (*op. cit.*, Eng. trans. of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, p. 533). It is fifty miles north west of Delhi and 20 miles north of Rohtak. According to Hissar Dt. Gazetteer, the temples of Tirthankar Paresnath which exist here form the chief attraction of the devout Hindus at present.

and perform image-worship. Having seized these persons, they brought them before us. We ordered a public proclamation about the seduction of people by those who were the mainspring of wickedness among them, and also their execution before the royal palace, and we ordered the burning in the place of public punishment of books of false faith, idols and articles of image worship which they had brought with them in the presence of the public. Others were forbidden by admonition and punishment, which served as a warning to the rest, and no *dhimmī* could show such audacity in the kingdom of Islam.

Still another favour of God was this. It had been the established practice in previous age to use gold and silver vessels at the time of taking meals and mount the hilt of the sword and bow string¹ with gold. We mounted our weapons with the bones of the hunted animals and accustomed ourselves to the use of vessels which were permitted by religious injunctions.² Again it had been the custom and practice in by-gone days, that they painted figures on their garments, and robed the people in them as a mark of honour by the royal court. Similarly they used to carve figures on bridles, saddles, collars of their mounts, censers of aloe-wood, drinking-pots, cups, jugs, bowls, parasols, tents, screens, thrones, chairs and all other instruments and articles and had paintings in their possession. By divine guidance and heavenly favour, we directed that they should remove all figures and paintings from all articles and make those things which are not forbidden but sanctioned and approved by the religious Law; we commanded that they should obliterate all carved and engraved figures chiselled out on the houses, walls and palaces.³ Again, in previous ages, most of the robes of the nobility were unlawfully garnished with silk⁴ and gold brocade. God gave me guidance so that I could make the general dress conform to such patterns as were permissible by the religious Law, and embroidered designs, caps and brocades whose trimmings did not exceed the breadth of four figures⁵ were approved by us; whatever was unlawful, unpermis-

1. Dowson translates بندھا می تیغ و چلہ ترکش into sword belt and quiver, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 382.

2. That the Sultān cast aside the gold and silver vessels from the royal table is also supported by 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 374.

3. 'Afif says that the Sultān removed all the paintings of men and animals which formerly adorned the royal private apartment. He commanded that only scenes of gardens and of natural sights should be painted. Figures made of bronze, copper, gold and silver were also effaced, and gold and silver plates and cups were exchanged for stone and clay dishes and vases. The figures which were depicted on standards and pennons were similarly obliterated. (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 374).

4. Dowson's translation does not convey the real meaning, *History of India*, p. 382.

5. Dowson translated اصابع as inches, *ibid.*, p. 383. This decree was in consonance with the Law enjoined by Islam, *Mishkāt-ul-Maṣābiḥ*, vide, chapter on *Kitāb-ul-Libās*. Maulana Fazlul Karim thus translates the saying of the Prophet on this point. 'Omar reported, that the Holy Prophet forbade the wearing of silk dress except like this, and the Messenger of Allah raised his middle and ring fingers and joined them. 'Omar said "The Messenger forbade the wearing of silk except for a space of two or three or four fingers." Engl. translation of Al-Ḥadīth by Faḍlul Karīm, p. 633.

sible, blameworthy and prohibited by the religious Law was swept away "Thanks for the religion of Islam."

One of the gifts of God bestowed on the poor servant is that He gave us power for strengthening the foundations of beneficent institutions. We laid the foundation of many mosques, madrasas, and hospices in order that scholars, religious teachers, recluses and devotees might offer prayers to God in those places and assist the founder of these good works by their benedictions. The digging of tanks, planting of trees and endowment of land in accordance with the prescriptions of religious Law are admitted and approved on all hands, and in Islam the doctors of Law are unanimous on this point; they provided for stipends and settled the proportion of the grants to the beneficiaries so that their benefit might reach the servants of God¹ and a description was given in detail in the *waqfnāma* (deed of endowment).²

Another gift of God was this: We embellished by repair and rebuilding the edifices and structures of the previous kings and by-gone noblemen, which had decayed owing to the passage of time and gave the renovation of those structures precedence over our own buildings, e.g., the Jām'ī mosque of old Delhi built by Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Sām, which required repair and innovation on account of its antiquity; it was restored in such a way that it appeared to be built anew. The tomb of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Sām, its western wall and the planks of the door, which had become old and mildewed, were rebuilt. The wooden doors, shelves and staircases were replaced by sandalwood, and the minaret of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, which had crumbled down after a stroke of lightning, was repaired by being made more elegant and loftier than before. The tank of Altamash, whose channel was choked in its upper course by impious men, was cut off from its supply of water. We threatened the shameless, audacious persons with punishment and set the water flowing freely along the channel. The tank of 'Alāuddīn had burst its confines and been drained of water³ the people of the town had tilled it and dug wells on its site and sold water from them. We excavated it after an age, as a result of which the tank remained filled with deep water throughout the year. Similar was the case of the madrasa of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash. Having

1. Dowson's translation "The learned doctors of the law of Islam have many trouble; of this there is no doubt does not convey the real sense of this para. The translation made here is supported by 'Afif's narration." The revenue of the reclaimed lands was assigned for the maintenance of the ulema and *mashāikh* and fixed allotments of this revenue were made (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 130). *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* also makes a similar statement. (Sarkar MS., 291). 'Afif further says that the Sultān earmarked 36 lacs of rupees for the ulema and *mashāikh* (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 169).

2. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* throws light on the "waqfnama" made by Firūz. All kinds of grants and endowments made for multiple purposes, e.g., maintenance of the holymen, religious teachers, servants attached to mosques and madrasas were recorded in it and Firūz sent this long and elaborate document to Egypt, which after being approved by Caliph, was carried back to Delhi (Sarkar MS., pp. 291-292).

3. Dowson's trans. does not express the correct meaning of the sentence, *History of India* Vol. III, p. 383.

rebuilt the places which had become dilapidated, we hinged doors of sandalwood and raised the fallen pillars in a more elegant way than that of previous times. The basement of the tomb, which had not been plastered at the time of original construction, now received its coating of plaster¹; the door of the arched gateway of the staircase was enlarged by hewn-stone and the fallen piers of the four towers were rebuilt. The tomb of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, which was at Malikpur, had fallen into dilapidation to such an extent that it almost ceased to exist. Here a dome, a pavilion and a hospice were rebuilt. The tomb of Sultān Ruknuddīn, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, which was at Malikpur, had fallen into such a state of dilapidation that it had almost disappeared. The tomb of Sultān 'Alāuddīn Gharbī—the mosque which is inside the madrasa, was renovated from the foundation to the pedestal.² The sepulchre of Sultān Qutbuddīn and of the sons of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, namely Khizr Khān, Muhammad Khān, Shādī Khān, Farīd Khān, Sultān Shihabuddīn, Sikandar Khān, Uthman, and Qutbuddīn's sons and grandsons, was renovated. The doors of the arched gateway and the lattice-work of the tomb of Shāikh-ul-Islam, Shāikh Nizāmuddīn, were made of sandalwood, and the golden chandeliers were hung with gold chains from the four corners of the recesses of the dome, and a new congregational hall was built such as did not exist here before. The tomb of Malik Tāj-ul-Mulk Kāfūrī, who was the chief minister of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and possessed much intelligence and sagacity, had conquered many kingdoms which the hoofs of the horses of the previous kings had not traversed, and where the Khuṭba of Sultān 'Alāuddīn was proclaimed, who maintained a cavalry forty-two thousand strong, was levelled to the ground and the grave sunk to the earth. The tomb was repaired from its base, as he was a staunch upholder of his master's interest and a grateful person. In *Dārul amān*, which was the place for the final rest of our revered master,³ the doors were made of sandalwood, and over the tomb of the honourable master, a canopy was hung, made out of the screens of the door of the House of Ka'ba,⁴ and the materials for repairs and rebuilding of these tombs and madrasas were provided out of their old endowments. For places not previously endowed and also to furnish these places with carpets, articles of illumination and other furniture suitable for pilgrims, villages were assigned so that their proceeds might be expended on these

1. Dowson's translation is here very curious, "its court had not been made curved but I made it so."

The word is كج and not كج *ibid.* p. 383.

2. Prof. Dowson's translation: "I made good the tessellated pavement" does not yield any sense (*ibid.* III, p. 384).

3. Dowson has abridged the passage and translated "Makhdūmān" into "great men." This paragraph along with the next following one makes it abundantly clear that Sultān Firūz referred to Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq and Muḥammad bin Tughluq by this expression.

4. Dowson's translation leaves out these important words, *History of India*, p. 385.

places.¹ Similar was the case of Jahapanah, which was founded by Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, now received into divine forgiveness and favour, he was our lord and benefactor—especially I was reared and cherished by him.² It was kept in good repair. Similarly, the encompassing walls, built by the previous Sultāns within the bounds of the city of Delhi, were repaired. In the madrasa, tombs and graves of Sultāns famed for achievements and of great religious teachers, we preserved intact furniture necessary for travellers in those sacred places and villages with their lands and their old endowments. Besides, I assigned grants for those places where no kind of endowment or anything else was provided,³ in order that the good works might endure for ever in those places and wayfarers, scholars and learned men might live in ease and call them and us to memory in their beneficent prayers.

Another favour of God was this: He made it possible for us to build hospitals; so that whoever, whether high or low, was stricken with disease or pain, might come to this place. The physicians are on attendance to diagnose the disease, prescribe treatment and diet, and supply medicine and food from allotted endowments. All patients, whether resident or travellers, high or low, free or bond, who visited this place, were treated and by God's grace restored to health.⁴

Another favour of God was this: From God who is almighty and full of perfection, this sinful servant derived strength, so that he, on behalf of the Sultān received into divine forgiveness and compassion, won over with riches⁵ the heirs of those persons who were executed as well as other persons whose limbs such as eyes, hands, nose and feet were mutilated during the time of His Majesty Sultān Muḥammad Shāh received into

1. 'Afif says that Sultān Firūz assigned thirty-three lacs of rupees for scholars, religious teachers and holy men.

2. The very grateful and affectionate sentiments expressed here by Sultān Firūz towards his patron Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq tend to impair seriously the authenticity of Badāūnī's story regarding the rebellion of Firūz in concert with Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd against Muḥammad bin Tughluq (*Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*, pers. text, Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 248). It may be mentioned here that Firūz entertained very loving sentiments towards Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. In the course of Firūz's expedition to Nagarkōt in 1362 A.D. he recalled the incident when his cousin, though overcome with thirst, rejected cold drink on account of his absence. On arrival at that hallowed spot Firūz caused cold drink to be prepared in profuse quantity and distributed it amongst the soldiers as a token of the hallowed memory of his cousin (*Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Sarkar MS. p. 79, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 233, (*Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*, p. 248).

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (p. 239) says that the Sultān wrote one chapter on the endowments of mosques and detailed directions for its expenditure. Again it says that Firūz kept in force the endowments made for mosques, hospices, madrasas, etc., *ibid.* p. 241. B. De's translation of مقرر ساختم into "made endowments" does not convey the exact sense (Eng. translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by B. De, p. 260).

4. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* and 'Afif attest this account of the establishment of hospital by Sultān Firūz, *Afif, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 349-360, *Sīrat*, pp. 244-248.

5. Dowson has confused the meaning of the passage here, (*History of India*, III, p. 385).

divine forgiveness and favour, who was my lord, revered master and cherisher (may his place of eternal rest be joyful).

Having secured the deeds of gratifications attested by witnesses and put them in a chest, we placed it at the head of the tomb of the Sultān (received into divine forgiveness and favour) in *Dār-ul-amān*, "may God illumine his resting place." So that by His universal kindness He might immerse our revered master and cherisher in mercy and make them reconciled to our master by His own treasures.¹

One of the favours of God is that villages and lands held in proprietary right were confiscated in previous ages for various reasons and had passed from the authority and possession of the private person into the control of the exchequer. We declared that all who possessed proofs of ownership should bring them to the *Dīwān-i-shara'*, and on verification, the villages and lands which had been confiscated and over and above, whatever constituted his property, would be restored to him. Thanks to Allah, through His help we succeeded in this endeavour and the property passed into the hands of the rightful owners.²

We derived inspiration for encouraging the *dhimmīs* in pursuing the true religion and proclaimed publicly that whoever amongst the unbelievers would recite the creed of monotheism and embrace Islam, would be exempted from the *jizya* in consonance with prescriptions of the religion of the Chosen One, Muḥammad, (may peace be upon him). The words of this (proclamation) reached the ears of all; Hindus poured in throngs, and were honoured by the glory of the adoption of Islam. Similarly they are still trooping in from various directions and are embracing Islam; their *jizya* is being repealed and they are being distinguished by various rewards and honour.³ Praise to the Sustainer of the universe.

One of the gifts of God is that the wealth and property of the servants of God remain safeguarded in tranquil security during our reign and we did not consider it lawful to take away even the least particle from them. Many mischievous persons made false reports that such and such a person possesses so many lacs and such and such an officer so many lacs. We cramped the tongues of these tale-bearers by reproofs and punishment so that people were freed from the wickedness of this tribe of men.⁴ Certainly

1. Firūz's reparation to the heirs of those executed by Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is supported by *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Sārkār MS., pp. 155-156 and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Pers. text, p. 240). This passage is of great historical importance as it shows that the late Sultān's coffin which was buried at Sehwan (*Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore Feb. 1935 and *Proceedings of Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 273-279) was again transferred to Delhi and finally interred in Dar-ul-amān.

2. The restoration of confiscated lands is also attested by (*Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Sārkār MS., p. 148).

3. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* also states that the Sultān granted remission of *Jizya* to those who embraced Islam (Sārkār MS., p. 170).

4. Sultān Ghiyathuddīn Tughluq also adopted measures against the tax-collectors and farmers of revenue ساعیان و موخران و مقاطعه گران (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Ḍiya Barnī, Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 429).

on account of this favour, all became sincerely attached and well disposed towards us.

Verse.—Seek good name, as the treasure of munificence is a hundred times better than the treasury of wealth.

One blessing is better than a hundred ass-loads of riches.

By the favour of God humility to the mendicants¹ and the indigent, and winning their hearts, obtained a firm hold on our minds. Accordingly wherever we found mendicants and recluses, we went to visit them and craved their blessing so that we might acquire the excellence implied in the expression, "How noble is the king at the door of the mendicant." If any one amongst the officers attained to the natural fullness of age, we gave him permission and advice so that he might devote himself to the acquisition of the riches of the other world and abjure the actions disapproved by the religious Law which had been committed by him in youth, become averse to the world and turn his face towards the affairs of the other world. *Tetrastich*: When you are grown old, you cannot perform youthful deeds. During old age you cannot commit villainy in secrecy; whatever you have done in the darkness of night, you have done, you cannot do it in the light of day. Next, agreeably to this distich, it is the principle and rule of the great that they favour a good man² and if the life of this man comes to an end, he favours his sons. When any of the officers of rank and position, whoever he might be passed away from this world of enchantment to the abode of bliss by the decrees of Providence, we bestowed his post and rank on his descendants in such a way that they might remain³ better off than their father in position, affluence and dignity, and might suffer no diminution in status.

Distich.—It is the principle and rule of kings to honour the wise and after their age, they keep engagements with the sons of the wise. The greatest and best wealth which the Giver of a kingdom, Whose greatness is sublime and charity universal, has bestowed on this servant, is that God inspired me to render obedience, faithfulness and goodwill, and to fulfil the command of His Majesty, the refuge of the caliphate, descendant of the uncle of the Prophet (peace be on him). The purity of administration is not regularized until one honours himself by submission to His Majesty and obtains a writ of approval from His sacred court.⁴ Hence the faith

1. اقراو مساكين do not mean here "poor and needy" as translated by Dowson. *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* makes it convincingly clear, by stating that the Sultān honoured the dwellings of the pious der-vishes, by his footsteps. Thus he visited the dwellings of *Shāikh* 'Abdul Haq, the Bengali, *Shāikh* Chirm-posh of Bihar, *Shāikh* Sharfuddin Panipathi and others (Sarkar MS., Sitt, pp. 174-184).

2. This verse occurs also in *Sīrat*, p. 153.

3. Firūz's concern for the heirs of the faithful officials and his liberality towards them is supported by *Sīrat*, pp. 152-155, and *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 96-97.

4. The fact of exchange of gift between Sultān Firūz and the Caliphs of Egypt is supported by the evidence of all the contemporary writers, e.g., (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Ḍiya Barnī, pp. 598-599), ('*Afīf*'s *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 273-275) *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 288-292 gives details about the visit of the Caliph's envoys to Delhi.

of this person in allegiance to the Khalīf became confirmed and a mandate conveying plenary authority and the viceregency of the Khalīf was issued from His Majesty's sacred Court of the Caliphate. He was honoured in the mandate with title of Sayyid-us-Salāṭīn and owing to a flow of presents and gift of robes, the court of the Caliph including scarf, standard, ring, sword and footprint, glory and supremacy over the people of the world. The essence of this (autobiography) lies in the fact that by rehearsing the favours which have been bestowed a thousandth part, only a little out of the abundance of gratitude may be expressed. Those who are seekers after well-being and felicity should read it and learn that this is the best course. Humanity does not want that it should fail in pursuing this course. People are rewarded for their good deeds, and we shall earn merit by pointing the way to good works¹. *Futūhāt-i-Firūz Shāhī* is completed.²

N. B. Roy.

1. Dowson has abridged the translation of this passage.

2. My thanks are due to Dr. Baini Prasad, the translator of *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* for his valuable suggestions in rendering this text into English.

PIETRA-DURA DECORATION OF THE TAJ

AN important feature of the magnificent Taj is that it is embellished with many varieties of decoration simply with a view to relieve the monotony of the omni-present white marble. Especially one of them, in inlay on white marble, by its variegated precious stones dominates the rest both in quantity and quality. Even a casual observer of the Taj notices it on the spandrels of the facades of entrance, the facades of the actual mausoleum, the sarcophagi, the enclosure, etc. The same decoration in inlay is found in India on many Muslim monuments much earlier than those of the Mughals, although not of such a fine type as that of the Mughals. This particular form of decoration of the Taj has caused a good deal of controversy as to its being of Italian origin.¹ We wish to discuss hereby tracing its real history as a part of the Muslim fine Arts.

It is alleged by the experts that the inlay is supposed to have originated in the East and taken by the Phœnicians to Greece and thence to Rome. Phœnicia and Greece were provinces of the Byzantine empire. But the fact is that the term *pietra-dura* applied to this form of inlaid decoration originated at Florence only during the sixteenth century and then began to be used in the sense it now signifies. It was something of a revival of the ancient Roman *opus sectile* and first appeared, according to Major Cole, in the Fabbrica Ducale built by Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1558 A.D.²

Previous to the Italians, the Persians used the term *Parchîn Kârî*³ for this form of *pietra-dura* decoration while the Arabian writers used the word *Al-Fusai Fasa*⁴ for glass mosaics generally found in Palestine of the Byzantine origin, which is different from *pietra-dura*, as far as technique is concerned. It is a pity that writers sometimes fail to distinguish between

1. Father Hoston did his best to prove the *pietra-dura* of the Taj to be of Italian origin in a long article published in the *Journal* of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. III, 1922.

2. Cole, H. H., *Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Delhi*, London, 1872.

3. Nāṣir Khusrau says:—

گرد دل خود ز دوستی شان بر دیو حصار ساز و پر چین

Khān Arzū says:—

جزاین جوهر نمیدارند قابل پرچین کاری بیت اله دل

4. *Lisān-ul-'Arab* and Lane's *Arabic Dictionary* under *الفسفاس* - فسفس . Muqaddasi's *Geography*, p. 58. Le Strange's *Palestine under the Muslim*, pp. 228-230, 241, 268 ; the *Legacy of Islam*, p. 161.

the two. Nāṣir Khusrau (d. 1088 A.D.) a well-known Persian writer, traveller and philosopher, used the word *Parchin* in his poetry, and in the real sense of *Parchin Kārī*. Khān Ārzū also brings it into his poetry, but we should content ourselves with the contemporary histories of the Mughal Emperors who decorated their masterpieces of architecture with this very *pietra-dura* describing it by the same term *Parchin Kārī*.

The Byzantine monuments of Asia Minor were decorated with inlay in marble much before the foundation of St. Sophia at Constantinople in the 6th century of the Christian era. Later on, the Seljuq Turks occupied Asia Minor in the 11th century. Their capital was then Qunia where they erected new monuments, including mosques, madrasas and palaces after their own special styles. Those monuments were duly decorated with their special devices of geometric patterns, floral motifs and arabesques in stucco, in relief, in inlay, etc. In particular, the prayer niche of the Laranda mosque at Qunia built in 1225 A.D. invites our careful observation to study the varieties of decoration which it bears in inlay, both in terra-cotta and marble. Similar terra-cotta inlay as a technique of the Seljuqs of the days of Malik Shāh is traceable in the Small Dome Chamber of the Masjid of Isfahan.¹

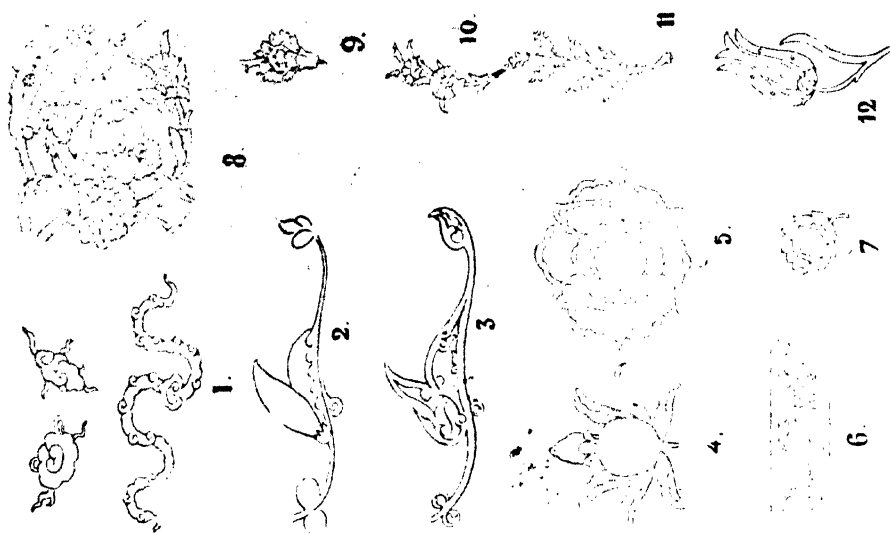
If we trace the existence of coloured mural decoration among the Musalmans, we shall be able to find very early specimens of faience revetments and faience mosaics in Persian buildings. Ibn Rustah, writing about 903 (290 A.H.) discusses the great mosque of Baghdad and others which were wholly ornamented with lapis lazuli tiles, and Ya'qūbī in the tenth century speaks of the Masjid at Bukhara as celebrated for its green minaret.² In short, the Musalmans had begun early to decorate their monuments after their particular designs and devices which later became their standard styles. When the Byzantine empire ceased to exist, the Art and Literature of the Musalmans became the source of inspiration to Europe. In the case of the colour decoration of the architecture of Italy, Mr. James Ward says: "In all flat ornament used in the decoration of buildings of the 13th and 14th centuries in Italy, either in painting, mosaics, or inlaid work, Byzantine, Saracenic or Persian influence may be noticed." And further he says: "We may clearly see the development of Giotto's Italian Gothic ornament, still mixed with some of the older Romanesque forms that Tarrati loved to use, while Saracenic influences are not absent."³

Especially as to the decorative patterns or motifs of Muslim monuments whether in India or abroad, we shall see that they generally have one and the same origin. Therefore it encourages us to conclude that the Musalmans in India began to decorate their monuments by applying the same patterns whether in faience or in mural or on stone in relief

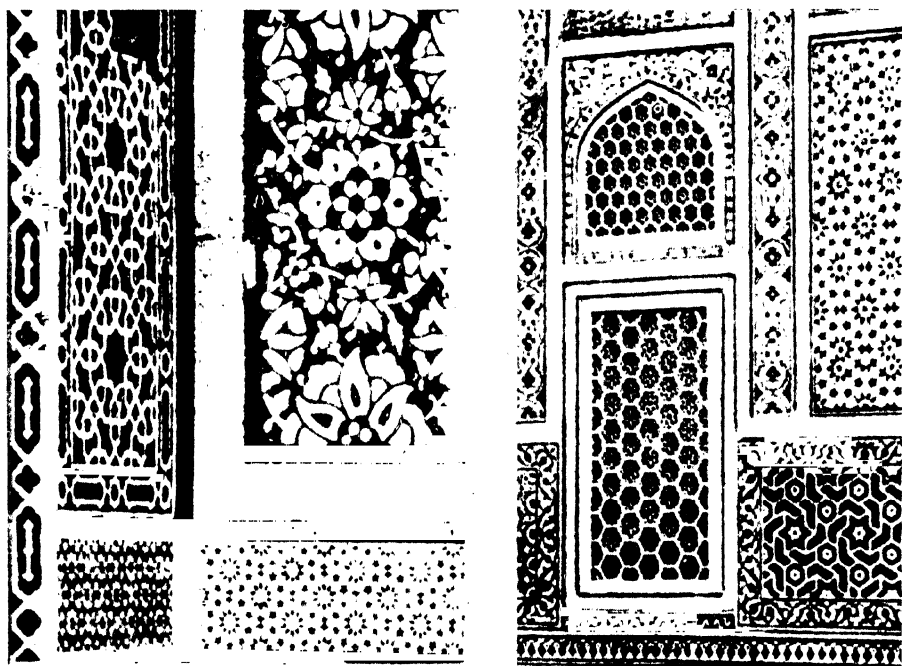
1. A.U. Pope, *The Survey of Persian Art*, pp. 1290-1.

2. *Ibid*, 1323.

3. Wards, J. A., *The Italian Colour Decoration*, London, 1908, pp. 60, 65, etc.



FIGS. 1-12 showing the Lotus Palmette, Fantastic Foliage, etc., reproduced from M. Jalāl Asad's *The Turkish Art (Turk San'atı)*, Istanbul, 1928, Pl. 30. These details actually belong to different monuments in Central Asia and Asia Minor.



14. A Detail of Pietra-Dura from the Facade of I'timādu'd-Dowla, Agra.

or in inlay (*pietra-dura*). The Lotus palmette, the pomegranate, the profile Lotus blossoms, fantastic foliage, Acanthus-half and split and other Arabesques, will invariably be found in conventional forms which are a chief characteristic of Muslim decoration. (See Figs. : 1-12). Owing to such a close resemblance in the decoration of Mughal buildings with those abroad, one sometimes begins to feel that one is not in India but rather in some other country. For this particular feature of Muslim decoration the study of the *Survey of Persian Art* by Mr. A. U. Pope, a standard voluminous work will be of great help.¹ Apart from the expressions of these motifs in actual decoration we occasionally find reference to them in prose and poetry in descriptions of monuments. When 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān built his superb palaces and gardens in different places, his companion poets and literary men described them in their own way, which exemplifies the use of *Shamsa Mudawwar* (circular sun or lotus flower) specially on the spandrels of the arches, with other decorative motifs in wreaths, etc.²

Though unsurpassable specimens of hewn stone-carving of the ancients existed, no specimen of *pietra-dura* or inlay in stone was found till the Musalmans occupied India and began to enrich the land with their special devices both in art and literature. Gujarat stands out in prominence as it was there that the Muslims first came by sea, even before the conquest of Sindh; and even by land they conquered Gujarat before establishing themselves at Delhi. It is historical fact that the earliest Muslim inscription is found in Ahmadabad although monuments of such early days do not exist. Gujarat excelled the whole of India in respect of stone-carving, from the very early days; but it is also a fact that no sign of decoration in inlay is found here before the arrival of the Musalmans. The Jāmi' Masjid at Ahmadabad, built in 817 A.H./1414 A.D. is worthy of study,³ being one of the earliest mosques built by the Gujarat Muslim kings. Its central mihrab bears the *Shamsa*, the presentation of an open sunflower in marble in overlay, with leaves and parts represented in variegated inlaid stones coloured yellow, black, pink, etc. Another *Shamsa* having the same variegated leaves, is also found in the central mihrab of the Juma' Masjid of the Manak Chawk built in 827 A.H./1425 A.D. (PII). Not very far from Gujarat, in Malwa at Maudu-Shadiabad, the mausoleum of Hoshang Shāh built in 1435 A.D. also bears a variety of *pietra-dura* or inlay.⁴ Moreover, sometimes Islamic inscriptions are found inscribed in inlay either on red stone or black marble in white marble which, if we are not mistaken, was also first introduced into Gujarat, the best specimen is found in the Juma' Masjid of Muhammadabad-Champaner, built in 914 A.H./1508 A.D.⁵ It all means that the inlay or *pietra-dura* as a

1. A. U. Pope, *The Survey of Persian Art*, p. 707. Figs. 944-47, 901-06, 774-5, 898.

2. *Māthir-i-Rāhīmī*, Vol. I, pp. 596, 607.

3. Chaghtāi, M.A. *Exhibition of Impressions of Inscriptions*, Lahore, 1936, Nos. 14, 16, 17.

4. *Archæological Survey of India*, 1904-5, pp. 1-5.

5. Chaghtāi, Nos. 89-90.

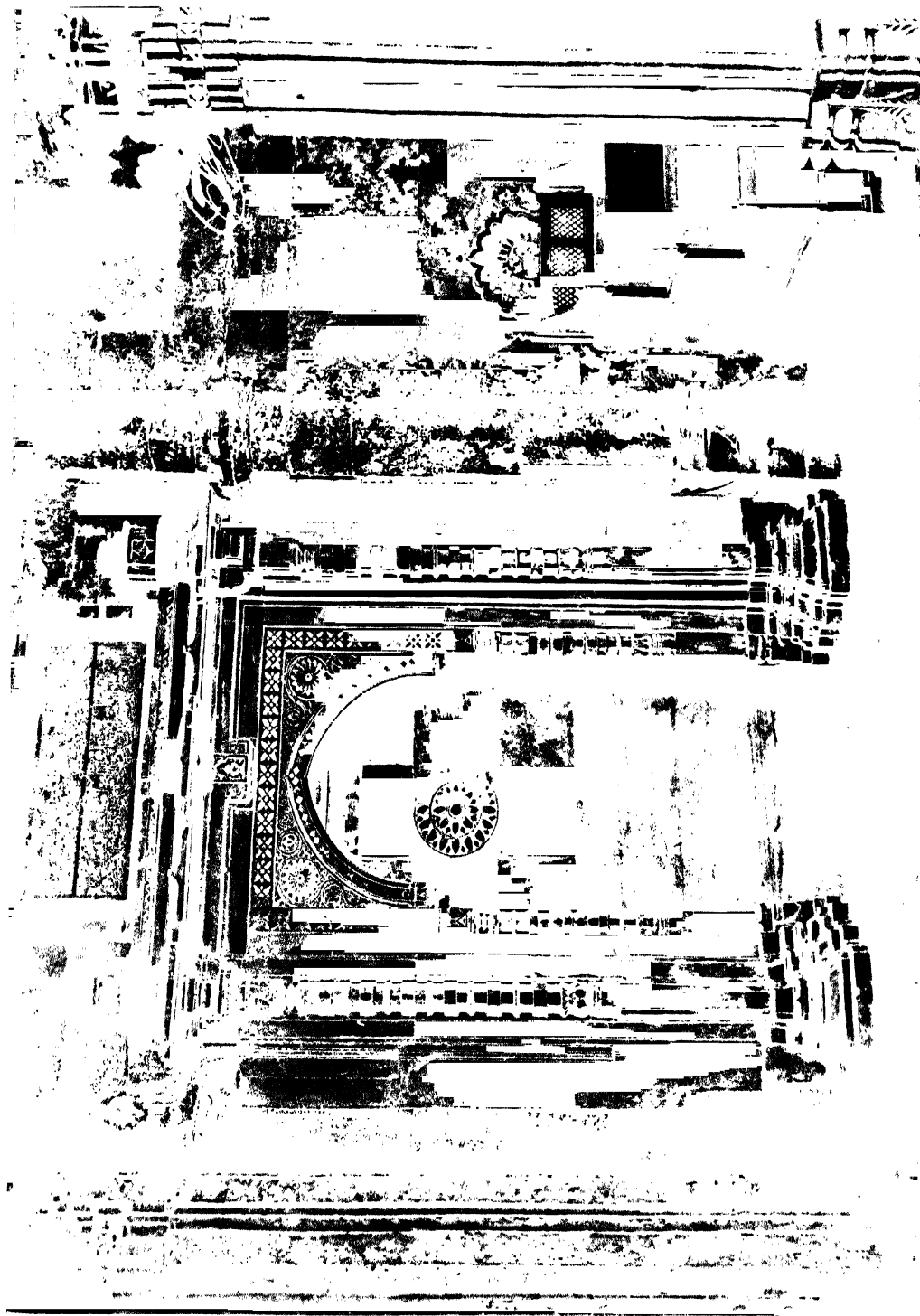
Muslim contribution to Indian architecture already existed in India much earlier than that of Florentine *pietra-dura*.

In the days of Babur, Agra became the seat of the Mughal kingdom. The Mughals enriched it with monuments which they built after their particular style of architecture *in situ*, which was based on prototypes found in Central Asia.¹ Even to the days of Shāh Jahān we can easily study and discern this feature from their monuments which have been decorated with so many devices such as relief, mural, stucco, inlay, etc. But their decorative motifs are of one and the same style and shape as stated above. From this particular point of view, both at Delhi and Agra, certain notable mausoleums are worth study, such as : that of Shamsu'd-Dīn Khan Atka at Delhi built in 974 A.H./1566 A.D.; Salim Chishti's mausoleum at Agra, built in 982 A.H./1574 A.D. : the mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, Agra, built in 1022 A.H./1613 A.D. and that of I'timādu'd-Dowla at Agra, built in 1038 A.H./1628 A.D. But from the days of Jahāngīr these decorative motifs began to appear mostly on the exterior of monuments, either in faience or *pietra-dura* in lieu of other varieties of decoration.² (See Figs. 13 & 14). It was due to Shāh Jahān himself who raised *pietra-dura* to its zenith. When Jahāngīr, his father, died in 1037 A.H./1627 A.D., his mausoleum was erected by Shāh Jahān at Lahore. The floors of its platform and of the roof bear excellent specimens of inlay in geometrical traceries of striped marble, but the sarcophagus has a unique form of *pietra-dura* decoration of precious stones of variegated colours, which had never been adopted before in India, and the same was also carried out on the sarcophagus of Āṣaf Khān's tomb adjoining Jahāngīr's at Lahore, although he died 16 years later. These show Shāh Jahān's genius in architecture.

On the occasion of the erection of the Taj, the mausoleum of Mumtāz, Shāh Jahān, following the prototype of his own creation of this form of decoration at Lahore in Jahāngīr's mausoleum, carried it to its climax to make it harmonise with the highest standard of the architecture created there. The sarcophagus of Mumtāz which is exactly in the centre of the dome, consists of *pietra-dura* in precious stones, namely lapis lazuli agate, jasper, brown-violet stone, green stone, etc., etc., (See Fig. 15) with which every spandrel or every other salient detail of the Taj is richly adorned. These stones have freely been employed in wreaths, leaves, tulips, etc., in conventional forms, and in the delicately written inscriptions from the Qur'ān in black marble. Shāh Jahān died in 1076 A.H., i.e., nineteen years after the final completion of the Taj, and was buried by the side of his beloved wife, instead of finding a separate mausoleum on parallel lines, as he had contemplated in his own lifetime to build opposite the Taj on the other bank of the river. The interment of Shāh Jahān's body by the side of Mumtāz, has, of course, marred the central symmetry of the dome,

1. Cohn-Wiener, E., *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 31, etc.

2. Smith E. W. *Mughal Colour Decoration*, Allahabad 1902.



which is the chief characteristic of Oriental architecture. However, Aurangzēb, simply with a view not to mar its beauty and harmony, prepared the sarcophagus both on the floor and in the basement with the same form and standard of *pietra-dura* as that of Mumtāz, so much so that at present no one can distinguish which is the later of the two, so far as the minutest details in the workmanship are concerned. Only the inscriptions bearing dates of death and name respectively, can clear the point.

These works prove beyond all doubts that the Mughal *pietra-dura* in India is the offshoot of Central Asian and Persian specimens. Mr. Havell remarks: "The masons, who executed the inlay, including the so-called *pietra-dura*, which is distinctly Persian in character, were Indian and Hindus who came from Kanauj. The chief worker, Chiranji Lal, received one of the highest salaries, 800 rupees per month which is a sufficient proof that he was not a mere artisan working under supervision, but was a master-craftsman of high position among Shāh Jahān's experts. His subordinates were Choti Lal, Mannu Lal and Manohar Singh, whose salaries ranged from 300 to 200 rupees per month.

"Though the extensive use of marble and stone inlaid decoration in Indian buildings was most probably a fashion introduced by the Arabs, who had themselves borrowed it from the Byzantines, it seems that the practice had become a part of the Hindu craft tradition so long before the building of the Taj as effectually to dispose of the theory that the *pietra-dura* of the latter was derived from the Florentine work of the 16th century, to which it has no resemblance except in technique."¹

Here it seems necessary to make it clear that almost all the *Parchin Karan*—*pietra-dura* workers, cited above in the account of Mr. Havell, are those mentioned in the Persian MSS. in my possession and their native places are cities in Central Asia. Samarcand is shown as the home of Charanji Lal, Rūm (Constantinople) of Mohan Lal, Balkh of Manohar Singh and so on, which seems to be physically all but impossible. To my mind either their actual Muslim names have been mutilated and instead of them Hindu names have been coined or the information supplied in these MSS. is altogether fabricated. However, it is gratifying to note that Mr. Havell is of the opinion that the origin of this form of decoration is Persian in character.

Quite contrary to facts, the *pietra-dura* work of the recess behind the baldachin—*Nashīman-i-Zilli Elāhi* in the Diwan-i-'Am of the Delhi Fort, the design of which represents flowers, fruits, and birds in a most natural manner—is said to have been executed by Austin de Bordeaux. Among the other designs the Frenchman is mistakenly supposed to have introduced his own portrait under the garb of Orpheus playing on his lyre, with a lion, a leopard and a hare lying charmed at his feet. All this seems to be impossible, for Austin died in 1632 A.D., i.e., just after the construc-

1. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, June 1903, *The Taj and its Designers*, by E. B. Havell.

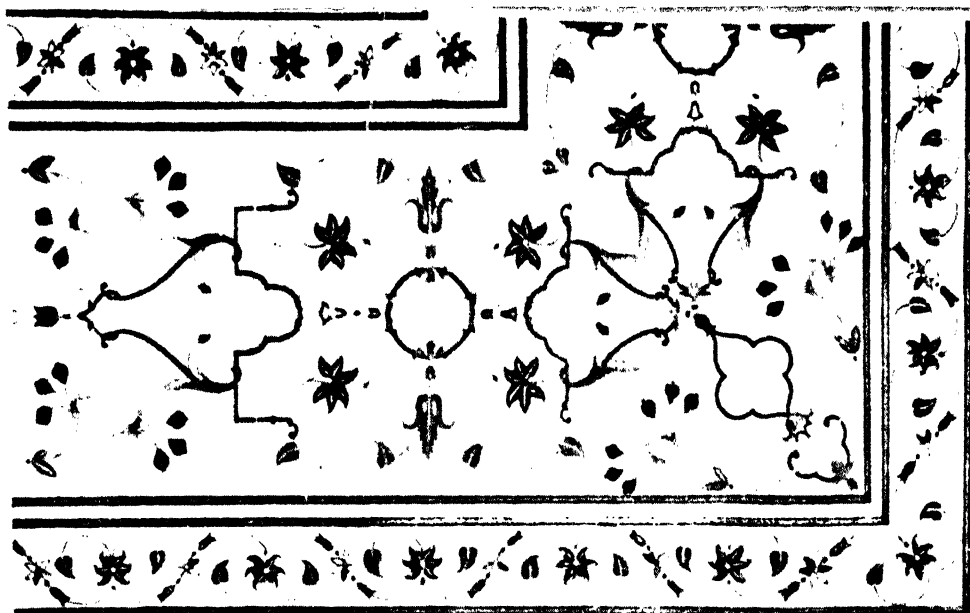
tion of the Taj was begun, and the Delhi Fort was founded in 1048 H./1638 A.D., i.e., six years after his death.¹

We are fortunate in finding a contemporary account of this portion of the Diwan-i-‘Am of the Delhi Fort in the official record, ‘*Amal Šālih*, which does not make any mention of this particular piece of work having been designed or executed by a European artist :—“Near the ceiling is the Jharoka (balcony) for the nobles and the plebeians which is a place of prostration for the public and a source of fulfilment of the desires of the wordly people. This balcony, just like a bungalow, is wholly constructed of marble and is four yards long and three yards wide. It consists of four pillars and a recess, in the back wall, seven yards long and two and a half yards wide, which is adorned with *Parchīn Kārī*—(*pietra-dura*) decoration of variegated stones by the most highly skilled artists with all sorts of wonderful paintings. It excels in beauty so that the silverized orange of the moon and the golden citron of sun cannot stand in front of it. It provides so much amusement to the eye that one looks disdainfully at the real multicoloured garden in full bloom in spring. On three sides of it there is a fixed lattice of pure gold which gives the impression that the balcony is encircled with sun rays. Every morning this auspicious place is honoured with the presence of the Emperor, when it is exalted more than the mansions of the moon and the sun, and on account of the radiation of light from the appearance of the Emperor, this place looks elegant as the place of the rising sun. In front of this magnificent balcony there is a spacious hall of forty pillars, each of which is strong enough to be a support for the Koh Bēstūn, or rather a base for seven azure domes. This very lofty hall is twenty-seven yards long and twenty-four yards wide. The decoration of the ceiling and different paintings on the wall excel even the work of the great artist Mānī.”²

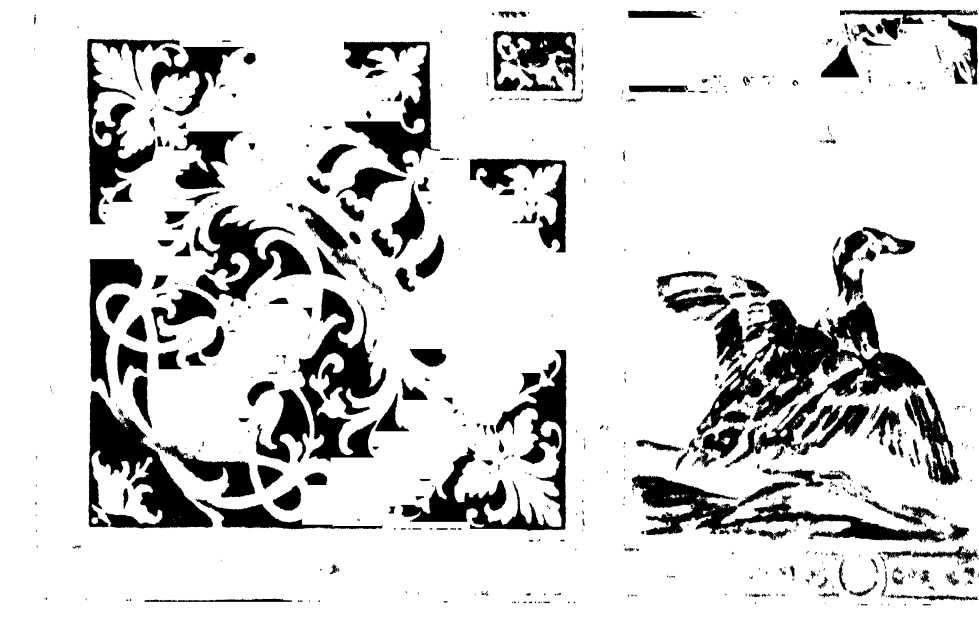
But in my opinion the most vivid and faithful picture of the Diwan-i-‘Ām is that depicted by the contemporary French traveller, Bernier, in which he has fully shown the arrangement of the royal audience in the Darbar-hall of those days. Being an art-expert, he could easily assert, without any hesitation, whether there was any sign of the hand of European artist in the construction of the baldachin of the Delhi Fort or of the Taj at Agra. In this respect his following passage describing the *pietra-dura* decoration of the Taj, with which he has compared similar work found in Florence, Italy, conclusively proves that neither was any European artist employed by the Emperor nor was any sort of such work ever imported for the Taj from Europe. “The interior or concave part of the dome and generally the whole of the wall from top to the bottom are faced with white marble ; no part can be found that is not skilfully wrought or

1. See *Islamic Culture*, April 1940.

2. ‘*Amal Šālih*, Vol. III, pp. 42-43. As far as the measurements of this hall are concerned there is some difference between the actual ones and those noted above from ‘*Amal Šālih*, otherwise the description is more or less the same.



15. A Detail of Pietra-Dura of Mumtaz's Sarcophagus at the Taj.



16. A Detail of the Italian Pietra-Dura from the Dining Table of Louis XIV of France in the Louvre Museum, Paris, which is obviously quite different from that of the Taj as well as other Oriental motifs.

that has not its peculiar beauty. Everywhere are seen the jasper and jachen, or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the Grand Duke's chapel at Florence, and several more of grand value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and encased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall. Even the squares of white and black marble which compose the pavement are inlaid with these precious stones in the most beautiful and delicate manner imaginable."¹

Finally the words of the great authority Sir John Marshall may be adduced to refute all false ideas about the attribution of the *pietra-dura* of the baldachin at Delhi and of the Taj at Agra to European origin :—

"Something remains to be said concerning the date and style of these plaques. Tradition has it that the decoration of the throne was the workmanship of Austin de Bordeaux, the celebrated French artificer, who is said to have been employed by the Emperor Shahjahan both on the palaces at Delhi and on the Taj at Agra. The figure of Orpheus, indeed, is pointed out by the native guides as a portrait of Austin de Bordeaux himself. The story seems apocryphal. Perhaps it was suggested by the Italian character of the panel design ; but it should be observed that the black marble of their background and the majority of the inlaid stones are of Italian and not Indian provenance, and it is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that they were not only designed but actually executed in an Italian studio and afterwards imported into this country.

"The arabesques, on the other hand, which decorate the inter-spaces between the panels, are of pure Indian style and Indian workmanship, without a vestige of foreign influence. Mr. Havell, referring to the decoration of the Delhi Throne in a recent article in the *Ninth Century and After*, 1903, has suggested that it has been wrongly attributed to Shahjahan's reign and ought, rather, to be referred to the early part of the 18th century. He rightly insisted on its inferiority in point of style to that of the Taj at Agra."²

Again two years after, Sir John Marshall confirmed these words by stronger remarks after consulting an Italian expert on Italian marbles. He says :—"The view which I then expressed, has since been confirmed by S. Menegatti a Florentine mosaicist, a practical expert in Italian marbles. These panels were without doubt made in Italy and brought to India all complete so that they stand on quite a different plane to works of art produced on Indian soil, and afford no substantial proof whatever of the extraneous influences to be looked for in the latter ; (the presence of these Italian plaques demonstrates trade connections but nothing more)."³ (See Fig. 16).

1. Bernier's *Travels*, p. 298.

2. *Archæological Survey Annual Report for 1902-03*, p. 20.

3. *Ibid.* 1904-5, p. 1-3.

Apart from the *pietra-dura*, and other forms of decoration, Shāh Jahān also enriched his buildings with the best specimens of *Al-Fusai Fasā* (Glass Mosaics) as defined in the beginning of this chapter, with which generally the roofs of various halls in Delhi, Agra and Lahore were decorated ; but the best specimen of this which surpasses all others in beauty and quality, is at Lahore in the Fort *Muthamman Burj* (Octagonal Tower). It is found on pillars, walls, roofs in variegated coloured pieces of glass. When one looks at it, the sight is dazzled and innumerable reflexes confront one. These pieces are set in stucco in most beautiful and symmetrical designs, floral decorations and motifs. For this reason this part of the Lahore Fort is locally called the *Shīsh Maḥal* (the Palace of Mirrors).

M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

زادن (Sometimes with به) : “ To give birth ” (to) (Sh. N., I, 468).

در ایوان آن پیره سر پرهنر بزای بکیخسرو نامبر

In the palace of that excellent old man (*i.e.*, Pīrān-e-Vīsa) you will give birth to the illustrious Kai Khusrau.

[Words of Sujāvash to his wife Farangis].

زاد

زاد زار : “ Most bitterly,” (of weeping). (M., II, 306).

طبع را هل تا بگرید زار زار تو ازو بستان و وام جان گذار

Let the carnal soul weep most bitterly ; take from it, and pay the debts of the rational soul.

زاغ : “ Night,” (in respect of its darkness). (Sh. N., III, 1507).

برین گونه تا شید بر پشت زاغ بر آمد جهان شد چوروشن چراغ

And so, till the sun surmounted the (darkness of) night, and the world became like a brilliant lamp.

[Lit. “ The sun mounted on the back of the crow ”].

زبان

زبانی : “ By word of mouth.” (D. Sh., p. 200).

گرچه پیغام از نسیم صبح با یاران نکوست درد دل با دلبران گفتن زبانی خوشترست

Although a message to lovers through the breeze of dawn is sweet, it is sweeter to tell the beloved of the love of the heart by word of mouth.

[From an ode by Sāhib-e-Balkhī, known as Sharāfi].

زبون (zabūn).

زبون داشتن : “ To hold as weak, incapable, to despise, depreciate.” (Sh. N., IV, 1828).

چنین داد پا سخ یکی رهنمون که ماداشتم آن سپه‌دا زبون

An informant thus gave answer, “ We held that army as incapable.”

زجر : “ Restraint.” (Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, p. 46).

چون مدت تقید حاجی علی قلی خان و صید مزادخان و برادران و اقوام او امتدادی کامل
بهم رسانید همگی از زجر و محنت حبس بجان و از مشقت و زحمت قید بامان آمده

When the time of the imprisonment of Hājī ‘Alī Kulī Khān, and Sīd Murād Khān and his brothers and kindred had extended to a considerable length, through the restraint and pain of the confinement and the hardship and trouble of the imprisonment they were all reduced to despair.

زحف : (zahf) an “ outcry.” (M., II, 533).

ورخسپد هست چون اصحاب کَهِف صوفیان کردند پیش شیخ زحف

And when he sleeps, he is like the Companions of the Cave—

The Sūfīs made much outcry before the Shaikh.

[T. Com. : زحف جنکه‌و غوغایه دیرلر ; “ Battle and outcry ” are called zahf].

زدن

زدن : (with prep. بر) : “ To attack.” (M., II, 465).

آن غزان ترک خونریز آمدند بهر یغما بر دهی ناگه زدند

A band of bloodthirsty Oghuz Turks appeared, and suddenly attacked a village to get plunder.

— — — “ To rise ” (to) or (above). (M., II, 341).

آن یکی ماهی که بر پروین زند وین یکی کرمی که در سرگین زید

The one, a moon which rises above the pleiades ; and this other, a worm which lives in ordure.

— — — (M., II, 385).

از دو پاره پیدا این نور روان موج نورش می زند بر آسمان

From two pieces of fat this flowing light—the waves of the light associated with them rising to the sky!

[The “ two pieces of fat ” are the eyes].

— — “ To be joined ” (with), “ to come into contact ” (with). (M., II, 402).

پیش خویشان باش چون آواره برمه کامل زن ار مہارہ

If you are a wanderer, go to your relatives ; if you are a segment of the moon, be joined with the full-moon.

[i.e., Strive to be absorbed in the perfect Sūfī, the Murshed, who is as the Universal Spirit].

— — “ To be associated ” (with). (M., II, 41).

بی دماغ و دل پر از فکر بدند بی سپاہ و جنگ بر نصرت زدند

Without brain and heart, they were full of thought ; without army and war they were associated with victory.

— — “ To bring into contact ” (with). (M., II, 372).

کور نشناسد کہ دزد او کہ بود گرچہ خود بر وی زند دزد عنود

The blind man cannot recognise who was his thief, though the perverse thief may bring himself into contact with him.

[I have explained and translated on the supposition that خود is for خود since the T. Com. explains اگرچہ دزد عنود کند یسنى کورہ اور رسہ لہ . If خود be simply emphatic, the hemistich should be rendered “ though the perverse thief may actually come into contact with him ”].

بر زدن (with prep. به) : “ To bring into contact ” (with). (M., II, 340).

کرنیدی جنس خود کی آمدی کی بغیر جنس خود را بر زدی

If he had not seen his own kind, why should he have come ? Why should he have brought himself into contact with one of another kind ?

— (with prep. بر) : “ To come into conflict ” (with), “ to attack.” (Sh. N., IV. 1731).

همی این بران برزدی آن برین چنین تا دو مہتر گرفتند کین

This (Minister) attacked the other, and the other this one ; (and) so till the two princes were full of rancour.

— (with prep. در) : “ To have an effect ” (upon). (M., II, III).

تابشب گفتند در صاحب شتر بر نزد کو از طمع پر بود پر

(The criers) declared it till night-time, but it had no effect upon the owner of the camel, because he was full of expectation, full.

برهم زدن : " To come together, to associate together." (M., II, 340).

چون دو کس برهم زند بی هیچ شک در میانشان هست قدر مشترک

When two persons associate together, there is, without any doubt, a common property between them.

زرد

زرد دو گشتن : " To be shamed." (M., II, 77).

ما ز موسی پند نگر فتم کو گشت از انکار خضری زرد دو

We have not taken warning from Moses, who was shamed by unbelief in one like Khizr.

زردت هشت See زرد هشت

زرد هشت : From rhymes in the Sh. N. should be "Zardhisht," "Zoroaster," the name of the chief Mūbid and minister of Nūshīrvān. He was poisoned by Nūshīrvān's successor Hurmuzd.

(Sh. N., 1794 and 1795).

1794 :

که موبد زبد پاک بودش سرشت مرآن پیر را نام بد زرد هشت

For the Mūbid's nature was devoid of evil. That old man's name was Zoroaster.

1795 :

همی داند اندیشه برخوب وزشت سوی چاره کشتن زرد هشت

He reflected upon all aspects of the question of how to put Zoroaster to death.

زرت هشتی : The adjectival form of the variant زرت هشت namely زرت هشتی occurs as a rhyme to زشتی in a line of Daḳīḳī's, quoted in the commentary to the Ch. M., p. 197.

زره دامن : " The skirt of a coat of mail. (Sh. N., IV, 1936).

پیاده شد آن مرد پر خاش خر زره دامش را بزد بر کمر

The warrior dismounted, and touched the skirt of his coat of mail into his belt.

زمان

در زمان : “Immediately.” (of frequent occurrence).

زمان تنگ اندر آمدن. See (در for اندر) تنگ اندر آمدن.

زنگ (zang).

چون زنگ : “Rustlike” (as applied to wine, ‘ruddy, tawny’).

(Ch. M., Commentary, quoting lines by Daḳīkī, p. 197).

دقیقی چار خصلت برگزیدست بگیتی از همه خوبی وزشتی
لب یاقوت رنگ و ناله چنگ می چون زنگ و کیش زرتشتی

Of all things, good and bad, in the world, Daḳīkī has chosen four:

A ruby-coloured lip, the lyre’s tones, the ruddy wine, the Faith of Zoroaster.

زوزه : “Howling.” (H.B., Ch. 43).

زه (zih)

زهی باز کردن : “To unfasten a bow-string.” (Sh. N., IV, 1892).

زدر چون رسیدند نزدیک تخت زهی از کمان باز کردند سخت
فگندند ناگاه بر گردش بیاویختند آن گرامی تنش

When from the door they came near to the throne, they unfastened a strong string from the bow ;

They threw it suddenly over his neck and strangled that venerable personage.

[A relation of the murder of King Hurmuzd].

زهیدن (zahīdan)

زهانیدن : “To let (water) gush out.” (M., II, 212).

می زهاندکوه ازان آواز و قال صد هزاران چشمه آب زلال

From that cry and speech the mountains let countless springs of limpid water gush out.

[i.e., even the mountains and rocks with all their hardness are affected to tears by the words of the prophet or saint].

زهرة (zahra)

زهرة دریدن : For "the gall-bladder to be torn ;" i.e., for one "to be terrified." (M., II, 86).

شیر گفت از روشنی افزون شدی زهره اش بد ریدی و دل خون شدی

The lion said, "If the light were increased, he would be terrified, and his heart would die within him."

زیان

زیان باز دادن : "To compensate for damage or loss suffered." (Sh. N., IV, 1849).

زیانی که بودش همه باز داد هم از گنج خویشش یکی سازداد

He compensated him for all the loss he had suffered, and even gave him some means from his own treasure.

زیان باز شدن : "To recover damages." (Sh. N., IV, 1800).

ز خسرو زیان باز باید ستد اگر صد زیانست صد بار صد

Damages must be recovered from Khusrau (Parviz) :

If the damage is a hundred, (then) a hundred times a hundred.

زیبا : (with 'izāfat) : "Fitted" (for). (Sh. N., III, 1480).

کسی را جز از تو نخوانند شاه که در خورد تاجی و زیبای گاه

They shall call none but you King, for you are worthy of the crown and fitted for the throne.

زیر

زیر کردن : "To turn over from one side to another" (with the hands). (L. A., p. 324).

The expression is given by the Editor as a translation of التقلب بالكف which occurs in some Arabic verses by the Mukhil.

زیور : An "ornament." (not necessarily of "gems, gold, or silver") (D. Sh., p. 228).

زیور عفور صفحات اعمال همگان مرتسم گردانید

He depicted the ornament of pardon upon the pages of the deeds of them all.

س

ساز

(. زیان باز دادن (See under " Means, effects." ساز :

—A " scheme. " (Sh. N., IV, 1851).

بگفت این و خود ساز دیگر گرفت نگه کن کنون تا بمانی شگفت

He said this, and adopted another scheme—look now that you may be amazed.

" To be arranged, devised, used for to be an appliance or device for. " (M., II, 552).

زید و عمرو از بهر اعرابست ساز گر دروغست آن تو با اعراب ساز

" Zaid and " Amrw " are (merely) a device for (showing) the case-endings ; although (the assertion) is untrue, make your account with the (lesson of) case-endings.

[The T. Com. and the T. Trans. read ساز و اعرابست but I think it is fairly clear that the و should be omitted, and the T. Com. does so in explaining:—" Zaid and ' Amrw " are arranged, or concocted for the case-endings].

" To make an arrangement, to form a scheme." (Sh. N., IV, 1887).

که من بی گانم کزین دازما وزین در نهان ساختن سازما
بدان لشکر اکنون رسد آگهی نباید که سرتو بدشمن دهی

I doubt not that of these thoughts of ours and of the schemes we are forming in secret.

Information will now reach that army—Do not give up your life to the enemy.

" To become in proper order, in normal state, to get healthy." (M., I, 389).

سازگرفتن "To enjoy oneself." (M., II, 343).

سنگ آورد و مگس را دید باز بر رخ خفته گرفته جای و ساز

It brought the stone, and saw the flies again settled on the sleeper's face and enjoying themselves.

["Enjoying themselves," "Sāzgirifta," which has here the sense of "Mutamatti' Shuda"].

ازسازرفتن "To get out of gear, disorganized." (M., II, 197).

روز بیگه لاشه لنگ و ره دراز کارگاه ویران عمل رفته ز ساز

The day late, the ass lame and the road long ; the workshop gone to ruin (and) the work disorganized.

به ساز کردن "To keep in proper order." (M., II, 64).

گفت نااهلان نکردندت بساز پرفزود از حد و ناخن شد دراز

She said, "Incapable people have not kept you in proper order ; your wings have got inordinately big, and your claws too long."

ساعت

To wait a moment or a little while." (Sh. N., IV, 1805).

سپاسم ز یزدان کزین مرد پیر برآمد چنین گفته ناگزیر
اگر ساعتی دیگر آورد می بمردی و بسیار غم خورد می

Thanks be to God that words so indispensable have been uttered by this old man.

If I had waited a little while longer, he would have been dead, and I should have suffered much regret.

سان (sān) : "Review" (of troops). Generally used alone, but in Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, p. 57, with precedent ملاحظه. Thus ملاحظه سان lit., "the inspection of the condition" (of troops).

بملاحظه سان لشکر و انعقاد سلک جمعیت عسکر و تهیه مایحتاج اسباب سفر اشتغال (نموده)

He occupied himself in reviewing the troops, seeing to their good and ready order, and providing the necessary equipment for the campaign.

سبق (sabakat, sabakat)

"Preceding, antecedence (coming before)." (Redhouse).

سبق کردن "To precede, come before."

سبق (sabuk).

سبق دوح : "Careless, unpretentious, unambitious." (H. I., p. 498).

سبق داشتن : "To despise, despising, contempt." (Cf. سبق داشتن (Sh. N., II, 1795).

ز مهتر سبق داشتن ناسزا است اگر شاه تو بر جهان پادشاست

Contempt from a great prince is not befitting (even) though your king be paramount in the world.

سبق مایه : "Undignified." (Sh. N., III, 1413).

هرآنکه که خشم آورد پادشا سبق مایه خواند ورا پارسا

Whenever the king displays anger, the wise man would call him undignified.

سپاس

سپاس (with prep. از) : ("Thanks" (be to). Sh. N., IV, 1769).

(For quotation see under خوار).

سپاس بودن (with کسی) : (For a person) "to be under obligations.

(Sh. N., I, 422-3).

وگر باز گردد سوی شهریار ترا برتری باشد از روزگار

سپاسی بود نزد شاه زمینی بزرگان گیتی کنند آفرین

And should (Siyāvash) return to the King (of Persia), you will be further exalted by Fortune.

The King of the World (i.e., the King of Persia) will be under an obligation (to you), and the grandees of the world will applause.

(سپاه سپاه)

A "Multitude." (M., III, 179).

ای عجب چون می نبیند این سپاه عالمی پر آفتاب چاشتگاه

Wondrous ! that this multitude sees not a whole world full of (the light of) the morning sun.

[The B. K. explains سپاه as لشکر و انبوه].

سپاه بردن : "To lead an army." (Sh. N., I, 404).

سپه بردی و جنگ را خواستی که بودت سربخت و هم راستی

You have led an army and engaged in battle, for you had the might of good fortune and also rectitude and justice.

(لشکر کشیدن as) سپاه کشیدن

سه پایه

تخت سه پایه : "The tripad throne;" i.e., the "Mimbar" or pulpit, which had three steps. (Sh. N., IV, 1790).

به تخت سه پایه برآید بلند دهد مرجهان را بگفتار پند

He will ascend the tripad throne exalted (above the people); by his words he will give counsel to the world.

[Buzurjmehr is interpreting a dream of Nūshīrvān's as signifying the coming of Muḥammad].

سپردن : (Sapardan or Sipardan).

روزگار بید سپردن : "To run the risk of evil or calamity." (Sh. N., I, 465).

بدوگفت چون تیره شد روزگار نشاید سپردن بید روزگار

(Garsīvaz) said (to Afrāsiyāb), "When fortune has darkened, we should not run even the risk of evil."

گیتی بید سپردن : "To have experience of evil or calamity." (Sh. N., IV, 2036)

هرآن کس که گیتی بید بسپرد بمغز اندرش هیچ باشد خرد
بداند که بهرام بسته میان ابا او یکی گشته ایرانیان
برومی سپاهی نشاید شکست نشاید روان ریگ برکوه بست

Whoever has experience of evil, (and) who has any intelligence in his brain.

Will know that Bāhram (Chūbīn), who is all prepared, and with whom the Persians have made common cause

Cannot be defeated by a Grecian army—quicksand cannot be struck over to a mountain.

جهان را بنیک و بید سپردن : "To come across good and evil." (Sh. N., IV, 2039).

جهان را سپردم بنیک و بید نماندم که روزی بمن بد رسد

I have come across good and evil, but on no day have I let evil reach me.

[Khusrau Parvīz, who is speaking, means that he has never let evil fortune prevail against him].

پی روزگاران بید سپردن : "To pass the time, to live unfortunately." (Sh. N., IV, 1805).

فراوان ز گنج پدر بر خورد پی روزگاران بید نسپرد

He will enjoy abundant wealth in the treasure of his (late) father ; he will not live unfortunately in the world.

حق سپاسی سپردن : "To acquit oneself of an obligation." (Sh. N., I, 435).

سپاسی نهادی ازین بر سرم که تا زنده‌ام حق آن نسپرم

Through this you have laid an obligation upon me of which I shall not be able to acquit myself so long as I live.

سپنجاب (sipanjāb) : "The name of a country near Sogdiana, to which Kāmūs-e-Kashānī, an ally of Afrāsiyāb, who was ultimately killed by Rustam, belonged. (Sh. N., II, 504).

سپنجاب و سغدی بگودرز داد بسی پند و منشور آن مرز داد

(Rustam) gave Sipanjāb and the Sogdiana territory to Gūdarz ; he gave him much counsel and the mandate of those regions.

سحی (saḥy) : "The wrapper of a letter." (H., I, p. 32, ed. Stephenson).

سحی نامه خدای عز و جل بر نگیرد مگر که دست اجل

Naught but the hand of death shall take off the wrapper of the letter of God—the Powerful and Glorious.

[Death here is death to oneself in God].

سخت

سخت کردن : "To secure, fasten, to lock on bolt." (Sh. N., IV, 1894).

خود اندر پرستش گه آمد چو گرد بزودی در آهنین سخت کرد

(Bandūy) himself ran into the place of worship like lightning, and hastily secured the iron door.

سر

سرپا (Used sometimes as a noun): "The form or figure from head to foot." (Hāfiz, ed. Brockhaus, Vol. II, 14).

میر من خوش می روی کاندر سرپا میرمت ترک من خوش می خرامی پیش بالا میرمت

My lord, you walk so gracefully—may I die before your (graceful) form! My Turk, your gait is charming—may I die before your (charming) figure!

سرسته (with prep. به): "Estimated" (at). (Beck's Persian Grammar, p. 464).

شخصی را بعوض طلب یک طاقه شال کشمیری داده اند سرسته بمبلغ یک صد و بیست و پنج تومان

A certain person has been given, as payment of a debt, a Cashmere shawl estimated (by the debtor) at a sum of a hundred and twenty-five tūmāns.

[The term سرسته means literally متعلق "connected" (with), "attached" (to), but it may here be conveniently rendered "estimates" (at)].

سرپرستی: "Devotion" (to), "taking care" (of). (Vullers explains the تبار حال کردن of the Bh. as "statui mederi, statum emendare" which are scarcely the right meanings.

He quotes from the Bh. a quatrain by Tughrā :

گر قطب شمالی همه جائی گردد در طرف کلاه تو هوای گردد
زینان که بسر پرستیش اوج گرفت جا داد اگر فلک رخای گردد

If the polar star could go to all places, it would be ambitious to be (only) in the border of your cap.

Such is its exaltitude in devoting itself to it, that the sky might well be free from case (as to that duty).

[The "it" in the second verse refers to the "cap," which may possibly be a crown, since the person spoken of is apparently of exalted rank].

سرپیچ (as): "Obdurate, recalcitrant." (T. N., p. 940).

ازو میخواست چیزی می ندادش بسی درپیش دکان ایستادش
زبان بگشاد دکان دار سرپیچ که تاتو زخم نکنی ندهمت هیچ

He begged something (of the shop-keeper), but he would not give him anything, (so the Sūfi) stood a long time before his shop.

The obdurate shop-keeper opened his mouth and said, "Until you wound (yourself) I will give you nothing."

[The correct reading may, however, be پر پیچ (purpīch), "troubled"].

از سر پای : "Quickly, immediately."

از سرناز : "For pleasure." (H. P., p. 66).

می خرامید روزی از سرناز در دهی خالی از نشیب و فراز

He was walking one day for pleasure on a road devoid of decline and incline.

سر آوردن (as بر آوردن) : "To bring to an end." (Sh. N., IV, 1835).

گرآیم هان پیش تو ناگهان بترسم که برمن سرآری زمان

If I should appear at once before you, I fear that you would bring my days to an end.

[Lit., "bring time to an end for me"].

سر جنبانیدن (with به) : "To toss the head in contempt" (at). (L. A., I, 273).

نو سرو روانی و سخن پیش تو باد میکویم و سر بهرزه می جنبانی

You are a waving cypress and words to you are wind. I speak, and you toss your head in contempt at the nonsense.

[From a quatrain by Sharafu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shafarvah].

سر کردن : "To appear, to be manifested." (M., II, 232).

هر زمان در سینه نوعی سر کند کاه دیو و گاه ملک گاه دام و دد

Every moment a new species appears in the bosom : sometimes a demon, sometimes an angel, and again, wild beasts, gentle or ferocious.

سر گران شدن (with prep. از) : "To be vexed" (with). (Sh. N., I, 422).

ترا سرزنش باشد از مهتران سراو هان از تو گردد گران

You would be reprehended by the great, and (Siyāvash) also would be vexed with you.

سر نهادن (with سوی) : "to go" (towards or to). (Sh. N., II, 518).

سراو سوی ایران نهادند گرم نهانی چنان چون بود نرم نرم

They went swiftly towards Persia, secretly, and so, softly and quietly.

[سر ها for سران]

—“ To lie down, to rest on sleep.” (M., II, 327).

آن مسلمان سر نهاد از خستگی خرس حارس گشت از دل‌بستگی

That true believer through fatigue lay down to rest ; and the bear from attachment to him constituted itself a guard.

—“ To lay down one's head in submission, to be submissive.” (M., I., 268).

گر بیطلاست دعوی کردم من نهادم سر بر این گردنم

If my pretension is without grounds, I lay down my head in submission, strike it off.

“ To be accomplished, achieved.” (H. P., p. 75).

گر دلم زین هوس بدر نشود سر شود وین هوس بسر نشود

If my heart does not abandon this desire, my head will go, the desire (still) unachieved.

“ To be added.” (Sh. N., IV, 1909).

چنین داد پاسخ که ده با دو ماه برین بگذرد بازیابی تو گاه
دگر برسر آید ده و پنج روز تو گردی شهشاه گیتی فروز

He thus gave answer, “When twelve months have elapsed, you will gain the throne again.

Thus when fifteen days are added (to this), you will become the world-illuminating King.

“ To add to, to give in addition.” (Sh. N., IV, 1962).

ازان کس که بستد هم او را دهید دگر نیزش از کنج بر سر نهید

Give it to the person from whom he has taken it ; give him also in addition something from the treasury.

“ Not to know what to make of ” (a thing). (Sh. N., II, 503).

چو بشنید خسرو سراسر سخن نه سر دید پیدا مر آن را نه بن

When (Kai) Khusrau had heard all the envoy had to say, he did not know what to make of the matter.

سرآیدن : "To speak." (Sh. N., IV, 2049).

پدیدار کردم همه راه خویش پراز درد بودم زبدخواه خویش
پس از مرگ من برسرانجمن زبانش مگر بد سرآید زمن

I have shown you my mind entirely, (so that you may see how) I am distressed by my enemy,

Lest, after my death, his tongue speak evil of me before the people.

سرد کردن : "To estrange, to disgust." (M., II, 145).

آن نه که خواجه تاش تو نمود از تو مارا سرد می کرد آن حسود

You are not such as your fellow-servant represented (to me)—trying, that envious fellow, to disgust me with you.

سرد و گرم زمانه seems to refer to "Discipline on the Šūfī Path" in the *Ḥadiqa*, p. 32, ed. Stephenson.

سرد و گرم زمانه ناخورده نرسی بر در سرا پرده

When you have not undergone the Šūfī discipline, you will not reach the entrance to the King's Court.

سرعت در حکم : "Hastiness of judgment." (L. A., I, p. 325).

باری بسیار جرات و سرعت در حکم می خواهد برای اینکه شعرای قرن اول اسلام را تخطئه نمایند

At all events it requires much boldness and hastiness of judgment to charge the poets of the first age of Islām with error.

سرفرازی کردن (with prep. به) : "To distinguish oneself" (by something). (Sh. N., III, 1404).

بدوگفت منذر که ای سرفراز بفرهنگ نوزت نیامد نیاز
چو هنگام فرهنگ باشد ترا بدانائی آهنگ باشد ترا
با یوان نمانم که بازی کنی ببازی همی سرفرازی کنی

Munzir said to him, "Exalted (Prince), you have yet no need of learning ;

When the time comes for you to learn, and you are fitted to acquire knowledge,

I will not let you go on playing in the palace and distinguish yourself (simply) by play."

سرلوحه : A “tombstone or tablet.” (Ch. M., p. 223).

درسنه ۱۸۹۲ انجمن مذکور با رسوم و تشریفات شایان دو عدد بوتۀ گل سرخ بر سر قبر فیتزجرالد مترجم رباعیات عمر خیام نشانیده و یک سرلوحه که حاوی کتیبه ذیل بود در آنجا نصب کردند

In 1892 the above-mentioned Club, with suitable forms and honours, planted two young red rose-trees at the head of the grave of Fitzgerald, the translator of the quatrains of 'Umar-e Khayyām, and set up a tombstone there containing the appended inscription.

سست داشتن (as سست کردن) : “To neglect.” (Sh. N., IV., 2017).

همی خواندیش شاه و او چاره جست هدی داشت آن نامه شاه سست

The King summoned him more than once, but he practised evasion, and neglected the King's letters.

سفل “Lowness, the depths,” (M. II, 320).

ترس و نومیدیت دان آواز غول میکشد گوش تو تا قعر سفل

Take your fear and despair to be the voice of the Ghūl, which draws your ears to the lowest depths.

سفید کاری

سفید کاری کردن : “To whitewash.” (Ch. M., 227).

می فرماید که مقبره هرایک از شعراء مملکت مرا خواسته باشید مرمت و سفید کاری کنید حاضر و باختیار شماست

He tells them that they are at liberty to repair and whitewash the tomb of any poet in his Kingdom they wish.

سفیدی حال : “Prosperity, success.” (H. P., p. 73).

زیست با او همی بکامه خویش چون رخس سرخ کرد جامه خویش
کاولین روز بر سفیدی حال سرخی جامه را گرفت بفال

He lived with her enjoying his desires. He dressed in red, a symbol of her cheeks.

For he had taken on that previous day redness of clothes as omen of success.

سگالش (with prep. با) : “To consult” (with). (Sh. N., III, 1461).

سگالش بجوئیم جز بار دان خردمند و بیدار دل موبدان

I will consult only with the learned, the wise and enlightened Mūbids.

سگالیدن (with prep. با) : “To consult” (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1788).

بهر کار با مرد دانا سگال برنج تن از بادشاهی منال

In every affair consult with the wise—do not complain of the trouble entailed by sovereignty.

سندروس (sandarūs) : Explained in the Sh. N. Glos. as “a gum-like amber,” but with چون means always “yellow,” i.e., “pallid.” (Sh. N., IV, 1892).

هم آنکه برخاست آوای کوس رخ خونیان گشت چون سندروس

At that time arose the roll of the drum ; the faces of the assassins grew pallid (at the sound).

سو (سوی) sū : “Side, direction.” That سو has the longer form سوی (as دوی دو) is proved by verses in which the longer form is required by the metre. Cf., e.g., Sh., N., II, 528 :

بدان سو روان گشت پیران نیو وزین سوی شاه و فرنگیس وگیو

The hero, Pīrān, went in that direction, and in this direction went the Prince, Farangīs, and Giv.

سو (سوی) : “To, in the view of.” (Ḥadīka, p. 17).

ذات او سوی عارف و عالم برتر از کیف و ما و از اهل ولم

His Essence to the gnostic and the safe is above *How* and *What*, and *Whether* and *Why*.

——“As regards.” (Ḥadīka, p. 36).

چه سوی ناکسان چه سوی کسان قهر و لطفش بهر که هست رسان

Whether as regards the unworthy, or as regards the worthy, His wrath and His kindness reach all who exist.

——“On the side of,” (in descent). (Sh. N., 371).

نییره جهاندار سام سوار سوی مادر از تخمه نامدار

A descendant of the world-holder Sām, the noted horse-man, and on the mother's side of the stock of a famous (Prince).

——“From, back to,” (in descent). (Sh. N., II, 508).

سرافراز و ز تخمه کی قباد ز مادر سوی تور دارد نژاد

A Prince exalted and of the stock of Kai Ḳubād and through his mother descended from Tūr.

سواد apparently means the "ground" on which a picture is painted, in the H. P., p. 75.

پیکری بسته بر سواد پرند پیکری دل فریب و دیده پسند

A portrait painted on a silken ground, one which should please the eyes, beguile the heart.

سود

سود کردن : "To derive profit." (M., II, 287).

من نکردم امرتا سودی کنم بلکه تا بر بندگان جودی کنم

I have not commanded (worship) in order to derive some profit (myself), but in order to bestow a kindness on (my) slaves.

سود و زیان : "Business ; the interests of life." (M., II, 354).

قصد گنجی کن که این سود و زیان در تبع آید تو آن را فرع دان

Aim at a treasure, for these interests of life will follow as a consequence : consider them only as derivatives.

["A treasure ;" i.e., the Ṣūfī saint, or rather the spirituality and divine knowledge which may be gained from him].

سود مند آمدن (with دا of the person): For one "to be profited by." (Sh. N., IV, 1742).

بخوبی بسی دانده ام با تو پند نیامد ترا پند من سود مند

I have given you much good counsel, but you have not been profited by my counsel.

سیاه

سیاهی : "Ill-luck, misfortune." (H. P., p. 78).

کاولین روز بر سفیدی حال سرخی جامه را گرفت بفال
چون بدان سرخی از سیاهی دست زیور سرخ داشتی پیوست

For he had taken on that previous day redness of clothes as omen of success.

Since by that red he had escaped from the blackness (of misfortune), he ever adorned himself with red gems.

سیر

سیرگشتن (with از and the sense of گشتن) : “ To have done ” (with) (Sh. N., IV, 1913).

چو گشت از نوشتن نویسنده سیر نگه کرد قیصر سواری دلیر

When the secretary had done with writing, the Kaiṣar fixed upon a bold horseman (as bearer of the letter).

ش

شاد

شادمانه “ Joyful.” (L. A., II, 4).

اگر غم را چو آتش دود بودی جهان تاریک بودی جاودانه
درین گیتی سرا سر گر بگردی خرد مندی نیابی شادمانه

If sorrow had smoke, as fire has, the world would be always dark.

If you travel through the whole world, you will not find a single wise man joyful.

[Quoted from Shahīd of Balkh].

شاهوی Haftvād's eldest son, from whom Firdausī received the old story of the Indian Rājā Jamhūr and his son and nephew Gau and Ṭalḥand. (Sh. N., IV, 1726).

چنین گفت فرزانه شاهوی پیر ز شاهوی پیر سخن یاد گیر

Thus spoke the old sage Shāhūy—“ Be mindful of the words of Shāhūy.”

شتاب

شتاب آمدن (with را or به of the person impatient, and از of the cause) : “ To get impatient ” (of or at). (Sh. N., III, 1471).

چو شد تیره شب رای خواب آمدش هم از ایستادن شتاب آمدش

When dark night came on, he had a mind to sleep, and got impatient of standing up.

شرط

“ To carry out conditions.” (H. P., p. 77).

چون سه شرط از چهار شرط نمود تا چهارم چگونه خواهد بود

Since he has carried out three conditions of the four, (let us see) how it will be with the fourth.

شرف (sharaf): "Exaltation," (in an astrological sense). (Doulat Shāh, p. 208).

امروز هست زهره و خورشید را شرف و امروز هست مشتری و ماه را قران

To-day Venus and the sun are in exaltation, and to-day Jupiter and the moon are in conjunction.

[Venus is in strength or exaltation in Pisces, the sun, in Aries.

The verse is from a Ḳaṣīda by Maḥmūd-e Brusa'ī].

شرم

بشرم آمدن with (از): "To be shamed" (before). (Sh. N., IV, 1912).

که پوینده گشتیم گرد جهان بشرم آمدم از کهان و مهان

For I have been wandering round the world; I am shamed before great and small.

شروع

داشتن (with در): "To engage" (in). D. Sh. p. 199).

و در فنون علوم شروع داشت مثل طب و موسیقی و غیر ذلک

And he engaged 12 various departments of learning, such as medicine, music, &c.

(Spoken of Sharīfī-ye Balkhī).

(Shu'aib): Jethno, the father-in-law of Moses, considered a prophet by Muslims.

شکار

شکار آوردن: "To take game." (Sh. N., IV, 1801).

وزان پس به نخچیر شد شهر یار بیاورد هر کس فراوان شکار

Afterwards the King went to the chase, and every one took abundant game.

شکستن

در شکستن: "To be crushed together," (as grapes), and so. "To be mingled together." (M., II, 561).

وز دم المومنون اخوت بپند در شکستند و تن واحد شدند

And (then) counselled by the words, "*Muslims are brothers*," they were mingled together and became one body.

—"To be plucked, (as a rose). (H. I, p. 506b).

شکن (*shikan*): "Undulation." (Redhouse).

شکن بر شکن: "With many graceful undulations." (*Sh. N.*, III, 1519).

یکی جامه‌گوی و دگر چنگ زن سوم پا بگوید شکن بر شکن

One is a singer of odes, another a lyrist, the third dances with many graceful undulations.

[Cf. also H. P., پای میکوفت با هزار شکن].

شکیفتن (with از): "To be able to bear absence" (from). "To be able to do without." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1800).

نبودی جدا یک زمان از پدر پدر نیز نشکیفتی از پسر

He would not be a moment apart from his father, who also could not bear a moment's absence from his son.

—(with negative and از): "To yield" (to). (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1896).

سپاه مرا خیره بفریفتی ز بد گوهر خویش نشکیفتی

You have wickedly deceived my army, you have yielded to your evil nature.

شگفت (*shigift*): "Astonished."

شگفت آمدن (with در): "To be astonished" (at). (*Sh. N.*, III, 1497).

بماند اندران شاه ایران شگفت وزان در دل اندیشه‌ها بر گرفت

The King of Persia was astonished at that, and reflected much in his heart upon it.

شمردن: "To repeat," or even "to multiply." (*Ḥadīka*, I, 30).

ذکر بردوستان و کم سخنان چه شماری بسان پیر زنان

Why do you, like an old woman, multiply invocations to friends and those who do not or cannot respond?

[i.e., invocation is due to God, Who can and does respond effectually].

شنبلید (شنبلیت): "Fenugreek." With چون means "yellow," i.e., generally, "pallid." (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1912).

چو قیصر بر ايسان سخنها شنید برخسار شد چون گل شنبلید

When the *Ḳaiṣar* heard such words, his face turned pallid.

[Lit. "he became in face like the fenugreek flower."]

شنعت (*shun'at*).

شنعت زدن (with بر) : "To vilify." (M., II, 533).

صوفیان بر صوفی شنعت زدند پیش شیخ خاقاھی آمدند

Some Sūfīs vilified a certain Ṣūfī, and came into the presence of the *Shāikh* of the monastery (to make their complaint).

شهد : "Honey." Used for دریای شهد (the *Hīrmand* river), in *Sh. N.*, III, 1473.

ترا چاره اینست کز راه شهد سوی چشمه سو گواهی محمد

Your resource is to go in your letter, by way of the (river) *Shahd*, to the stream (called) *Sau*.

شهر : "A country." Common in this sense, especially in the *Shāh Nāma* —A "Kingdom." (*Sh. N.*, II, 530).

اگر با شهنشاه شهری بدی ترا زین جهان نیز بهری بدی

If the King had a Kingdom, would you also have (even) a share of this world (of his) ?

شهره (*shuhra* ; with 'izāfat) : "Famous, celebrated " (throughout). E.g. شهره عالم "Famous throughout the world."

شهره (*Shuhra*) ; used independently by Daulat *Shāh*, p. 207, (with به) : "Famous " (for).

تا بحدی که بروزگار سلطان ابو سعید بمالداری شهره بود

To such an extent that in the time of *Sulṭān Abū Sa'id* he was famous for his wealth.

[But possibly شده should be read].

شیشه دل : "Of weak, effeminate mind." (The T. Com. renders by دل Steingass exaggerates Vullers's misinterpretation). (M., II, 134).

هر کرا خوی نکو باشد برست هر کسی کو شیشه دل باشد شکست

Whoever has a good character and disposition is saved ; whoever is of weak, effeminate mind is broken.

[See the Maṣnavī, Book II, Translation and Commentary by C. E. Wilson].

—(M., II, 481).

تو چه دانی ذوق صبر ای شیشه دل خاصه صبر از بهر آن نقش چگل

How should you know the delight of patience to bear and abstain, O you of weak and effeminate mind?—especially patience for the sake of that Beauty of Chigil?

[“ That Beauty of Chigil ” means, I think God, though the T. Com. says Muḥammad].

ص

صاحب : A “ patron.” (Commonly found).

صاحب ترجمه : “ The author of a biography.” (Commonly found).

—“ The subject of a biography.” (Ch. M., p. 204).

القطفی در تاریخ الحکما در حق صاحب ترجمه گوید المشتهر فی الملة الاسلامیة بالتبحر فی فنون الحکمة اليونانیة و الفارسیة و الهندیة

Al-Kiftī in his “ History of the Philosophers ” says with regard to the subject of the biography, (i.e., Al-Kindī) : “ (He was) famous in the Islamic Community for his profound knowledge of the different branches of Grecian, Persian and Indian philosophy.

صفا “ Charity and serenity.” (‘A. M., p. 309).

دل سالک اول در مضیق خوف عقوبت افتد و از تنف حرارت آن نیم نضجی بیاید و بعضی از خامی طمع مراد و کدورت طلب حظوظ ازوی برخیزد و حجابش رقیق گردد و ازورای حجاب نور جمال صفات درخشیدن گیرد و عکس آن بر دیده او تابد و محبت جمال صفات درو پدید آید آنگاه خوف عقوبت رخت بر بندد و خوف مکر فرو آید و دل نیم پخته در حرارت این خوف افتد و نضج تمام بیاید و بقیت خامی طمع و کدورت طلب حظوظ بکلی در مضیق این خوف ازوی متخلف شود صفائی مطلق پدید آید

The heart of the Ṣūfī, aspirant at first, falls into the straits of fear of punishment, and he gains half maturity from the burning of the heat of it, some of the rawness of desire of his objects and of the turbidity and disturbance of the quest of pleasures departing from him. His vail becomes thin, and from beyond it, the light of the beauty of the attributes begins to gleam and the reflexion of it shines on his eyes, whilst the love of the beauty of the Attributes is manifest in him. Then does the fear of punishment leave him and the fear of snares descends upon him and his half-matured heart falls into the heat of this fear and gains full maturity, the

remains of the rawness of desire and of the turbidity and disturbance of the quest of pleasures being wholly left behind him in the straits of this fear, whilst absolute charity and serenity appear.

صندل To Steingass's explanation add, "for headache and fever."

صواب

(لفظی) "The correct form of the plural" (of a word) (Ch. M., p. 170).

وصواب در جمع آن (یعنی برأت یا برات) براءات یا بروات است

And the correct form of its plural is بروات or براءات (baravāt or barā'āt). [cf. جمع بستن (with بر and را)]: "To form the plural" [of (a word) in]. E.g., بروات جمع بستند and they form the plural of it in بروات (baravāt) (Ch. M., 70).

"The correct reading of the text." (Ch. M., p. 179).

بنا برین یکی از دو احتمال را باید قبول کنیم یا گوئیم که صواب در عبارت متن ثمانین وادبع مایه است یا آنکه قول نظامی عروضی که سلطان ابراهیم ازدنیارفت و مسعود سعد سلمان را در زندان بگذاشت خطاست

Hence, we must accept one of two suppositions, either that the correct reading of the text is 480 (i.e., 1087 A.D.) or that the statement of Nizāmī-e 'Arūzī, to the effect that Sultān Ibrāhīm died and left Mas'ūd-e Sa'd-e Salmān in prison, is erroneous.

صورت

"To form an image, etc.," (Sometimes taken literally: cf. صورت بستن). (صورت بند).

صونتراش sūntrash, I. (Redhouse). şūn-ṭarāj, I. A. (Steingass). صونتراج. A corruption of سمنتراش. "An instrument for paring horses' hoofs." The corruption is of doubtful use in Persian.

ضم

"To unite" (with). (با و accusative) : ضم داشتن

انواع فضیلت و حسب با نسب سیادت ضم داشت

(Aminu'd-Dīn Tarlābādī) united various accomplishments and acquirements with the rank of descent from the Prophet.

ط

طاغوت in M., II, 468 means "the carnal soul, the flesh," نفس according to the T. C.

از خدا چاره استش و از قوت نی چاره است از دین و از طاغوت نی

He can do without God, but not without food ; he can do without religion, but not without the flesh.

طپیدن

"To be much agitated." (M., I, 438).

پیر لرزان گشت چون این را شنید دست می خایید و بر خود می طپید

The old man trembled when he heard this ; he gnawed his hand, and was much agitated.

طرب

طرب خواہ (ṭarab-khvāh) : "Seeking pleasant emotion through singing and music." Cf. the Arabic مستطرب.

طریق

بطریق اولی (ba-tarīk-e aula) : "A fortiori," with a negative, "still less." ('A. M., pp. 17, 18).

هیچ مخلوق را قدرت بر ایجاد فعلی ممکن نه الا بقدرت بخشیدن او چه هرگاه که وجود فاعل که اصلست نه از وجود فعلش که فرع وجود ست بطریق اولی نه از او باشد

No creature has the power to do any act unless He gives him the power, for since the being of the (supposed) agent, which is the root, does not exist through him, still less does his act, which is a branch of his being.

طفره (ṭafra)

"To get off with a false excuse." (St. Clair-Tisdall's P. Gr., pp. 71 and 73).

کآن نبردم زانو ده ظاهر بود که می خواست طفره زند

I did not think so, because it was evident that he wished to get off with a false excuse.

"Purifying." (M. I, 286).

هم تو زن یارب از آن آب طهور تا شود این نار عالم جمله نور

You also, O Lord, pour of that purifying water, in order that this fire of the world may become all Light.

[Cf. the *Qur'ān* XXV, 50].

ظ

گفت صبحاً لک نعیم دائم بس لطیفی و ظریف و خوب رو (Cf. *ظریفه*). (M. II., 166).

He said (to him), “(God give) you health! (may) lasting comfort (be yours)! (for) you are indeed fine, elegant, and handsome.”

هر که باشد از زنا و ز زانیان این برد ظن در حق ربانیان : “To be suspicious.” (M., II, 350).

Whoever is (born) of adultery and is (himself) an adulterer, is suspicious with regard to godly men.

ع

چون درین تزویر او یکدل شدی وز همه اشکالها عاقل شدی (with) : “Destitute” (of), “void” (of). (M., II, 332).

Why did you become unanimous in (the matter of) this imposture of his, and become void of all doubts?

عرض را بخوان تا بیارد شمار که چند است مردم که آید بکار (‘ajz) : in sense of انکسار “humility, self-abasement.” (‘Andalīb).

عرض با جریده بنزدیک شاه بیامد بیاورد شمر سپاه (‘araz) : pl. of عارض used apparently as a singular in *Sh.* N, IV., 1803 : “Muster-master and reviewer of an army.”

Summon the muster-master, and let him bring his account of the number of men who are fit for service.

The muster-master came with his register before the King, and submitted the number of the army.

عرضگاه (‘arzgāh, but scars, in *Sh.* N., IV, 1808, as ‘arazgāh) “A mustering-place of troops.”

سپهبد بشد تا عرضگاه شاه بفرمود تا پیش او شد سپاه

The general came to the King's mustering-place, and gave order that the troops should muster before him.

عرضیت ('arazīyat): "The quality of being 'accident,'" عرض ('araz). (Baḥru'l-'Ulūm's edition with commentary of the Maṣnavī, p. 78).

عشق

عشق آوردن (with بر): "To show love" (for). (M., II, 333).

گرگ بر یوسف کجا عشق آورد جز مگر از مکر تا او را خورد

How should the wolf show love for Joseph, except perchance through witness in order to eat him?

[See the K., XII, 8-20].

عطسه شیشه ('aṭsa-ye shīsha): "The sound made in a bottle when liquid is poured out.

عقل

عقل معاد ('akl-e ma'ād): "The wisdom which is concerned with the spiritual world."

عقل معاش ('akl-e ma'āsh): "Worldly wisdom."

علائم السماء: A "rainbow." (Redhouse).

علت ('illat): "A reason" (for the truth of one's own ideas or suspicions, a court of indictment against the speaker). (M., II, 421).

هر درونی که خیال اندیش شد چون دلیل آری خیالش بیش شد

چون سخن دروی رود علت شود تیغ غازی دزد را آلت شود

Every heart which has become suspicious—when you adduce proof, its suspicion is increased.

When words reach (the suspicious man), they become a reason (for the truth of his own ideas): the champion's sword becomes an instrument for the thief.

علتی: "Swayed by a motive; biassed," (so as not to see the truth). (M., II, 424).

گفت خصمان عالمند و علتی جاہلی تو لیک شمع ملتی

The (Deputy-Judge) said, "The adversaries know (their affair), but they are biassed; you are ignorant (of it), but you are the light of the faithful community."

[i.e., you receive enlightenment as to the merits of the case through being unbiassed].

علم الاسما يك "The asylum, recipient, or object of 'He taught (him) the names ;' " i.e., Adam, who was taught the names. (M., II).

آدمی کو علم الاسما بکست درتک چون برق این سگ بی تکست

So great one as Adam, who was the object of (the words) "He taught (him) the names," had no power against the lightning—like attack of this dog.

[The T. Com. renders the last two words of the first hemistich "is the lord." The rhyme is تک which, according to Steingass and Redhouse is "tak" and not "tag." Vullers gives both. بك "bak," in the sense of "lord" occurs only in the term اتابک and بگ is not found in the sense of "lord," or in any sense, but بیگ pronounced "beg"].

عمل ('amal): "The practical duties of religion." (M. II, 78).

زاهدی را گفت یاری در عمل کم گری تا چشم را ناید خلل

To an ascetic a companion of his in the practice of religion said, "Weep but little, in order that your eyes may not suffer injury."

در عمل مزامیر آوردن: "To set (verses) to (the music of) flutes (and sing it)." (Ch. M., p. 158).

این قطعه را بگفت و مطربان را فرمود تا در عمل مزامیر آوردند

He composed this "fragment," and ordered the musicians to set it to the flutes (and sing it).

عنان

عنان پیچیدن: "To display horsemanship, or simply "to ride." (Sh. N., III, 1465).

بگو تابه پیچند پیشم عنان بچشم اندر آرند نوک سنان

Tell them to display horsemanship before me and to tear away the ring at the point of the lance.

عنان داری کردن "To restrain, control." (Z. D., ed. Beer, p. 13).

جعفر خان ولد خود را بافوجی از غازیان ماموریتوقف اصفهان نمود که در جزو عنان داری توسن جلادت علی مراد خان کرده باشد

(Šādik Khān) commissioned his son, Ja'far Khān to stay with a regiment of valiant men at Isfahan, to help in restraining the impetuous activity of 'Alī Murād Khān.

عنان گران کردن : "To tighten the reins." (Sh. N., II, 517).

چویک نیمه برید از ان کوه شاه گران کرد باز آن عنان سپاه
همی بود تاپیش او رفت گیو چنین گفت بیدار دل شاه نیو

When the Prince had ridden up half the mountain, he tightened back the reins.

He waited until Giv had come up to him, and then that Prince, valiant and alert, thus spoke.

عنبر : "Ink." (Sh. N., I, 423).

نخستین که برنامه بنهاد دست بعنبر سرخامه را کرد پست
جهان آفرین را ستایش گرفت بزرگی و رایش نمایش گرفت

First, when he put his hand to the letter-paper, and dipped the point of the reed into the ink,

He began to praise the Creator of the world and to set forth His greatness and wisdom.

عول (‘aul) : "Bias," (M., II, 240).

نور باید پاک از تقلید و عول تا شناسد مرد را بی فعل و قول
درود در قلب او از راه عقل نقد او بیند نباشد بند نقل

Light is wanted, free from servile imitation and bias, in order that one may recognise a man without deeds or words (from him) :

That one may penetrate into his heart by the way of intellect ; that he may see his real nature immediately, and not be dependent upon interpretation.

[عول "bias," almost "preconceived notions," the reading of B. U. and the H. Com. The T. Com. and the T. Trans. read غول].

عیب (‘aib)

عیب آوردن (with بر) : "To find fault" (with). (Sh. N., IV, 1911).

همه داستان را سخن نشمرند نباید که برنامه عیب آورند

That they may not reckon all the account (empty) words ; they must not (have to) find fault with the letter.

—— — “To disgrace.” (Sh. N., II, 523).

شود زنج من هفت ساله بیاد و دیگر که عیب آورم بر نژاد

My toil of seven years would be nullified, and, in addition, I should disgrace (my) descent.

[Another almost identical example is on p. 517].

غ

غائب (with از) : “Unconscious” (of). (A. M., pp. 331-2).

لفظ قرب در عرف متصوفه عبارتست از استغراق وجود سالک در عین جمع بغیبت از جمیع صفات خود تا غایتی که از صفت قرب و استغراق و غیبت خود هم غائب شود

The word “Kurb” (proximity) in the technical language of the Šūfī implies the immersion of the being of the Šūfī aspirant in very conjunction by unconsciousness of all his own attributes, to such an extent that he be unconscious even of his own attributes of proximity, immersion and unconsciousness.

غین : “Vexation, disappointment.” (M., II, 426).

گر نماز از وقت رفتی مرا ترا این جهان تاریک گشتی بی ضیا
از غین و درد رفتی اشکها از دو چشم تو مثال مشکها

If the appointed time for prayers had passed and escaped you, this world would have become dark to you, devoid of light.

Through disappointment and pain, tears would have flowed from your two eyes as from water-bags.

غدار (ghaddār) : A “tyrant.” (M., II, 226).

چون قلم در دست غدار بود بی گمان منصور بر داری بود

When the pen is in the hand of a tyrant, Manṣūr is doubtless on a gibbet.

[The “pen” is the emblem of power. Ḥusain b. Manṣūr Ḥallāj is a famous Šūfī who was crucified for saying “anal-haq].”

غرور (ghurūr) : “False confidence.” (M., II, 364).

وای گر صد را یکی بیند زدور تا بجالش اندر آید از غرور

Woe (to him), if at a distance he sees a hundred as one ! so that he engages in battle through false confidence.

غزات : "Proficiency." (Ch. M., p. 54).

ابو ریحان بیرونی بگوید که مرد نام منجمی را سزاوار نشود تا در چهار علم
اورا غزاتی نباشد

Abū Raihān Bērūnī.....says, "A man is not fit to be called an astronomer—astrologer, until he is proficient in four sciences."

غزل

ایات غزل : "The introductory verses in a Kaṣīda relating to love, wine, description of nature, etc.," usually called تشبیب "exordium" opposed to ایات مدح "the verses of laudation" (of the subject of the Kaṣīda). (L. A., I, p. 123).

و در هر بیتی از ایات غزل گل و می لازم داشته و در ایات مدح در هر بیتی
آفتاب و سایه مراعات کرده

And into everyone of the introductory verses, he introduced the words "rose" and "wine," and kept the words "sun" and "shadow" in each of the verses of laudation.

[From the biography of the poet Farīdu'l-Kāfī].

the pl. of غضنفر "Lion."

غلبه (ghalaba).

غلبه گرفتن : "To predominate." (A. M., p. 335).

گاه حال انس غلبه گیرد و از وفراط انبساط تولد کند و گاه حال هیبت غلبه گیرد و از وفراط انقباض غلبه گیرد

Sometimes a "state" of intimacy predominates, and from it a feeling of ease and joy arises; sometimes a "state" of awe predominates, and from that, excessive constraint and discomfort prevail.

غلط (ghalat)

غلط بین : "Who sees wrongly." (M., I, 284).

هر که دندان ضعیفی می کند کار آن شیر غلط بین می کند

Whoever draws the teeth of one who is weak, acts as that lion who saws wrongly.

غلط بودن : "To be in error." (Ḥadīka, ed. Stephenson, p. 7).

تو درین راه معرفت غلطی سال و مه مانده در حدیث بطی

In this path of the knowledge of God you are in error ; you have lingered for months and years in idle discussion.

[i.e., God cannot be known by philosophical enquiry].

غیبت (with از) : “ Unconsciousness ” (of, as to). (‘A. M., pp. 331-2).
See under غائب.

غیر (with ’izāfat) : “ Other ” (than). (M., I, 208).

و ر ز غیر جنس باشد ذوق ما آن مگر مانند باشد جنس را

And if we have pleasure from what is other than our own kind, that is probably similar to the kind (we belong to).

غیرت (ghairat)

غیرت کردن (with را) : “ To make jealous, to arouse jealousy. ” (in) (Ch. M., p. 44).

صاحب غرضی قصهٔ بسطان ابراهیم برداشت که پسر او سیف الدوله امیر محمود نیت آن دارد که بجانب عراق برود بخدمت ملک شاه سلطان را غیرت کرد و چنان ساخت که او را ناگاه بگرفت و بیست و بمصارف رستاد

A self-interested person submitted an account to Sultān Ibrāhīm (of Ghaznī) that his son Saifu’-d-Daula Amīr Maḥmūd intended to go to ‘Irāk to visit Malik Shāh. He aroused jealousy in the Sultān, who had his son suddenly seized, bound and sent to a fortress.

ف

فارغ (with از) : “ Careless ” (of), “ untroubled ” (by). (H. P., p. 89).

گفت از سنگ چشمهٔ متراش فارغم زین فریب فارغ باش

He said, “Hew not a fountain out of stone : I am untroubled by this deceit ; have done with it.”

— “ Independent ” (of). (M., II, 502).

می تواند زیست بی چشم و بصر فارغست از چشم او در خاک تر

(The mole) can live without eyes and sight : it is independent of eyes in the moist earth.

فارغ بودن (with از) : “ To have done, to have finished ” (with). See under فارغ “careless,” &c., where in the second hemistich فارغ باش means “have done (with it).”

فتنه has often the sense of مفتون. "Distracted with love." (I., N., p.923).

بگفت این و ز پیش او بدر شد بصد دل از غلامش فتنه تر شد

She said this, and departed from before him, more distracted with love in every fibre of her heart than her slave.

فتیل : A "wick." (M., II, 304).

این سبب همچون طبیست و علیل این سبب همچون چراغست و فتیل

Cause is like the physician and the patient : cause is like the lamp and the wick.

[i.e., sickness causes the exercise of the art of the physician, and the wick causes the burning of the lamp].

فر (far, farr ; as خره or خوره) : "The divine radiance, light, or illumination" (received especially by Kings). (Sh. N., I, 461). See under گوهر.

فراخ

Swift. : (فراخ کام not) فراخ کام

To be attached (to), "to be in love" (with). (Sh. N., IV, 1783).

سپاسم بیزدان که فرزند هست خردمند و دانا و ایزد پرست
و ز ایشان مهر مزد نازانترم برای و بهوش فرازانترم

Thanks be to God that I have sons, wise, learned, and devout ;

But I am most proud of Hurmuzd among them, and am most in love with his good sense and intelligence.

[Words of Nūshīrvān when about to appoint Hurmuzd his successor].

فراغ (firāgh) : "Independence." (M., II, 506).

واصلان دانیست جز چشم و چراغ از دلیل و راهشان باشد فراغ

Those who have attained union have nothing but observation and illumination ; theirs is independence of guidance and of the road.

فراموش

To be forgotten (by). (Sh. N., IV, 1788).

مبادت فراموش گفتار من و گردورمانی ز دیدار من

Let not my words be forgotten by you, even though you be far from my sight.

فراوان

فراوان گشتن : "To be sufficient ;" here, more particularly, "not overcrowded." (M., II, 436).

تا غریبی یابد آنجا خیر و جا تا فراوان گردد این خدمت سرا

That any poor stranger may find comfort and place there, and that this mosque (of Kūbā) may be (thus rendered) sufficient (for the calls upon it).

فرجام : "Prosperity, success." (Sh. N., I, 386).

بدوگفت کاین خود بکام منست بزرگی بفرجام و کام منست

(The King) said to her "This is indeed according to my desire ; greatness is through my prosperity and name."

فرسوده : "Veteran." (Sh. N., IV., 1810).

ز بهر زن و زاده و دوده را نه پیچد روان مرد فرسوده را

Having in mind wife, children, and clan, the soul of the veteran would not recoil (from battle).

فرعونی : "A follower of Pharaoh." (M., II, 330).

گرد از دریا برآوردم عیان تا دهید از شر فرعونیان

I reduced the sea to naught before your eyes, so that you escaped from the malignity of Pharaoh's followers.

فرمان

فرمان : "Death." (Ḥadīḳa, ed. Stephenson, p. 32).

چون رسیدی بحضرت فرمان پس از آنجا روانه گردد جان

When you have reached the presence of death, then your soul will have its movement from that place.

["Death" as to the carnal soul and this world "That place ;" i.e., the spiritual world].

فرمان کردن : "To obey." (L. A., I, p. 64).

یکی نصیحت من گوش دار و فرمان کن که از نصیحت سود آن کند که فرمان کرد

Hear some counsel of mine, and obey it, for he (only) profits by counsel who obeys it.

[Other examples are found in L. A., I, p. 96, and in Sh. N., IV, 1914 & 1916].

فرود آمدن و برنشستن : "To be practised in riding." (Sh. N., I, 359).

بیامد دمان تا میان سپاه ز لشکر بر طوس شد کینه خواه
نه او بود برزین و نیزه بدست چو گرگین فرود آمد و برنشست

He came rushing on among the troops, and sought battle with Tūs out of all the army :

(With Tūs), who was in the saddle, with lance in hand, and who was practised in riding even as Gurgīn.

فرو گرفتن (with بر) : "To fix, establish" (upon or against). (T. N., p. 926).

ولی پیوسته می جوشید جانس نکه می داشت پنهان هرزمانش
که تا بروی فرو گیرد گناهی بریزد خون او بر جایگاهی

But his soul was even in a ferment, and he kept constant watch upon her in secret.

Until he should (be able to) fix the sin upon her, and shed her blood on a fitting occasion.

برجایگاهی | "On a fitting occasion." For additional confirmation of this sense of cf. Sh. N., III, 1504 :

سخن بهتر از گوهر آبدار چو برجایگه بر برندش بکار

Speech is better than lustrous pearls when it is used on a fitting occasion.

فرو نهادن (with از) : "To exempt" (from). (Ch. M., p. 48).

حیی قتیبه عامل طوس بود و این قدر او را واجب داشت و از خراج فرو نهاد

Haīy Kūtaiba was the revenue-collector of Tūs, and considered it due to him to exempt him from the land-tax.

[The person exempted was Firdausī, who had lately finished the Shāh Nāma].

فر (Farra); (as فر) : "The divine radiance or light." (Sh. N., I, 461). See under گهر .

افزون (فزون) : "Superfluous." (M., II, 551).

گفت از ناچار و لاغی بر گشود عمرو یک واوی فزون دزد یده بود

The grammarian is reduced to making up a jest, and says, " 'Amrw had stolen a superfluous 'W'.

افزونی (فزونی) : Supereminence." (Sh. N., III, 1456).

دگر آنکه لشکر بداد بداد بداند فزونی مرد نژاد

Again, that he should treat the army with rectitude ; and that he should recognize the supereminence of the man of race.

افسانه (افسانه) (with 'izāfat and an adj.-noun in D. Sh., p. 191) : " Well known, celebrated, notorious."

باری چو فسانه می شوی ای بخرد افسانه نیک شونه افسانه بد

If you are to become well known, O wise man, at all events become celebrated for good, and not notorious for evil.

(افسوس) فسوس

" To use taunts." (Sh. N., IV, 1934).

چنان دان که هر کس که دارد فسوس هم او یابد از چرخ گردنده کوس

Know this that anyone who uses taunts, will himself suffer a blow from the rolling Sphere, (and so be subject to taunts).

" To breath an incantation ; i.e., in (افسون) (افسون) فسون دیدن : (with بر) : " To utter a prayer " (over). See (افسون) دیدن M., II, 362, " To utter a prayer " (over). See

(fushār) : " Raving, gibberish." According to the Arabic dictionaries it is a word used in colloquial Arabic, especially the Syrian dialect ; but in Persian (pace Steingass) it is most probably not " a word used by the vulgar " only, since it is put into the mouth of Moses in the M., II, 282.

این چه ژاژست این چه کفرست و فشار پنبه اندر دهان خود فشار

What nonsense is this ? what blasphemy and raving ? Press a piece of cotton into your mouth !

[فشار, however, may be the shorter form of the Persian افشار which, according to Steingass, means " speaking idly or obscenely." too, according to F., means " فحشیات سویلمک rendered by Vullers, " futilia, turpia obscæma loqui." But in all this there is no indication of its being a vulgar word. Is it possible that the Arabic colloquialisms فشار, فشر, فشر may come from the Persian فشار (fushār) ? We have many such examples in Arabic : Cf. even وزیر (wazīr), and وزر (wazara), from the Pahlavi " vichira "].

فقط (as an adj.): (The) "only." (Ch. M., p. 189).

و لباب الالباب عوفی فقط کتابی است که ذکرش از او نموده

And the Lubābu'l-Albāb of 'Aufī is the only book that has made any mention of him.

فن (fann, fan): "Fraud." (M., II, 107).

هر که دعوی آردش اینجا بفن بیش زندانش نخواهم کرد من

Whoever institutes a suit against him here for fraud,—I will no more send him to prison.

فوت (faut)

فوت شدن (with از): "To escape the notice" (of), "To elude mention" (by). (Ch. M., p. 230).

و اسم این کتاب از حاجی خلیفه در کشف الظنون فوت شده است

And the name of this book, (الفصول الطب), has escaped the notice of Hājī Khalīfa in the "Kashfu'z Zūnūn."

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued).

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE NECTAR OF GRACE ('Omar Khayyām's Life and Works) by Swami Govinda Tirtha. Rs. 7/8 net, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

THIS is a remarkable compilation by Mr. V. M. Datar, who once served Hyderabad State and after retirement took the above alias. His old chief and patron, Sir Akbar Hydari, contributes a foreword to the book, which is a learned thesis on 'Omar with a comprehensive collection of his inimitable quatrains and English translation by Mr. Datar himself.

The author has successfully determined the exact date of 'Omar's birth as 18th May 1048 (: 440 H.) on the authority of an astronomical problem given by Baihaqi in his *Tatimmah Šiwān-al-Hikmat*. Only a few years ago Moulana Syed Sulaimān Nadvi in his learned Urdu treatise on 'Omar discussed this problem but failed to solve it. This is in itself a valuable contribution of Mr. Datar to his hero's biography. He has also diligently collected and reviewed 'Omar's philosophic writings. But of course the compiler's chief task has been the editing of 1096 quatrains which Mr. Datar considers to be genuine and publishes under several headings, such as: Praise of the Lord; The Wheel of Time; The Youth; *Kharābāt*; *Maikhāna* and so on. For this collection Mr. Datar consulted no less than 111 MSS. of the *Rubā'iyāt*, of which some thirty were known to be unique—and the two indices giving the date of the first publication of each known and unknown quatrain fully illustrates the wonderful labour he bestowed upon their collation. The book is consequently perhaps the most comprehensive and reliable

edition of these quatrains so far published and must form an indispensable volume to every 'Omarian's library.

With all these merits of Mr. Datar's important work one cannot help feeling that his further labours in rendering the quatrains into English verse was perhaps neither necessary nor seems to enhance its scientific value. Apart from poetic licenses which a translator is bound frequently to resort to, Mr. Datar's mystic proclivities sometimes lead him to give peculiar interpretations to otherwise plain meanings of the Persian original—and as his conclusions relating to 'Omar's philosophy are based on his English version there is risk of a student of the quatrains getting rather confused. Let us quote a few instances of such free translation from Mr. Datar's Introduction itself :

۱
رقم به خرابات به ایمان درست
زنار مغان را به کمر بستم چست
شاگرد خرابات ز بدنامی من
رختم بدر افگند و خرابات بشست

۲
ساقی منے معرفت مہا مکرمت است
در مشرب بے معرفان معصیت است
بے معرفت آدمی چہ آید ہیچ
مقصود ز آدمی ہمین معرفت است

۳
درمے کدہ ذکر بادہ چل اسم من است
رندی و پرستیدن مے قسم من است
من جان جہانم اندرین در مغان
این صورت کون حملگی جسم من است

